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THE
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CONTENTS.

VOL. VI.

	Page
THE Life and Death of the illustrious Robert, Earl of Essex, &c. containing, at large, the Wars he managed, and the Commands he had in Holland, the Palatinate, and in England. Together with some wonderful Observations of himself, and his predecessors, and many most remarkable passages from his Infancy unto the day of his Death. By Robert Codrington, Master of Arts. London, printed by F. Leach, for L. Chapman, Anno Dom. 1646. Quarto, containing thirty-six pages	5
A most learned and eloquent Speech, spoken or delivered in the Honourable House of Commons at Westminster, by the most learned Lawyer, Miles Corbet, Esquire, Recorder of Great Yarmouth, and Burgess of the same, on the 31st of July, 1647. Taken in Short-Hand by Nocky and Tom Dunn, his Clerks, and revised by John Taylor. Folio, containing four pages	36
The Plague at Westminster: Or, an Order for the Visitation of a Sick Parliament, grievously troubled with a new Disease, called, the Consumption of their Members. The Persons visited are, the Earl of Suffolk, the Earl of Lincoln, the Earl of Middlesex, the Lord Hunsdon, the Lord Barkly, the Lord Willoughby of Parham, the Lord Maynard, Sir John Maynard, Master Glyn, Recorder of London. With a Form of Prayer, and other Rites and Ceremonies to be used for their Recovery; strictly commanded to be used in all Cathedrals, Churches, Chapels, and Congregations, throughout his Majesty's three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Printed for V. V. in the Year 1647. Quarto, containing six pages	42
The Arraignment and Acquittal of Sir Edward Mosely, Baronet, indicted at the King's Bench Bar, for a Rape, upon the Body of Mrs. Anne Swinnerton. Taken by a Reporter there present, who heard all the Circumstances thereof, whereof this is a true copy. London, printed by E. G. for W. L. 1647. Quarto, containing twelve pages	46
The Life of Sir Thomas Bodley, the honourable Founder of the Public Library in the University of Oxford. Written by himself. Oxford, printed by Henry Hall, Printer to the University, 1647. Quarto, containing sixteen pages	51

	Page
The Assembly-Man. Written in the Year 1647. ΘΕΟΦΑΝΤ. Χαράζ. 17. ωίε. ΠΕΡΙΕΡΤΙΑΣ.	
<i>He seditiously stirs up Men to fight: He will teach others the way whereof himself is most ignorant; and persuades Men to take an oath, because himself had sworn it before.</i>	
London, printed for Richard Marriott, and are to be sold at his Shop under St. Dunstan's Church, in Fleet-street, 1662—3.	
Quarto, containing twenty-two pages - - - - -	57
A Word for the Army, and Two Words to the Kingdom. To clear the One, and cure the Other. Forced in much Plainness and Bre- vity from their faithful Servant, Hugh Peters.	
<i>Nunc nunc properandus et acri Fingendus sine fine rold.</i>	
London, printed by M. Simmons, for Giles Calvert, at the Black Spread Eagle, at the West end of Paul's. 1647. Quarto, contain- ing fourteen pages - - - - -	63
The Brewer's Plea: or, a Vindication of Strong Beer and Ale. Wherein is declared the Wonderful Bounty and Patience of God, the wicked and monstrous Unthankfulness of Man, the unregarded Injuries done to these Creatures, groaning, as it were, to be deli- vered from the Abuses proceeding from disdainful Aspersions of ignorant, and from the Intemperance of sinful Man.	
1 Cor. xii. 19, 20, 21.	
<i>If they were all one Member, Where would the Body be? But now are they many Members, yet but one Body.</i>	
<i>The Eye cannot say unto the Hand, I have no need of thee, nor again, the Head to the Feet, I have no need of thee.</i>	
<i>Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas.</i> Juvn. Sat.	
London, printed for I. C. 1647. Quarto, containing eight pages -	73
The Scottish Politick Presbyter, slain by an English Independent: or, the Independents' Victory over the Presbyterian Party. The Ri- gour of the Scotch Government, their Conniving and Bribing: the Lewdness and Debauchery of Elders in secret. A Tragi-comedy.	
<i>Diruo et edifico, muto quadrata rotundis.</i>	
Printed in the year 1647. Quarto, containing sixteen pages - -	80
St. Edward's Ghost, or Anti-Normanism: Being a Pathetical Com- plaint and Motion, in the Behalf of our English Nation, against her grand, yet neglected Grievance, Normanism.	
<i>Quænam (malum) est ista voluntaria servitus?</i> CICERO, in Orat. Philip. I.	
London, printed for Richard Wodenoth, at the Star, under Peter's Church, in Cornhill, 1647. Quarto, containing twenty-eight pages - - - - -	90
Serjeant Thorpe, Judge of Assize for the Northern Circuit, his Charge, as it was delivered to the Grand Jury at York Assizes, the twen- tieth of March, 1648; clearly epitomising the Statutes belonging to this Nation, which concern, (and, as a Golden Rule, ought to re- gulate) the several Estates and Conditions of men; and, being duly observed, do really promote the Peace and Plenty of this Com- monwealth. From a Quarto, containing thirty pages, printed at London, by T. W. for Matthew Walbancke and Richard Best, at Gray's Inn Gate, in 1619 - - - - -	106
The Dissenting Ministers Vindication of themselves, from the horrid and detestable Murder of King Charles the First, of glorious Me- mory. With their Names subscribed, about the Twentieth of Ja- nuary, 1643. London, printed in the Year MDCXLVIII. Quarto, containing six pages - - - - -	129

CONTENTS.

iii
Page

News from Pembroke and Montgomery, or Oxford Manchestered, by Michael Oldsworth and his Lord, who swore he was Chancellor of Oxford. And proved it in a Speech made to the New Visitors, in their New Convocation, April 11, 1648: As here it follows Word for Word, and Oath for Oath. Printed at Montgomery, 1648. Quarto, containing eight pages	134
The Cuckow's Nest at Westminster: Or, the Parliament between the two Lady-Birds, Queen Fairfax and Lady Cromwell, concerning Negotiations of State, and their several Interests in the Kingdom; sadly bemoaning the Fate of their Deer and Abhorred Husbands. By Mercurius Melancholicus. Printed in Cuckow-time, in a Hollow-tree, 1648. Quarto, containing ten pages	136
The Advice of W. P. to Mr. Samuel Hartlib, for the Advancement of some particular parts of Learning. London, printed Anno Dom. 1648. Quarto, containing thirty-four pages	141
A further Discovery of the Office of Publick Address for Accommodations. London, printed in the year 1648. Quarto, containing thirty-four pages	158
England's proper and only Way to an Establishment in Honour, Freedom, Peace, and Happiness: Or, the Norman Yoke once more Uncased; and the Necessity, Justice, and present Seasonableness of breaking it in Pieces, demonstrated, in Eight most plain and true Propositions, with their Proofs. By the Author of Anti-Normanism, and of the Plain English to the Neglecters of it.	
<i>Deo, Patriæ, Tibi.</i>	
Imprimatur, Gilbert Mabbot. London, printed for R. L. Anno Dom. 1643. Quarto, containing sixteen pages	175
The British Bellman.	

Printed in the Year Of the Saints fear.

Anno Domini, 1648. Quarto, containing twenty-four pages	181
A Case of Conscience resolved: Concerning Ministers meddling with State Matters in their Sermons, and how far they are obliged by the Covenant to interpose in the Affairs of Civil Government. By J. D. Minister of the Gospel, March 15, Imprimatur, Joseph Caryl. London, printed by R. L. for R. W. 1649. Quarto, containing thirty pages	196
The Corruption and Deficiency of the Laws of England, soberly discovered: Or, Liberty working up to its just Height. Wherein is set down, I. The Standard, or Measure of all just Laws; which is threefold 1. Their Original and Rise, viz. The free Choice, or Election of the People. 2. Their Rule and Square, viz. Principal; of Justice, Righteousness, and Truth. 3. Their Use and End, viz. The Liberty and Safety of the People. II. The Laws of England weighed in this three-fold Balance, and found too light. 1. In their Original, Force, Power, Conquest, or Constraint. 2. In their Rule, corrupt Will, or Principles of Unrighteousness and Wrong. 3. In their End, the Grievance, Trouble, and Bondage of the People. III. The Necessity of the Reformation of the Laws of England; together with the Excellency (and yet Difficulty) of this work. IV. The corrupt Interest of Lawyers in this Commonwealth. By John Warr. London, printed for Giles Calvert, at the Black Spread Eagle, at the West-end of St. Pauls, 1649. Quarto, containing eighteen pages	212
A Narrative of the Proceedings of a Great Council of Jews, assembled in the Plain of Ageda, in Hungary, about thirty leagues distant from Buda, to examine the Scriptures concerning Christ, on	

	Page
the 12th of October, 1650. By Samuel Brett, there present. Also, a Relation of some other Observations of his Travels beyond the Seas, and particularly in Egypt, Macedonia, Dalmatia, Calabria, Apuleia, Sicily, Assyria, Sclavonia, France, Spain, and Portugal; the Islands of Cyprus, Candia, Patmos, and Delphos; the Cities of Carthage, Corinth, Troy, Constantinople, Venice, Naples, Leghorn, Florence, Milan, Rome, Bottonia, Mantua, Genoa, Paris, &c. 1655 London, printed for Richard Moon, at the Seven Stars in St. Paul's Church-Yard, near the Great North Door. Quarto, containing twelve pages	225
A Relation of the Execution of James Graham, late Marquis of Montross, at Edinburgh, on Tuesday the Twenty-first of May instant. With his last Speech, Carriage, and most remarkable Passages upon the Scaffold. Also a Letter out of Ireland, more fully, concerning the taking of Clonmell. London, printed by E. Griffin, in the Old Bailey, May twenty-eighth, 1650. Quarto, containing eight pages	234
The Process and Pleadings in the Court of Spain, upon the Death of Anthony Ascham, Resident for the Parliament of England, and of John Baptista Riva, his Interpreter, who were killed by John Guillim, William Spark, Valentine Progers, Jo. Halsal, William Arnet, and Henry Progers. Who are all in close prison in Madrid for the said fact, except Henry Progers, who fled to the Venetian Ambassador's House, and so escaped. Sent from Madrid from a Person of Quality, and made English. London, printed by William Dugard, Printer to the Council of State, 1651. Quarto, containing twenty pages	236
A True Narrative and Relation of his most sacred Majesty's miraculous Escape from Worcester, on the Third of September, 1651, till his arrival at Paris. Printed at London, for G. Colborn, 1666. Quarto, containing eight pages	247
An Answer to the Propositions made by the English Ambassadors, as they stile themselves, the nineteenth of March, in the Great Assembly of the High and Mighty Lords, the States General of the United Provinces. As also, to their Memorials of the sixteenth of April, and the ninth of May, 1651, respectively. And likewise, to the Thirty-six Articles of the desired Treaty. As it was delivered by the Honourable Sir William Macdowal, Knight, Resident for His Majesty of Great Britain, after his return to Holland, in the said Great Assembly, June the seventeenth, 1651. Printed at the Hague, by Samuel Brown, English Bookseller, 1651. Quarto, containing sixteen pages	256
News from France: Or, a Description of the Library of Cardinal Mazarin, before it was utterly ruined. Sent in a Letter from Monsieur G. Naudæus, Keeper of the Publick Library. London, printed for Timothy Garthwait, at the little North Door of St. Paul's, 1652. Quarto, containing six pages	265
A great Victory obtained by the English against the Dutch, and the Pursuing of the Dutch Fleets, by General Blake and Sir George Ayscue, with one hundred and eighty men of war, towards the Downs, and their Resolution to engage them, between Dover and Calais. The manner how Sir George Ayscue, with great policy, obtained the wind; the number sunk and taken; and two gallant ships, surprised by Captain Stoaks, laden with Gold and Elephants Teeth. Also, the number of ships coming up the River of Thames for London, richly laden from the East Indies, the Streights, Virginia, and Barbadoes. Die Septembris 27, 1652. Extracted out of	

CONTENTS.

Page

the Original Papers, sent, from Captain Stoaks, to the honourable Council of State, on Sunday last, September the twenty-sixth. Imprinted at London for George Horton, 1652. Quarto, containing eight pages	269
A Cry against a Crying Sin : Or, a just Complaint to the Magistrates, against them who have broken the Statute Laws of God, by killing of Men merely for Theft. Manifested in a Petition long since presented to the Common-Council of the City of London, on the Behalf of Transgressors. Together with certain Proposals, presented by Colonel Pride, to the Right Honourable the General Council for the Army, and the Committee appointed by the Parliament of England, to consider of the Inconveniences, Mischiefs, Chargeableness, and Irregularities in their Law. Printed at London, for Samuel Chidley, dwelling in Bow-Lane, at the Sign of the Chequer, 1652. Quarto, containing thirty-four pages, in Red Letter	272
The Proposals of the Committee for Regulating the Law, both in Sense, Form, and Practice, communicated to publick View, by especial Order and Command. Quarto, containing eight pages	289
<i>Laetitia Triumphans</i> , the Triumph of Learning over Ignorance, and of Truth over Falshood ; being an Answer to four Queries : Whether there be any Need of Universities? Who is to be accounted an Heretick ? Whether it be lawful to use Conventicles ? Whether a Layman may preach ? Which were lately proposed by a Zealot in the Parish Church at Swacy, near Cambridge, after the second Sermon, October 3, 1652 ; since that enlarged by the Answerer, R. B. B. D. and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London, printed 1653. Quarto, containing thirty-eight pages	295
The Laws Discovery : Or, a Brief Detection of sundry notorious Errors and Abuses contained in our English Laws, whereby Thousands are annually stripped of their Estates, and some of their Lives. By a Well-wisher to his Country. London, printed in 1653. Quarto, containing five pages	322
A Narration of the late Accident in the New Exchange, on the twenty-first and twenty-second of November, 1653. <i>Stylo Vet.</i> Written by the most noble and illustrious Lord, Don Pantaleon Sa, Brother to his Excellency of Portugal, Extraordinary Legate in England, to his much esteemed Nobility of England, and to all the beloved and famous City of London from Newgate's Prison. London, printed in the Year 1653. Quarto, containing fourteen pages	325
The Lord General Cromwell's Speech, delivered in the Council-Chamber, upon the fourth of July, 1653, to the Persons then assembled and intrusted with the supreme Authority of the Nation. This is a true Copy, published for Information, and to prevent Mistakes. Printed in the year 1654. Quarto, containing twenty-eight pages.	331
The Old Pharisee, with the new Phylacteries of Presbytery. Quarto, containing twenty-six pages	344
The Life of that incomparable Man, Faustus Socinus Senensis, described by a Polonian knight. Whereunto is added an excellent Discourse, which the same Author would have had premised to the Works of Socinus ; together with a Catalogue of those Works. London : Printed for Richard Moone, at the Seven Stars, in Paul's Church-yard, 1653. Octavo, containing forty-two pages	355
A brief and perfect Journal of the late Proceedings and Success of the English Army in the West Indies, continued until June the 24th, 1655. Together with some Queries, insctred and answered. Pub-	

lished for Satisfaction of all such who desire truly to be informed in these Particulars. By I. S. an Eye-witness.

Veritas nudata celari non potest.

- London, printed 1655. Quarto, containing twenty-seven pages - - 372
- The English Hermit, or Wonder of this Age : Being a Relation of the Life of Roger Crab, living near Uxbridge ; taken from his own Mouth ; shewing his strange, reserved, and unparalleled Kind of Life, who counted it a Sin against his Body and Soul, to eat any Sort of Flesh, Fish, or living Creature, or to drink any Wine, Ale, or Beer. He can live with three Farthings a Week. His constant Food is Roots and Herbs ; as Cabbage, Turneps, Carrots, Dock-Leaves, and Grass ; also Bread and Bran, without Butter or Cheese : His Cloathing is Sack-cloth. He left the Army, and kept a Shop at Chesham, and hath now left off that, and sold a considerable Estate to give to the Poor, shewing his Reasons from the Scripture, Mark x. 21, Jer. xxxv.
- Wherefore if Meat make my Brother to offend, I will never eat Flesh, while the World stands,* 1 Cor. viii. 13.
- London, printed, and are to be sold in Pope's-head Alley, and at the Exchange, 1655. Quarto, containing twenty-two pages - - - 390
- A Century of the Names and Scantlings of such Inventions, as at present I can call to Mind to have tried and perfected, which, my former Notes being lost, I have, at the Instance of a powerful Friend, endeavoured now, in the Year 1655, to set these down in such a Way as may sufficiently instruct me to put any of them in Practice. London, printed by J. Grismond in 1663. Twenty-fours, containing ninety-one pages - - - 405
- The Protector's Declaration against the Royal Family of the Stuarts, and the true Worship of the Church of England. Printed and published by his Highness's special Commandment. London, printed by Henry Hills and John Field, Printers to his Highness. From a Folio page - - - 420
- The most lamentable and dreadful Thunder and Lightning in the County of Norfolk, and the City of Norwich, on July 20, being the Lord's Day in the Afternoon : The Whirlwind and thiek Darkness, and most prodigious Hailstones, which, being above five Inches about, did so violently batter down the Windows of the City, that Three-thousand Pounds will hardly repair them. Diverse Men and Women struck dead. The Firing of some Towns, and whole Fields of Corn, by Lightning, which also destroyed the Birds of the Air, and Beasts of the Field. Together with another most violent Storm, which, happening on Saturday last in the same County, for almost thirty Miles together, performed the like terrible Effects. Attested by Ten-thousand Witnesses, who were either Spectators, or Partakers of the Loss. Entered according to Order, the 31st of July, 1656. London, printed by R. I. for F. Grove on Snow-hill, 1656. Quarto, containing five pages, with a wooden Cut in the Title-page, representing Jupiter in the Clouds, with a Thunder-bolt in his Right Hand - 423
- The grand Impostor examined : Or, the Life, Trial, and Examination of James Nayler, the seduced and seducing Quaker ; with the Manner of his riding into Bristol. London, printed for Henry Brome, at the Hand in St. Paul's Church Yard, 1656. Quarto, containing fifty-six pages - - - 424
- A Case of Conscience, Whether it be lawful to admit Jews into a Christian Commonwealth ? Resolved by Mr. John Dury : Written to Samuel Hartlib, Esq. London, printed for Richard Wodenothe,

CONTENTS.

vii
Page

in Leadenhall-street, next to the Golden Heart, 1656. Quarto, containing twelve pages	438
A Narrative of the late Proceedings at Whitehall, concerning the Jews: Who had desired by Rabbi Manasses, an Agent for them, that they might return into England, and worship the God of their Fathers here in the Synagogues, &c. Published for Satisfaction to many in several Parts of England, that are desirous and inquisitive to hear the Truth thereof. London, printed for L. Chapman, at the Crown in Pope's-head Alley, 1656. Quarto, containing sixteen pages	445
A Narrative of the late Parliament (so called), their Election and Appearing; the Seclusion of a great Part of them; the Sitting of the rest: With an Account of the Places of Profit, Salaries, and Advantages, which they hold and receive under the present Power; with some Queries thereupon, and upon the most material Acts and Proceedings passed by them: All humbly proposed to Consideration, and published for Information of the People, by a Friend to the Commonwealth, and to its dear-bought Rights and Freedom. Anno 1657. Quarto, containing sixty-three pages	454
A Second Narrative of the late Parliament (so called), wherein, after a brief Reciting some remarkable Passages in the former Narrative, is given an Account of their second Meeting, and things transacted by them: As also, how the Protector (so called) came swearing 'By the living God,' and, dissolved them, after two or three Weeks sitting, &c. &c. Printed in the fifth Year of England's Slavery, under its new Monarchy, 1658	482
Nuntius a mortuis: Or, a Messenger from the Dead: that is, A stupendious and dreadful Colloquy, distinctly and alternately heard by divers, betwixt the Ghosts of Henry the Eighth and Charles the First, (both Kings of England) who lie entombed in the Church of Windsor. Wherein, as with a Pencil from Heaven, is liquidly, from Head to Foot, set forth the whole Series of the Judgments of God upon the Sins of these unfortunate Islands. Translated out of the Latin Copy by G. T. and printed at Paris, 1657. Quarto, containing twenty-six pages	508
The Coat of Arms of Sir John Presbyter. Printed in the Year 1658. Folio, containing one page	524
A brief Relation, containing an Abbreviation of the Arguments, urged by the late Protector, against the Government of this Nation, by a King or a single Person, to convince Men of the Danger and Inconvenience thereof. Printed, January, 1658. Quarto, containing eight pages	525
Cromwell's Complaint of Injustice: Or, his Dispute with Pope Alexander the Sixth, for Precedency in Hell. Folio, containing two pages	529
A seasonable Speech, made by a worthy Member of Parliament in the House of Commons, concerning the other House, March, 1659	532
Cornu Copia: A Miscellaneum of luciferous and most fructiferous Experiments, Observations, and Discoveries, immethodically distributed; to be really demonstrated, and communicated in all Sincerity. Quarto, containing sixteen pages	540



THE
HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

THE LIFE AND DEATH

OF THE

ILLUSTRIOUS ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX, &c.

Containing, at large, the wars he managed, and the commands he had in Holland, the Palatinate, and in England: together with some wonderful observations of himself, and his predecessors, and many most remarkable passages, from his infancy, unto the day of his death.

By Robert Codrington, Master of Arts.

London, Printed by F. Leach, for L. Chapman, Anno Dom: 1646.

The author, Mr. Codrington, was born of an antient and genteel family in Gloucestershire, elected Demy of Magdalen College in Oxford, the twenty-ninth of July, 1619, about seventeen years old, and took the Master's degree in 1626. After that, he travelled into several foreign lands; and, at his return, lived a gentleman's life, first in Norfolk, where he married; and finished his life at London, by the plague, in the year 1665, having published many pieces of different taste in his life-time, and left several manuscripts prepared for the press.

As for the history before us, it is true, that he plainly declares himself a parliamenteer; yet, so far as it goes, it is the least exceptionable, and the most comprehensive, of any writings on the same subject, in those times: for, besides the character of his hero, the Earl of Essex, he gives us the general opinion, and the ground of the first part of the civil war; seems to relate the natural facts without aggravation, and always speaks of the King's majesty with respect, ascribing the ill conduct of his affairs, and bad success, to the wickedness and heat of his counsels; and heartily wishing a good and lasting reconciliation and peace between the King and his parliament.

BEFORE we do begin with the discourse of the life and death of this illustrious earl, it will not be impertinent to speak one word of the renowned earl, his father, who, as he rendered himself admirable, by the many great and glorious actions which he performed both by land and sea; so I may call it his master-piece, that he did beget so brave a son, and I may call it his son's master-piece, that he did lively resemble so

6 LIFE AND DEATH OF ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX.

brave a father, in the height and perfection of his virtues, which he did express in his love unto his country, and in his achievements for the honour and safety of it; and this shall ennoble both their names unto all posterity.

To give you a parallel of these two worthies, is a task almost as impossible as impertinent; for if you will excuse in them the priority of time, we may, in the course of their lives and honours, make a parallel, as soon, betwixt two beams of the sun, who are the same in heat, in glory, and in influence, and who do differ in nothing but in number only; we will therefore save that art and labour, and, as succinctly as we can, we will address ourselves to the great task we have undertaken.

This most noble earl was born in London, in the year of our Lord 1592, and almost in the evening of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who, for his excellent endowments, did countenance his father living, and did lament him, being dead. His mother had the happiness to be espoused to three of the most gallant personages which that age did know. Her first husband was Sir Philip Sidney, whose virtues are too high for the praises of other men to reach them, and too modest to desire them; his pen and his sword have rendered him famous enough; he died by the one, and by the other he will ever live. This is the happiness of art, that although the sword doth achieve the honour, yet the arts do record it, and no pen hath made it better known than his own. Her second husband was the renowned father of this most noble earl, who died beloved, and honoured, as well by his foes, as by his friends, and whose loss even heaven might lament, did not heaven enjoy him. Her third husband was the Earl of Clanrickard, a gallant gentleman, who exceeded the wildness of his native country, by his second education, and who exceeded his education by the happiness of his wedlock; and though, peradventure, some vain men do account it but as two threads put together, he did make it his band, by the advantage of which, he did so twist himself into the English virtues, that nothing remained in him as spun from Ireland, as Ireland now doth stand.

To omit the presages, and the unfaithful kisses of the promising madams who rocked his cradle, I will not say, that in that moving wicker [like another Hercules] he strangled in each hand the two invading dragons of transcending prerogative and superstition: this was the business of his life to come; a business which did grow up with his youth in hope, and which, in the event, did crown his age with glory.

Though the laurels, that crown the brows of conquerors, are the thickest and the heaviest, yet, I believe, the wreaths that court the brows of art are the greenest; we conquer, in our age, our foes in the field, but we overcome our greatest foe, which is ignorance, in our youth; to conquer which, he received hereditary courage from his father, who not only overcame, but triumphed over it, and did accept the formality of two degrees, and, with great reputation, performed the exercises belonging to them in the university of Cambridge.

It is most certain, that illustrious and extraordinary personages have oftentimes extraordinary illuminations of the events, both good and bad, which shall befall them; of this we can give you remarkable instances

LIFE AND DEATH OF ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX. 7

in this family. When Sir Walter Devereux was created Viscount of Hereford, and Earl of Essex, about the twelfth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, because he was descended, by his mother's side, from the antient and honourable family of the Bouchiers, it was the deliberate pleasure of the queen and state to increase his honours, by the knowledge of the fulness of his merit, and to make him governor of Ireland; and this place being preferred unto him [for, indeed, he was a gentleman of incomparable endowments] he did manage the affairs of that kingdom with great honour and judgment; and, by a secret power of attraction, which is natural and inherent to that family, he gained the approbation and applause of all men, and did much advance the affairs of England in the kingdom of Ireland; but the ambition and policy of the Earl of Leicester, who would have no man more eminent than himself, did so prevail at court, that, upon no cause at all, but that he was as good as great, he must be dishonoured from his dignity, and the government of that kingdom conferred on Sir Henry Sidney, a deserving gentleman, indeed, and the more meritorious, because he was the father of Sir Philip. This indignity did stick such an impression on this noble earl, who had now only a charge of some empty regiments of horse and foot, that his melancholy brought a fever on him; and the sooner, because his friend was the author of this injury, for the Earl of Leicester did pretend to no man greater affection than to himself. After some days, his sickness did confine him to his chamber, and afterwards to his bed. His dying words were remarkable; he desired that his son, who was not then above ten years of age, might refrain from the court, and not trust his ear with the flatteries, nor his eye with the splendor of it; and, above all things, that he should be mindful of the six and thirtieth year of his age, beyond which, neither he, nor but few of his forefathers, lived. His instructed son did obey his father's will, and for many years did lead a contented and a retired life in Anglesey, until [I know not by what spell] the Earl of Leicester did work him into the fatal circle, and betrayed him to destruction. Being condemned to the block, he remembered his father's prediction, which now he could not avoid: and which is, indeed, most wonderful, on the very same hour, and [as it is believed] on the very same minute, that he was beheaded, his son, who at that time was a student in Eaton college, did suddenly, and distractedly, leap out of his bed, where he was fast asleep, and, to the amazement of all, he cried out, that his father was killed, his father was dead; and not many hours after, the sad news was brought, which so early in the morning, and so strangely, he presaged.

His father being dead, this young earl was now looked on with more than ordinary obsequance; and the rather, because it was generally reported, that his father had too severe a trial, and that his life was made a sacrifice, to satisfy the ambition of some great personages, high in favour at the court. Sure it is that there appeared something of injustice in his death, for otherwise, why should Sir Walter Raleigh, and others, who were condemned as accessory to it, so publicly afterwards, and in print, disclaim it.

Queen Elizabeth being deceased, King James was no sooner established in the possession of the crown of England, but he restored to this

8 LIFE AND DEATH OF ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX.

young earl his father's titles and estate, and his eldest son (the mirror of his age, and the western world) Prince Henry was pleased to be very conversant and familiar with him, being near unto him in age, but more near in affection, than in years. Betwixt whom and this earl, there happened a remarkable passage, which I conceive, in this place, not improper to insert.

Prince Henry, and this young earl, delighting themselves one morning, with the exercise and the pleasure of the tennis-court, after that a set or two were played, there did arise some difference upon a mistake: from banding of the ball, the prince, being raised into a choler, did begin to bandy words, and was so transported with his passion, that he told the Earl of Essex, that he was the son of a traitor. The Earl of Essex was then in the flourish of his youth, and full of fire and courage, and being not able to contain himself, he did strike the prince, with his racket, on the head, and that so shrewdly, that [as it is said] some drops of blood did trickle down. The news of this was presently brought to the king's ear, who having examined the business, and fully understood the manner, and the occasion of it, did dismiss the earl, without any great check, and (being a true peace-maker) he told his son, that he, who did strike him then, would be sure, with more violent blows, to strike his enemy in times to come.

This being in this manner reconciled, the report of this young earl did arise every day higher and greater. His recreations were riding of the great horse, running at the ring, and the exercise of arms. His other hours were taken up in study, and in perusal of books, that yielded most profit, not most delight, and from these he would always arise better, than when he sat down unto them; his delights were hunting of the hare, or buck, and he would seldom fail to be amongst the foremost, at the fall of the stag, or when the falcon on his wing was stooping to his prey. He, from his infancy, was well affected to religion, and to the reformation of the church; and this he received by inheritance from his father, for when the bishops (that felt the smart of it) had cried out against that lashing pamphlet, called, *Martin-Mar-Prelate*; and there was a prohibition published, that no man should presume to carry it about him, upon pain of punishment, and the queen herself did speak as much, when the earl was present: why then, said the earl, what will become of me? And, pulling the book out of his pocket, he did shew it to the queen. I have heard grave men, and of great judgment, say, that he was the less inclined to Dr. Whitgift, a reverend divine, and his tutor also, because he was a bishop. But the ambition and pride of the prelates, and the clergy, were not then arrived to their utmost period; the suppressing of them must remain to be the work of my lord, his son, whom the parliament of England shall find to be their happy instrument, ordained for so great an end, by a greater power.

The Earl of Essex being confirmed in his father's honours and possessions, that a perfect reconciliation might be made in all things, a marriage was contracted and concluded in the year 1606, betwixt him and the lady Frances Howard, daughter to the Right Honourable the Earl of Suffolk. She was a lady as transcendent in her spirit as her beauty: they were much about one age when they were married, the

lady Frances being about thirteen, and the earl not above sixteen at the most; therefore for some few years, by reason of the nonage of the earl, they lived apart until about the year 1610, at which time they enjoyed the society of one bed; and so continued until about the year 1613, when a complaint was made, and so closely prosecuted, that a way was contrived, and carried on with great power, for the procuring of a divorce betwixt the Earl of Essex and this lady. I say it was carried on with great power, for both divinity and law did not only look on, but were enforced to be actors in it. And yet they, who so much laboured in it, had afterwards the leisure to repent it, for this divorce was no sooner made, but the Earl of Somerset (who, at that time, was high in the king's favour) married this lady, the King himself and the archbishop being present, and allowing it. At that time there was a gentleman of excellent understanding, Sir Thomas Overbury by name, who, being beloved by the Earl of Somerset, did compose a poem, intituled *The Wife*, to dissuade the Earl of Somerset from this marriage; but the lady, conceiving that it did reflect upon her honour, did so prevail with the earl, that she turned his love unto hatred, and wrought his hatred unto so great a height, that nothing but the death of Sir Thomas Overbury could satisfy their revenge. His death being resolved on, they put it to the question by what means it should be performed, and it was concluded on by poison. There was a woman in those days famous for those arts, Mrs. Turner by name; they propound it unto her, and she is easily drawn into any mischief. The lieutenant of the Tower, Sir Jervis Elwayes*, was also made acquainted with it: the tragedy was no sooner acted but discovered; the actors were apprehended. Sir Jervis Elwayes was examined, found guilty, condemned, and suffered on Tower-hill: there was also one Frankling hanged, who brought the poison. Mrs. Turner, that prepared it, did also lose her life at Tyburn. This is the woman who first invented, and brought into fashion the use of yellow starch. The Earl of Somerset and his new-married lady were, upon pain of death, prohibited not to approach the presence of the King, nor to come within ten miles of his majesty's court. This did beget so great a discontent, that their love by degrees did begin to suffer diminution with their pomp: and the lady on her death-bed, being troubled in her mind, did much cry out upon the Earl of Essex, whom she had so much injured.

The Earl of Essex, perceiving how little he was beholden to Venus, is now resolved to address himself to the court of Mars; and to this purpose he descendeth into the Netherlands, which, at that time, was the school of honour, for the nobility of England, in their exercise of arms: there he was no sooner arrived, but, with magnificent joy, he was entertained by grave Maurice, who saw both in his carriage, and his courage, the lively image of his father. He at first trailed a pike, and refused no service in the field, which every ordinary gentleman is accustomed to perform. This did much endear him to the soldiers, and his liberality and humanity did the more advance him. He not long after had there the command of a regiment. At the same time the Earl of Oxford was

* Or, Yelvis.

10 LIFE AND DEATH OF ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX.

in Holland, a great and gallant commander, from whose valour and whose actions, other soldiers may take example, both to fight, and overcome. With him, and some others, who also had the charge of regiments, the Earl of Essex was very conversant; and the presence and command of these noblemen in the army did much add to the honour of the English regiment, and did enlarge and dilate their own fame into adjacent kingdoms.

He continued certain years in the Netherlands, and having gained renown, by his experience and perfection in the feats of arms, he advanced thence to the Palatinate, to which place went also the Earl of Southampton, the Lord Willoughby, the Earl of Oxford, and Sir John Borlans, with their regiments; they arrived most welcome to the king and queen of Bohemia, the present condition of their affairs much wanting the presence of such brave commanders, who gave a new life and spirit to the soldiers wheresoever they came. At that time there were great hopes that the King of England would, out of his three kingdoms, send such a continued stock of men to the Palatinate, that the crown of Bohemia should be established on the head of the Elector Palatine, and that by no course sooner than by virtue of the English arms: but King James never stood greatly affected, either to this war, or to the cause thereof, and thereupon some regiments of unexperienced volunteers going over, instead of a well-composed army, it was one reason, amongst many others, that not only Bohemia, but the Palatinate were also lost, which were both invaded by so mighty an enemy as was then the emperor, and seconded by so puissant a potentate as was the King of Spain.

The Earl of Essex having adventured all things for the relief of that distressed lady, and finding an impossibility, with such weak forces, to oppose so great a power, he resolved to return into England, but not without some hope that his majesty would be sensible of his daughter's sufferings, and of those illustrious and hopeful cradles, which grief and fear did rock, and that he would send over such full recruits of men, as might advance again his speedy return into Germany.

But God did otherwise ordain it, for not long after King James, by the privation of death, enjoyed the possession of a better life. And, Prince Charles being invested with the crown, he was so far from sending forces into Germany, that the German horse were called over into England.

The delight of King James was peace, but almost the first designs of King Charles were war. To this purpose, that he might make his kingdoms as terrible by arms, as his father had left them flourishing in peace, he calleth a parliament, which (the sickness, at the same time raging with great violence in the city of London) did meet at Oxford on the beginning of the month of August, in the first year of his reign; but this king was never fortunate either in his parliaments, or in his wars, for, the Duke of Buckingham being questioned, the parliament was not long after dissolved. Howsoever, a design went on for a sudden expedition into Cadix in Spain, which was committed to be managed by the Viscount Wimbleton, and by the Earl of Essex. The Earl of Essex did the more readily undertake it, because the judgment and the valour of Sir Edward Cecil, created by the King Viscount Wimbleton,

LIFE AND DEATH OF ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX. 11

was highly regarded by him, having had sufficient experience of it in the Low-Countries, where Sir Edward Cecill also for a long time, and with great reputation, commanded a regiment, for the service of the states: his other reason was, because that his father heretofore had taken Cadiz, and he believed that a more gallant action could never be imposed on him, than to be designed unto that place, where he might enlarge his own, and renew his father's glory. Being imbarqued for the prosecution of this service, which promised so much honour; being at sea, and by a fair wind brought almost as far as Cadiz, the chief commanders opened their commission, and finding, to their great grief, that they had not that power granted them, which they expected, they had many consultations on it: Sir Edward Cecill was loth to exceed the bounds of the commission, well knowing what danger, on his return, might ensue thereby.

The Earl of Essex was unwilling to return without effecting any thing: and the rather, because the Spaniards (according to the ostentation natural to that nation) did begin to dare him from their walls and battlements; insomuch that some of his men were landed, and entered some part of the town; and the earl found that it was no difficult matter for the English again to be masters of the town, had they but authority to fall on. Howsoever the Spaniards had notice before hand that the English ships had a design upon that place; and some, withal, are of opinion, that they knew how far their commission did extend: all along the shore their horse and foot stood ready to entertain us at our landing, who wanted neither desire, nor resolution, to encounter them, had but the word been given. The Earl of Essex, being sorry that he was employed on so unnecessary an expedition, and so unsuitable to the English temper, did resolve with himself, on his return to England, to adventure no more on such employments, but to repair again to Holland, where the courage of himself, and his soldiers, should be sure of action, and where their action should be attended with honour. He there resided a certain time, and by his exemplary virtue did much advance the affairs of that state. Being called back into England, by the importunity of his friends, he afterwards married with Mrs. Elisabeth Paulet, who (if I am not mistaken) had then some relation to the Marchioness of Hertford, sister to this earl. This Mrs. Paulet was a young lady of a delicate temper; she was daughter of Sir William Paulet of Hedington in Wiltshire, and descended by the father's side, from the illustrious family of the Paulets, Marquis of Winchester: by her, the Earl of Essex had a son, who was christened Robert, after his father's name, and died in the year 1636, and lies buried at Drayton in the county of Warwick.

There is nothing born so happy, which is absolute in every part, for, much about the same time, there did arise some discontents, betwixt the earl and this lady also, upon which this earl did ever after abandon all uxorious thoughts, and wholly applied himself to the improvement of those rules, which conduce to the soundness of church and state: and, if any unseverer hours of leisure offered themselves in his study, he would employ that time in the perusal of some laboured poem, and having great judgment, especially in the English verse, it was his custom

12 LIFE AND DEATH OF ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX.

to applaud the professors of that art, as high as their desert, and to reward them above it; and he was no way inclined to the sullen opinion of those men who disclaim the muses, and esteem all poems to be as unlawful, as unprofitable.

When the ambition and the excess of the bishops did swell them up to such an uncompassed greatness, that they were not only become unwieldy to themselves, and intolerable to their diocesses, but endeavoured also to lay unconscionable burdens by compulsive ceremonies, on the kingdom of Scotland, the women there did first begin the coil, which was afterwards followed by their youth, their youth, who mustered themselves into arms for the defence of their religion, protesting themselves to be enemies to all thoughts, that had but the least relation to the church of Rome.

To this resolution (it being for the cause of God) the whole kingdom of Scotland did join their devoted hands. The King was seduced by the English bishops to make a war against them, and great preparations were in hand, to that intent. In the first year that the King advanced against the Scots, the Earl of Essex was one of his principal commanders, but it pleased God to make that year no year of blood. In the year following, a parliament was called, and, money being gained for the prosecution of the war, it was again broke off. To this war, the bishops did contribute much, and Doctor Peirce, the bishop at that time of Bath and Wells, did not doubt to call it in his pulpit, the Bishops War. But what had the bishops to do with the sword, and indeed it thrived with them accordingly; for, the army of the King being beaten by the Scots, and the town of Newcastle being seized by them, it was thought expedient by the King's best counsellors that a parliament should be called again. This is the parliament which unto this day doth continue, and which have laboured so much to their perpetual glory, for the reformation of religion, for the liberty of the subject, and the safety of the kingdom.

On the beginning of this parliament, which represented the whole body of the kingdom, the King who, without all doubt, was inforced to summon it, to relieve the crying oppressions of his subjects, did appear like a man in a fever; sometimes very hot to give satisfaction to the complaints and desires of his subjects, and sometimes again cold and froward.

The most noble Earl of Pembroke, and Montgomery, being dismissed from his place, by the pleasure of his majesty, the parliament did move the King, that the Earl of Essex might succeed him, to which (his majesty unwilling openly to deny them) did give his assent; he knew very well that received maxim that (during their time of sitting in parliament) subjects are greater than they are, and the King less.

The earl, although (for a long time) he had discontinued the court, yet did deport himself, with so much honour and judgment, that the old courtiers, and those who were most intire unto his majesty could not find the least subject of distaste. But the discontents betwixt the King and parliament increasing, and the King forsaking London, the noble Earl of Essex (being a member of the House of Peers) would not for-

make the parliament, although there is no question but that he had instigations enough from the followers of the court to persuade him to it. Of such a vertue is honour and conscience in the breast of true nobility.

The King beginning his gests towards the west, and afterwards wheeling in earnest towards the north, the parliament did send petition on petition to beseech his majesty to return unto the parliament; to which the King did return most plausible answers, there being no where to be found more art that suborned reason to attend it, or more accurate language. But the parliament finding a great disproportion betwixt the insinuations of his majesty to delude the people, and his actions to strengthen himself, and that his voice was the voice of Jacob, but the hands were the hands of Esau; and understanding withal that his majesty had summoned in the country about York, where there appeared many thousands that promised to adhere unto him, and that he had a resolution to besiege Hull, and force it to his obedience, they were compelled (though with hearts full of sorrow) to have recourse to arms.

Money is the sinew of war, to provide themselves with which, the city were desired to bring in their plate to make it sterling for that service. The publick faith of the kingdom was their security for it; and indeed what better security could any man expect than the faith of the whole kingdom, of which the parliament were the body representative, and (as it were) the feoffees in trust. You would admire what sums of ready money, what rings of gold, what store of massy plate both silver and gilt were brought in a few days to Guildhall. Guildhall did never deserve its name so properly, as at this present. In the mean time, Moorfields and those places, where horses for service were to be listed, were almost thronged with excellent horse; and the youth of London, who devoted themselves to the service of the parliament, and to hazard their lives for the safety of the two kingdoms, did look with emulation on one another who should be the first should back them.

This being provided, in the next place care is taken for the raising of an army, and for a general to conduct them: there was no man could be possibly thought upon more able to undertake so great a charge than the illustrious Earl of Essex, whose name in arms was great, and the love of the people to him did strive to be great as was that name. At the first appearance in the artillery-garden, where the voluntiers were to be listed, there came in no less than four-thousand of them, in one day, who declared their resolutions to live and die with the Earl of Essex, for the safety and the peace of the kingdom; and every day (for a certain space) did bring in multitudes of such well affected people, who preferred their consciences above their lives, and who would hazard with them their dearest blood for the preservation of the reformed religion, and for the parliament that did reform it.

Not long after, the Earl of Essex, having sent before him his whole equipage of war, who were quartered and exercised in the country, and were now expert in their arms, did pass through the city of London towards them, being accompanied with many lords and gentlemen, as also with many colonels and commanders of the city, and many hundreds of horse-men, and the trained-bands who guarded him through Temple-bar unto Moorfields; from thence in his coach he passed to High-gate, the

14 LIFE AND DEATH OF ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX.

people, on each hand, having all the way made a hedge with their own bodies, and with loud acclamations all crying out, God bless my Lord General, God preserve my Lord General.

His excellency being now in his march to oppose the forces of the King, the high wisdom of the parliament (although they had often moved the King before by diverse petitions) did think it expedient to send one humble petition more unto his majesty, to beseech him to remove himself from those evil counsels and counsellors, who had fomented the horrid rebellion in Ireland, and had endeavoured the like bloody massacre in England, by inciting him to make war with the parliament, who were the best subjects in his kingdom: we will in this place deliver to you the petition of both the houses of parliament, which petition being so full of high concernment and humble addresses, and because it was to be delivered by his excellency the Earl of Essex, we conceive it very requisite in this place to insert it.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The humble petition of the Lords and Commons, now assembled in Parliament.

WE your majesty's most loyal subjects, the lords and commons in parliament, cannot, without great grief, and tenderness of compassion, behold the pressing miseries, the imminent danger, and the devouring calamities, which do extremely threaten, and have partly seized upon both your kingdoms of England and Ireland, by the practices of a party prevailing with your majesty; who by many wicked plots and conspiracies have attempted the alteration of the true religion, and of the ancient government of this kingdom, by the introducing of Popish superstition and idolatry into the church, and tyranny and confusion in the state, and, for the compassing thereof, have long corrupted your majesty's counsels, abused your power, and, by sudden and untimely dissolving of former parliaments, have often hindered the reformation, and prevention of those mischiefs; who, being now disabled to avoid the endeavours of this parliament by any such means, have traiterously attempted to overawe the same by force, and, in prosecution of their wicked designs, have excited, encouraged, and fostered an unnatural rebellion in Ireland, by which, in a cruel and most outrageous manner, many of your subjects there have been destroyed; and by false slanders upon your parliament, and by malicious and unjust accusations, they have endeavoured to begin the like massacre here. But, being disappointed therein by the blessing of God, they have (as the most mischievous and bloody design of all) won upon your majesty to make war against your parliament and good subjects of this kingdom; leading in your own person an army against them, as if you intended by conquest to establish an absolute and an illimited power over them, and, by the power and the countenancing of your presence, have ransacked, spoiled, imprisoned, and murdered diverse of your people: and, for their better assistance in these wicked designs, do seek to bring over the rebels of Ireland, and

LIFE AND DEATH OF ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX. 15

other forces from beyond the seas to join with them: and we finding ourselves utterly deprived of your majesty's protection, and the authors, counsellors, and abettors of these mischiefs in greatest power and favour with your majesty, and defended by you against the justice and authority of your high court of parliament, whereby they are grown to that height and insolence as to manifest their rage and malice, against those of the nobility and others who are any way inclined unto peace, not without great appearance of danger to your own royal person, if you shall not in all things concur with their wicked and traitorous courses; we have for the just and necessary defence of the Protestant religion, of your majesty's person, crown, and dignity, of the laws and liberties of the kingdom, and the power and privilege of parliament, taken up arms, and appointed and authorised Robert Earl of Essex to be captain general of all the forces by us levied, and to lead and to conduct the same against these rebels and traytors, and them to subdue and to bring to condign punishment; and we do most humbly beseech your majesty to withdraw your royal presence and countenance from these wicked persons, and, if they shall stand out in defence of their rebellious and unlawful attempts, that your majesty will leave them to be suppressed by that power, which we have sent against them, and that your majesty will not mix your own dangers with theirs, but in peace and safety (without your forces) forthwith, return to your parliament, and by your faithful counsel and advice compose the present distempers and confusions abounding in both your kingdoms, and provide for the security and honour of yourself, your royal posterity, and the prosperous estate of all your subjects; wherein, if your majesty please to yield to our most humble and earnest desires, we do, in the presence of Almighty God, profess, that we will receive your majesty with all honour, yield you all due obedience and subjection, and faithfully endeavour to secure your person and estate from all danger; and to the uttermost of our power procure, and establish to yourself, and to your people, all the blessings of a most happy and glorious reign.

The Earl of Essex having received this petition, he made use of the Earl of Dorset (who was then at Shrewsbury with his majesty) that it might find access unto him. And within a few days after the Earl of Dorset sent a dispatch to the Earl of Essex, signifying that (according to his desire) he had acquainted the King concerning such a petition to be presented, and the King returned this answer, that he would receive no petition that should be presented to him from his parliament, from any that should bring the same; but that he would not receive a petition out of the hands of any traytor.

His excellency, having received this answer, did conceive it expedient to acquaint the parliament with it. Whereupon, after a serious debate upon the business, it was voted by the house of commons, that his majesty refusing to receive any petition from those whom he accounted traytors, and withal, having proclaimed the Earl of Essex and his adherents, traytors, he had, in that word, comprehended both the houses of parliament, which is not only against the privileges of parliament, but the fundamental laws of the land. It was therefore agreed upon by

16 LIFE AND DEATH OF ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX.

both houses, that the Earl of Essex should go forward in advancing his forces according to his instructions, with all convenient speed; and to lay by the petition which was to be preferred to his majesty.

Much about this time the King advanced from Shrewsbury, with an army, consisting of six-thousand foot, three-thousand horse, and fifteen-hundred dragoons. His design was to march towards London with all his forces; of which the Earl of Essex being advertised, he advanced, with a resolution to encounter with them; and being a grave counselor, as well as a great commander, he desired the parliament, that the trained-bands, in and about the city of London, might be put in a readiness for their own defence; and that the city might be fortified, and an especial care taken to secure the persons of the chiefest of those malignant citizens, who were suspected to contrive mischief, and were able to perform it. Whereupon the house of parliament did order, that the trained-bands of London, Middlesex, and Surry, should forthwith be put into a readiness, and that the close committee should make a diligent enquiry, after the chief malignants of the city; and warrants were issued forth with power to apprehend them, and to bring them to the parliament.

On the 22d of October, his excellency the Earl of Essex did march to Kinton, with about twelve regiments of foot, and above forty troops of horse; he made haste to meet with the army of the King, and therefore was forced to leave behind him three regiments of foot, and ten troops of horse; for, the country being destitute of provision, it was thought requisite that they should not follow the main body of the army, in so swift a march. On the next morning intelligence was received, that the King's army was drawing near, with a resolution to encounter with the forces of his excellency. They had got the advantage of Edge-hill, which served them for a place of safe retreat, it being of a high and steep ascent. The Earl of Essex made a stand about half a mile from the hill, and did there draw forth his army into a body, and did set them in battalia: he marshalled the field with great judgment, having but little time to do it; which was no sooner done, but he beheld many regiments of the King's foot come down the hill, and there were a strong body of dragoons with them. The horse also came down in order, and placed themselves at the foot of the hill, on the right hand of our army. It was something long before their cannon and the rear of their foot could be brought down. Our foot were marshalled a good space behind our horse; three regiments of horse were on the right wing of our army, namely, the Lord General's regiment, commanded by Sir Philip Stapleton, who that day did excellent service; Sir William Belfore's regiment, who was lieutenant-general of the horse; and the Lord Feilding's regiment, which stood as a reserve unto them. In our left wing were twenty-four troops of horse, commanded by Sir James Ramsey, commissary-general.

The cannon on each side having discharged their cholerick errands, the enemy's foot advanced against our right wing, and they were gallantly received by Sir William Stapleton's and Sir William Belfore's regiments of horse, which were at that instant seconded by the noble Lord Robert's and Sir William Constable's regiments of foot, who

charged on the enemy's foot, with so much resolution, that they forced them, in great disorder, to shrowd themselves amongst their pikes. That day, Sir William Belfore shewed excellent demonstrations of his valour, for after this he charged a regiment of the enemy's foot, and broke quite through them, and cut many of them in pieces, and not long after, having received some assistance of foot, he defeated another regiment, and seized upon a part of the enemy's ordnance; but we did afterwards leave them, having none to guard them. The enemy's horse, on the left wing, had the better of ours; for, at the first shock, they routed them, and did beat them back upon our foot, and forced their way clean through Colonel Hollis's regiment; which struck such a terror to some other of our foot regiments, on the left wing, that four regiments, without striking one stroke, did run quite away, their officers being not able to stay them, who therefore came up to the van, in the right wing, and did extraordinary service, amongst which was Colonel Charles Essex, who, performing all the parts of a gallant soldier, was unfortunately shot in the thigh, of which, not long after, he died.

His Excellency perceiving that four regiments of the left wing of his army were fled, and never fought with, it doubled his resolution on the right wing, where, with undaunted valour, he charged the king's regiment: Once he charged with his own troop of horse, and often with his regiment of foot. An admirable man, who, for the safety of the kingdom, and to pluck the king from the hands of those that did mislead him, did this day admirable service. He was always at the head of his army, and, having at last got the advantage of the wind and ground, he charged the King's regiment so home (having the regiment of the Lord Brooks to assist him) that he utterly defeated it; he took the King's standard, and the Earl of Lindsey, General of the King's army: His son was also taken prisoner, and Lieutenant-Colonel Vavasor, who commanded that regiment; Sir Edward Varney, who carried the King's standard, was slain; the Lord Aubigny was also slain; Colonel Munroe, a great Commander on the King's side, was slain. Two regiments of the enemy's foot (the night coming on) retiring themselves towards the hill, found their ordnance without any guard at all, where they made a stand, and discharged many great shot against us. By this time the body of the enemy's horse, which had been pillaging the waggons at Kinton, had the leisure to wheel about, some on one hand of our army, and some on the other, and so at last they united themselves to the body of their foot; Sir Philip Stapleton, who did remarkable service this day, seeing in what disorder they came along, did ride forth with his troop, to charge four or five troops of theirs; which they perceiving, did put spurs unto their horses, and, with what speed they could, joined themselves with the rest of their broken troops, which had now recovered their foot that did guard their ordnance. Our horse were also gathered to our foot, and thus both armies of horse and foot stood one against another till night. This great victory being obtained, the Earl of Essex marched to Warwick, where he refreshed his army for a few days, where Mr. Marshall speaking of the admirable success of this battle; his excellency replied twice together, *That he never saw less of man in any thing than in this battle, nor more of God.*

18 LIFE AND DEATH OF ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX.

Not long after his excellency the Earl of Essex came to London, with several of his regiments of horse and foot, who, with much joy were entertained by the citizens. And, on the Lord's-day following, many good ministers, about the City of London, praised God for their safe return to their parents, friends, and masters.

About the 4th of November 1642, at a conference in the Painted Chamber, the Earl of Northumberland, in the name of the whole House of Peers, did acquaint the Commons, that the committee for the safety of the kingdom had some thoughts to send certain propositions to his Majesty, to prevent the farther effusion of blood, and to re-establish the peace of the kingdom, before which time they held it requisite to acquaint his excellency with it, who returned an answer to the Parliament to this effect;

That what he had done was in obedience to the commands of both Houses, and what they should command further he would be careful to obey: That he was now with his army, and could not leave his charge, to come, in person, to contribute any thing for his Majesty's honour, and the safety of the kingdom. That he believed the committee had such reasons for those propositions, as were laid on sure grounds; but withal, that he hoped that they had no fear of any weakness of his army, or that the courage of those who stood to it so stoutly, in the late battle, would fail them, if nothing but a second encounter must decide the matter, and end the quarrel.

There was now a treaty for Peace agreed upon on both sides, when behold, on a sudden, unexpected news is brought unto the parliament that the King's and parliament's forces were engaged at Brentford, and that prince Rupert, with about thirteen troops of horse, had (undiscovered to our scouts) taken the advantage of a misty morning, with a full resolution to cut off the forces of the parliament that were quartered thereabouts, and from thence to force his way to London, trusting, that, upon their approach so near unto the city, the malignants would rise in arms, and declare themselves for the King; but it pleased God so in mercy to ordain it, that he fell short of his expectation; for he was so well entertained at Brentford and Turnham-green, by colonel Hollis's regiment, and part of the lord Roberts's regiment, the regiment of colonel Hampden coming also to their assistance, that prince Rupert durst not adventure to make his approaches nearer to the city. And the parliament forthwith dispatched a committee to London, to raise all the forces both of horse and foot, to defend the city, and secure the out-works. Immediately his Excellency the Earl of Essex departed from London, and marched against the enemy, who, at the first shock, over-powered our forces by their number, who were many of them destitute both of powder, and all furniture of war: we lost in that service Serjeant-major Quarles, and Capt. Lacy, and many soldiers of inferior quality. Capt. Lilburn with some others were taken prisoners: there were diverse of the enemy slain, and many carts laden with their wounded, and their dead; besides, they buried many, very privately, to conceal the ignominy of their great loss.

Immediately after this the lord general caused a bridge to be made of long and flat-bottomed boats, over the river of Thames, from Fulham unto

LIFE AND DEATH OF ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX. 19

Putney (a sudden work of war) to prevent, and the better to enable his men to assault the cavaliers in their march from Kingston into the county of Kent; and to oppose them in their further invading the county of Surry.

This bridge, at each end, was fortified with ordnance and musqueteers to defend it from the enemy, who, at that time, had miserably plundered Kingston and some adjacent villages thereunto, and now, being full of the pillage of the towns of Brentford, Kingston, and other places, and not daring to attempt further, they were retiring towards Maidenhead, and from thence to Reading and Oxford, the seat of the court, and the rendezvous of the malignant army during the war.

The parliament (as they had just cause so to do) did, on this, publish a declaration, to testify to the world the carriage of the matter at Brentford, in the time of a treaty for the peace of the kingdom, to the end that all men, discerning how far they had been deceived with fair shows and bare pretences, might now, at last, stand upon their own defence, and their strongest guard, and to associate themselves together to defend and preserve their religion, laws, and liberty of parliament and kingdom; yea, themselves, their wives, and children from rapine and ruin, who were all concerned in the common danger now round about them; on this the counties of this kingdom did begin, by degrees, to associate themselves.

The King having, after this, made another motion for peace, and the parliament having made a fair answer to it; upon some new counsels, his majesty was so impatient as to reply:

That he looked on the parliament's answer, as penned by a malignant party in both houses, whose safety is built upon the ruin of this nation, who have chased his majesty, his peers, and commons from the parliament; the truth whereof, he said, might appear by the small number left; and, moreover, that they had raised an army to take away his life, and the life of his children, and that these rebels are now come to London; and, since they cannot snatch the crown from his head, they would invite him, tamely, to come up, and to lay it down. And, for the expressions of that accident at Brentford, his majesty hoped (if it be permitted by them to be published) that his declaration would satisfy his people.

The parliament, upon consideration of this, being compelled to look unto themselves, did resolve to forbear all further treaties, and gave order to his excellency, forthwith to advance with his army; and the rather, because, they understood, by an intercepted letter, sent unto Sir Edward Nicholas, that many experienced commanders, and, with them, great provision of money, arms, and ammunition, were designed, from Holland, to land at Newcastle, for the service of the King, and the advancement of this unnatural war.

This did set so sharp an edge on the affections of the city, that, whereas the Parliament did desire them to assist them with a loan of thirty-thousand pounds, to pay the army, they cheerfully subscribed to pay in threescore-thousand pounds, and would have made it a far greater sum, to further the lord general, the Earl of Essex, to proceed with his army

20 LIFE AND DEATH OF ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX.

to rescue his majesty from the hands of those, who detained him from his people and his parliament.

But the winter did now grow heavy, and immoderate showers of rain had so corrupted the ground, that the body of foot could not march, nor the train of artillery move; therefore, the lord general was informed to continue in his winter quarters, at Windsor, until the spring; howsoever, our horse did excellent service in the west, under the command of Sir Wm. Waller, and the right honourable the Lord Fairfax, and his renowned son, Sir Thomas Fairfax, achieved many glorious victories in the north, of which it is not so proper, in this place, to deliver the story, it being the task of this pen to express only those particular services, in which his excellency was personally present.

The spring now coming on, his excellency, about the middle of April, did quit his winter quarters, and advanced towards Oxford; he seemed to pass by Reading, to render that garrison more secure, and that, the chiefest strength being gone where the chiefest danger did appear, he might take Reading with the more ease and speed; having therefore, wheeled about, he unexpectedly came and sat down before Reading, and sent his trumpeter to the governor to surrender that town unto him, for the service of the King and parliament. Colonel Ashton, who was governor of it, returned a stubborn answer, that he would either keep the town or starve and die in it. Thereupon his excellency, taking compassion of the women and children, which were to undergo the common danger, he sent unto the governor, that they might be suffered to come forth, but this also was refused by the colonel.

Hereupon our soldiers began to intrench themselves, and daily to make their approaches nearer and nearer to the town; his excellency incamped on the west-part thereof betwixt Reading and Oxford, to hinder any relief that might come from Oxford to it. The enemy had many strong out-works, which were defended also by some main bulwarks; from those they continually plied us with their great and small shot, who were not remiss to answer them with advantage. They had in the garrison three thousand soldiers besides townsmen, many pieces of ordnance, and great store of provision and ammunition. The enemy had strongly fortified Causham hill which commands the whole town; from this place, by fine force, they were beaten and driven into their works nearer unto the town. This hill being gained, we instantly raised our batteries on it, which much annoyed the enemy, and, by this means, we got the opportunity with the greater safety, to make our approaches nearer unto their works, and in many places within less than half a musquet-shot; hereupon the enemy endeavoured to make some sallies, but they were always beaten in with loss. They had planted some ordnance in a steeple, believing that from that height they might play upon our men with more advantage; but our cannon were levelled against it with such dexterity, that both the caunions and cannon were quickly buried under the ruins of the steeple. After this, the enemies would not adventure themselves on towers, but kept for the most part in places more secure, our ordnance perpetually beating down the houses, and Colonel Ashton, the governor, being sorely wounded in the head, by the fall of bricks from a battered chimney, which made him the more will-

ing to offer the surrender of the town to my lord general, if his soldiers might have the honour to march away with bag and baggage; but his excellency did send him word, that he came for men, and not for the town only.

Whilst this was in agitation, intelligence was received that the King, Prince Rupert, and Prince Maurice were on their advance towards Reading, for the relief of the town; whereupon his Excellency did send out a strong party of horse and dragoons under the command of Colonel Middleton and Colonel Milles, who did beat up the enemies quarters at Dorchester, about seven miles from Oxford, and routed and surprised many of the King's horse, and a regiment of foot under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Vavasor, who was taken prisoner at Kinton, and afterwards released; he was absent in this service, but his captain lieutenant was taken prisoner. The King's standard was again in danger, and about one hundred and forty gallant horse were taken. Howsoever, the King continued his resolution for the raising of the siege at Reading, and, being advanced to Wallingford, he marched from thence towards Reading, with about nine regiments of horse, and nine regiments of foot, and twelve pieces of ordnance. His regiments of foot were but thin and empty. His excellency understanding of the approach of this army, and that his majesty himself and the two German princes were there in person, he commanded, that two regiments should be drawn forth to oppose them, which were the regiments of the Lord Roberts, and the regiment of Colonel Barclay; although the King's whole body of infantry were near, he only sent two regiments of his, the green and the red, to encounter these two regiments.

The fight was fiercely begun about Causham bridge, and on both sides excellent demonstrations of valour and resolution were expressed; at the first charge the Lord Roberts was absent from his regiment, but, hearing that they were engaged with the enemy, he did ride up with all speed unto them, and by his courage and example did admirably serve to expedite and increase the victory; after less than half an hour's fight, the enemy began to give ground, and leave many of their men behind them, and about three hundred arms; their horse also, which came down the hill to assist their foot, were gallantly repulsed, and forced to retreat to the hill from whence they came. There were about one hundred of the enemy slain upon the place, amongst whom Serjeant-major Smith was one, whose pockets being searched, there was found good store of gold. The number which were said to be slain, on our side, are so few, that I am afraid to name them, lest (being too short in my account) I should be accused to dissemble with the truth. I dare not grow too bold on the common report; there is, undoubtedly, a moderation with judgment to be used by all those who undertake to deliver to posterity the actions of their own, or foregoing times, which, whosoever, either through faction or affection, shall wilfully transgress, shall lose the grace of a true historian, and the reputation of an honest man.

The enemy being thus beaten in the field, and retreated unto Wallingford, his excellency, the Earl of Essex, did proceed in the treaty with the governor of Reading, for the surrender of the town. Colonel Bolles, Lieutenant Colonel Thelwell, and Serjeant-major Gilby were sent forth

22. LIFE AND DEATH OF ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX.

to treat on the articles for the surrender of it, and the Lord Rochford, Lieutenant Colonel Russel, and Serjeant-major King were sent in as hostages for their safe return. It was desired, in the town, that some might go to the King's army, to acquaint the commander in chief with the terms. This was granted, and, upon the return, his excellency received a letter from Prince Rupert, and not long after it was concluded on, that the town of Reading should be surrendered on these conditions :

I. That the enemy should march away with arms and ammunition, with colours flying, bag and baggage.

II. That those persons, who are not inhabitants, should have liberty to go away with their goods, except such as had been of the army of the parliament.

III. That those goods be excepted from the baggage of the soldiers which had been taken from those who were friends to the parliament, and from the western carriers.

IV. That they should have liberty to march to Wallingford, or Oxford, without any molestation from our forces, provided they offer no assault to any in the way.

V. That they shall carry but four pieces of ordnance, and the town not to be plundered either by them or by the forces of the parliament.

VI. That four and twenty hours be allowed them for the performance of their articles, and that they give up their outworks immediately, and three persons of quality as pledges for the faithful performance of these articles.

Not long after this it pleased Almighty God, to visit the army of the parliament with sickness, by which many of our young men perished, and the rest by reason of their weakness were disabled from doing any great service in the field. His excellency omitted nothing that might give redress unto them. Physick, and whatever else was thought expedient, was sent from London, and care was taken, both for money and cloaths for the soldiers; and, to make our condition yet worse, Sir William Waller had received some loss not far from Bristol, and the Marquis of Newcastle was grown very powerful in the north. In the mean time, the King, having possessed himself of Bristol, was marching up to London with a puissant army; in his way he summoned Gloucester, unwilling to leave any town behind to continue in the power of the parliament, and, Bristol being taken, disdained to sit down before a town and not to carry it; but the courage of the gallant governor, Col. Massey, was so remarkable, that he not only did put a stop to the furious march of the King, who, having gained Gloucester, would have forthwith advanced to London, but, by holding him in play, he gave an opportunity to his excellency to recruit his army, and, under God, was a principal instrument of the safety of this kingdom.

In extraordinary necessities, we do use extraordinary expedients; the trained-bands of the city of London, who, before, were never known to make so long a march out of the city, did now readily consent to lend their best assistance, and, to their eternal honour, preferring the publick,

LIFE AND DEATH OF ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX. 23

before their private good, they resolved to adventure their own lives, to preserve the city, state, and kingdom.

In this resolution they met his excellency on Hounslow-Heath, who being right glad to see them, he thanked them for their love, and applauded them for their courage, and uniting the armies both into one, he forthwith marched to the relief of Gloucester, which, at that time, did much need the assistance of so brave an army. The King's forces, with great violence, did prosecute the siege, which continued from the tenth of August, to the fifth of September, on which day, the enemy hearing of the approach of his excellency, did begin to send away their carriages, and their foot and horse did march after them, and the besieged (it being a day set a-part for a publick fast) did turn it into a day of joy, and paid unto God their humble thanks, for so gracious a deliverance.

We have not the liberty to give unto you the discourse of this siege at large, because it doth not so properly belong unto this subject: it may suffice, that, as it was raised by the prowess of the most noble the Earl of Essex, so it was most resolutely sustained by the valour, industry and dexterity of the heroick governor, Colonel Massey, who contrived all stratagems, and occasioned all the sallies, for the ruin of his enemy, and the protection of the city.

The city of Gloucester being thus bravely relieved, and the siege raised, his excellency, the Earl of Essex, did prepare to follow the enemy, who always fled before him, and refused to stand to the hazard of a battle. The earl perceiving that the main intent of the enemy was to cut off all provision from his army, he made a bridge over the river of Severn, as if he would march to Worcester, to amuse the enemy, and to cause them to draw part of their forces that way, which accordingly they did; and, on a sudden, he wheeled about another way, and marched to Tewksbury, and from thence to Cirencester, where he found two regiments of the King's horse, which were but newly entered into the service. In one of their standards, the invention was the effigies of the parliament-house, with two traytors heads fixed on two poles on the top thereof; the inscription was this, *Sicut extra sic intus*; which is, *as without, so within*. The indignity whereof left such a just impression of disdain in the breasts of the parliament, that it was voted, that the contriver of this ignominious invention should be strictly searched out, and, being known, that he should be for ever banished the kingdom, as being unworthy to live in the English air. This good service was performed about two of the clock in the morning, the enemy, for the most part, being taken prisoners in their beds, and their horses feeding in the stables: there was also a magazine of victuals seized on, which was a welcome booty to our soldiers. There were taken, in all, four-hundred prisoners, and as many soldiers.

From hence his excellence marched into Wiltshire, and, being advanced towards Auburn-hills, he had a sight of his majesty's horse, which appeared in several great bodies, and were so marshalled to charge our army of foot, being then on their march in several divisions; which caused our foot to unite themselves into one gross, our horse perpetually skirmishing with them, to keep them off from the foot. In the mean

24 LIFE AND DEATH OF ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX.

time, the dragoons on both sides gave fire in full bodies on one another, on the side of the hill, that the woods above, and the vallies below, did eccho with the thunder of the charge. There were about fourscore slain upon the place, and more than as many more were sorely wounded.

Our horse also made a great impression upon the queen's regiment of horse, and charged them again and again, and cut in pieces many of her life-guard. In this service, the Marquis of Vivile was taken prisoner: it seems he would not be known who he was; but endeavouring to rescue himself from a lieutenant that took him prisoner, and there-upon, having his head almost cloven asunder with a pole-ax, he acknowledged himself, in the last words he spoke, which were, *Vous voyez un grand Marquis mourant*; that is, you see a great marquis dying. His dead body was carried to Hungerford, by the lord general's command. It had not been long there, but the King did send a trumpet to his excellency, conceiving that the marquis had been wounded only, and taken prisoner, and desired that his chirurgeons and doctors might have free access unto him for his recovery. His excellency certified the trumpet that he was dead, and returned his body to the King, to receive those funeral rites as his majesty would give it. Some say, that his body was ransomed for three-hundred pieces of gold.

His excellency being come to Hungerford, the army of his majesty, which was more numerous in horse, had got before him, and was advanced towards Newbury, and sweeping the country before them, had left it destitute of provision, insomuch that, his excellency finding little or nothing at Hungerford, to satisfy the necessity of his army, he was forced to march away that night towards Newbury, to which place (although it is but seven miles distance) it was the next day before he came; when he was within two miles of it, he did understand, by his scouts, that the whole army of the King were at hand, and that they had not only possessed themselves of Newbury, but that they had made themselves masters of all advantages that could be desired, for the disposing of the battle.

Their main body did stand in a large plain, and were resolute and ready to receive our forces, which in the van, were to pass through a lane unto them, in which but six men could march on breast.

Besides, by this means, our foot were deprived in those places of the succours of our horse, and our cannon was made unprofitable. Neither was this all, for our army was also in great danger to be charged in the rear; and therefore, the most worthy Major Skippon was called off from the front, to provide a valiant remedy against all dangers that should invade the rear. All that night our army lay in the fields, impatient of the sloth of darkness, and wishing for the morning's light, to exercise their valour; and the rather, because the King had sent a challenge over night to the lord general, to give him battle the next morning. A great part of the enemy's army continued also in the field, incapable of sleep, their enemy being so nigh; and, sometimes looking on the ground, they thought upon the melancholy element of which they were composed, and to which they must return; and sometimes looking up, they observed the silent marches of the stars, and the moving scene of heaven.

LIFE AND DEATH OF ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX. 25

The day no sooner did appear, but they were marshalled into order, and advanced to the brow of the hill; and not long after, the ordnance was planted, and the whole body of their horse and foot stood in battalia. The officers and commanders of their foot did many of them leave off their doublets, and, with daring resolution, did bring on their men; and, as if they came rather to triumph than to fight, they, in their shirts, did lead them up to the battle.

The first that gave the charge, was the most noble Lord Roberts, whose actions speak him higher than our epithets. He performed it with great resolution, and, by his own example, shewed excellent demonstrations of valour to his regiment: the cavalry of the enemy performed also their charge most bravely, and gave in with a mighty impression upon him. A prepared body of our army made haste to relieve him. Upon this, two regiments of the King's horse, with a fierce charge, saluted the blue regiment of the London trained-bands, who gallantly discharged upon them, and did beat them back; but they, being no whit daunted at it, wheeled about, and on a sudden charged them; our musqueteers did again discharge, and that with so much violence and success, that they sent them now, not wheeling, but reeling from them; and yet, for all that, they made a third assault, and coming in full squadrons, they did the utmost of their endeavour to break through our ranks; but a cloud of bullets came at once so thick from our musquets, and made such a havock amongst them, both of men and horse, that, in a fear, full of confused speed, they did fly before us, and did no more adventure upon so warm a service.

In the mean time, Sir Philip Stapleton performed excellent service with the lord general's regiment of horse, and five times together did charge the enemy: but, above all, the renown and glory of this day is most justly due unto the resolution and conduct of our general; for, before the battle was begun, he did ride from one regiment to another, and did inflame them with courage, and perceiving in them all an eager desire to battle with their enemies, he collected to himself a sure promise of victory to come. I have heard, that when, in the heat and tempest of the fight, some friends of his did advise him to leave off his white hat, because it rendered him an object too remarkable to the enemy: No, replied the earl, it is not the hat, but the heart, the hat is not capable either of fear or honour. He, himself, being foremost in person, did lead up the city regiment, and when a vast body of the enemy's horse had given so violent a charge, that they had broken quite through it, he quickly rallied his men together, and, with undaunted courage, did lead them up the hill. In his way he did beat the infantry of the King from hedge to hedge, and did so scatter them, that hardly any of the enemy's foot appeared at that present to him, to keep together in a body. After six hours long fight, with the assistance of his horse, he gained those advantages which the enemy possessed in the morning, which were the hill, the hedges, and the river.

In the mean time, a party of the enemy's horse, in a great body, wheeled about, and about three quarters of a mile below the hill, they did fall upon the rear of our army, where our carriages were placed. To relieve which, his excellency sent a selected party from the hill to

26 LIFE AND DEATH OF ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX.

assist their friends, who were deeply engaged in the fight. These forces, marching down the hill, did meet a regiment of horse of the enemy's, who, in their hats, had branches of furs and broom, which our army did that day wear, for distinction-sake, to be known by one another from their adversaries, and they cried out to our men, Friends, Friends; but, they being discovered to be enemies, our men gave fire upon them, and having some horse to second the execution, they did force them farther from them: our men being now marched to the bottom of the hill, they increased the courage of their friends, and, after a sharp conflict, they forced the King's horse to fly with remarkable loss, having left the ground strewed with the carcases of their horses and riders.

In the mean time, his excellency, having now planted his ordnance on the top of the hill, did thunder against the enemy, where he found their numbers to be thickest; and the King's ordnance (being yet on the same hill) did play with the like fury against the forces of his excellency: the cannon on each side did dispute with one another, as if the battle was but new begun. The trained-bands of the city of London endured the chiefest heat of the day, and had the honour to win it; for being now upon the brow of the hill, they lay not only open to the horse, but the cannon of the enemy; yet they stood undaunted, and conquerors against all; and, like a grove of pines in a day of wind and tempest, they only moved their heads or arms, but kept their footing sure, unless, by an improvement of honour, they advanced forward, to pursue their advantage on their enemies.

Although the night did now draw on, yet neither of the armies did draw off: the enemy's horse, in a great body, did stand on the furthest side of the hill, and the broken remainders of their foot, behind them, and having made some pillage, about the middle of the night, they drew off their ordnance, and retreated unto Newbury: on the next morning, his excellency, being absolute master of the field, did marshal again his soldiers into order to receive the enemy, if he had any stomach to the field, and to that purpose discharged a piece of ordnance, but no enemy appearing, he marched towards Reading.

The loss which the King's forces received, in this memorable battle, is remarkable, for besides the multitudes that were carried away in carts, there were divers found, that were buried in pits and ditches. There were many personages of note and honour slain, as the Earl of Carnarvan, the Earl of Sunderland, the Lord of Faulkland, more famous for his pen, than for his sword, Colonel Morgan, Lieutenant Colonel Fielding, Mr. Strode, and others: there were hurt the Lord Andover, Sir Charles Lucas, Colonel Charles Gerrard, Colonel Fevers, the Earl of Carlisle, the Earl of Peterborough, Lieutenant Colonel George Lisle, Sir John Russel, Mr. Edward Sackville, Mr. Henry Howard, Mr. George Porter, Mr. Progers, Colonel Darcy, Lieutenant Colonel Edward Villars, with many more of note and eminence whose names are unknown unto us.

On the parliament side, there were slain, Colonel Tucker, Captain George Massey, and Captain Hunt, and not any more of quality, that I can learn; but before his excellency advanced towards London, he did direct his ticket to Mr. Fulke, minister of the parish of Enburn, ad-

LIFE AND DEATH OF ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX. 27

joining unto Newbury, and to the constables thereof, giving them strict command to bury the dead, which followeth in these words:

THESE are to will and require, and straightly charge and command you, forthwith, upon sight hereof, to bury all the dead bodies, lying in, and about Enburn and Newbury-wash, as you, or any of you, will answer the contrary, at your utmost perils.

Dated, September 21,
1643.

ESSEX.

His majesty having understood the pious care of his excellency, for the burial of the dead, on both sides, he issued out his warrant to the Mayor of Newbury, for the recovery of the wounded that were taken prisoners on our side, which we have here inserted :

OUR will and command is, that you forthwith send into the towns and villages adjacent, and bring thence, all the sick and hurt soldiers of the Earl of Essex's army, and although they be rebels, and deserve the punishment of traytors, yet out of our tender compassion upon them, being our subjects, our will and pleasure is, that you carefully provide for their recovery, as well as for those of our own army, and then to send them unto Oxford.

His excellency's forces had not marched above three or four miles from Newbury, but they perceived, that a strong party of the enemy made haste to follow them, who were commanded by the Earl of Northampton, and the Lord Wilmot ; Prince Rupert was also there in person ; they took our forces, upon a great advantage in a narrow lane, expecting no enemy so near at hand. Our London brigade marched in the rear, and there was a forlorn hope of six-hundred musqueteers, that marched in the rear of them : but our horse, that brought up our rear, perceiving so strong a body of horse and foot so near at hand, and conceiving themselves not able to oppose them, in great confusion and disorder, they made their way through our own foot, and trampled on many of them, in that height of fear, under their horses feet. Howsoever, although this confusion of our horse did put our foot into some disorder, yet remembering the gallant service performed by them, the day before, and not willing now to lose their honour, which they knew was gained by fighting, and not by flying, they made a stand, and discharged ten drakes at the enemy, who with great fury did assault them, with their cavalry, and had lined the hedges with their foot. The lane on our rear was so crouded with the enemy, that the execution which the drakes performed was very violent, for it did beat down both horse and man, and in the midst of the lane made a new lane amongst them. The fall of these men was the rise of the courage of their companions, and thereupon adding fury to their valour, and desperateness to their fury, they adventured on the mouth of our ordnance, and on the jaws of death, and became masters of two of our drakes. In the mean time, a selected party of our foot were drawn out of the lane, into a field,

28 LIFE AND DEATH OF ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX.

where, on the second charge (so hot was the service) they forced the enemy's foot, who lined the hedges, to betake themselves unto their heels, and through the hedges, so gauled the enemy with the shot, that about one hundred of them lost their lives upon the place, and the rest did fly for their safety, and were well content to leave the prize, which they had taken, and the purchase of our two drakes behind them. It is most certain, and the papers printed at Oxford do confirm it, that Prince Rupert, in this last service, had three horses shot under him; peradventure he was one of those, who in the vanity of their morning mirth, did boast at Newbury, that although the roundheads were marching unto Reading, they would make calves of many of them, before they came unto the *Veal*.

The enemy in this manner being beaten back, the forces of the parliament, who had expressed themselves to be gallant men, had afterwards an unmolested march unto the *Veal*, and the next day to Reading, where having reposed themselves for a few days, they marched in triumph unto London, their companies so full, that it hardly could be discerned, where any were missing; with a general consent, they declared their cheerful resolution, that whensoever his excellency, their heroick general, should command their service, they would most readily advance with him, and esteem it their greatest happiness, to partake with him in the honour of his dangers; the lord mayor and the aldermen of the city did meet the trained bands at Temple-bar, and entertained them with great joy, and they had many thousand welcomes from the people, as they passed in martial order through the streets. His excellency also [being come to London] had solemn thanks returned him by the parliament for his faithful unwearied services for the state and kingdom; and now, the winter coming on, he had the leisure for a while to refresh himself, and to make new provisions for war against the ensuing spring, to reduce peace unto the kingdom, and the King unto his parliament, and Oxford and the malignant garisons in the west, to the obedience of both; and this great work must ask some time, for the preparations of it.

Therefore on Monday, May the 13th, he sent his carriages from London, his soldiers were marched away before, and on Tuesday May the 14th, very early in the morning, he followed after them, towards Oxford. The gallant commander Sir William Waller advanced with him, but at some distance to ease the countries, through which they marched, and great care was taken to punish all disorders in his soldiers, as may appear by this his proclamation:

ROBERT, Earl of Essex, Captain General of the Army, employed for the Defence of the Protestant Religion, King, Parliament, and Kingdom.

WHEREAS these countries have been very much afflicted and oppressed by the enemy, and we are now come to relieve them of their hard bondage: it is therefore my express will and pleasure, and I do hereby straightly charge and command all officers, and soldiers, of

horse, foot, and dragoons, belonging to the army, under my command, that they, and every of them, due forthwith, after proclamation hereof made, forbear (notwithstanding any pretence whatsoever) to plunder or spoil any of the goods of the inhabitants of these countries, or to offer any violence, or other prejudice unto them, upon pain of death, without mercy.

Given under my hand and seal.

ESSEX.

His excellency being now in the field, with a resolution to encounter with the King's armies, wheresoever he could meet them, he received intelligence, that the Earl of Forth, and the Lord Hopton, had made a late muster of them upon Wantage Downs. There is no where to be found a fairer place for two armies, to try the justice of their cause by battle: But they, hearing that the Earl of Essex was advancing towards them, retired towards Abingdon; his excellency did send a party after them, of three-thousand horse and foot, which were commanded by the Field-Marshal, the most noble Lord Roberts, and by Sir Philip Stapleton, lieutenant general of the horse, who advanced towards them, with so much resolution, that in some disorder they abandoned the town, which was immediately entered by the Lord Roberts, his excellency, with the main body of the army, following after, and intending to take up his quarters in that town himself.

The enemy, at their departure, had drawn off their artillery, and took with them their magazine, which they did send to Oxford, but a great body of their army, consisting of five-thousand horse and foot, and commanded by the Lord Hopton, did march by Oxford unto Islip, which is in the way to Worcester, and there they took up quarters for one night; but Captain Temple, who was sent from Newport-pagnel with some troops of horse to discover only, and not to charge the enemy, being in the height of his youth, and full of the gallant fire of courage, and finding withal so fit an opportunity, he resolved to beat up the enemy's quarters; which he performed with so much resolution and success, that he took fifty brave horses, eighteen prisoners, whereof one was a knight, eight packs of kersey, which came from Exeter, and 150*l.* in ready money, and gave such an alarm to the enemy, that they fled from Islip to Oxford, crying out, Essex was at their heels; which did strike such a terror into them at Oxford, that they did shut the gates of the city, and for a while (until better information was received) they would not suffer Colonel Aston's own troop to enter, which was one of the three troops which this gallant captain did so bravely rouse in their quarters at Islip.

Not long after, the Earl of Essex, having first rode round about the city of Oxford, and taken a perfect view of it, did sit down before it, with so powerful an army, that his Majesty on Monday, June the third, about twelve of the clock at night, did take horse, attended with certain troops who carried some foot mounted behind them: There followed him thirty coaches of ladies, who, conceiving that Oxford would be besieged, were unwilling to endure the fury of the siege, and therefore the danger

30 LIFE AND DEATH OF ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX.

being manifest, and our armies almost round about them, in great tumult and disorder they hurried away, leaving behind them many costly moveables, which afterwards became a rich booty to their unfaithful servants.

The King being gone, immediately the intelligence thereof was brought unto his Excellency, and the active and vigilant Sir William Waller was desired to attend him, who being come to Whitney, with his forces, which is but five miles from Burford, where the King then was, his Majesty's scouts came galloping in, and brought the sad news that our forces were at hand: On this, in a great fright, they all cried out, *To horse, to horse*; and the King, with his sword drawn, did ride about the town, to hasten his men away.

About a day or two after, his Majesty's forces, in a flying march, did come to Parshaw bridge, which they pulled up, and (necessity being the mother of invention) they laid loose boards upon stones, for a party of their forces then behind to pass over: which being done, they intended to take the boards away, to hinder the passage of Sir William Waller's forces that were in their pursuit; but, this party being come to the bridge, and hastily passing over it, the loose boards did slip from the stones, and they who were upon the bridge did fall into the river, and were drowned: The valiant Sir William Waller did lose no time to overtake the forces of the King: And his Excellency well knowing what a considerable and sufficient strength he had to prosecute the pursuit, and believing that Colonel Massey would join his forces with him, he resolved to march westward, and, with what speed he could, to send relief to the distressed town of Lyme; but, before the forces intended could arrive, Prince Maurice was gone, and the siege raised by our renowned Lord Admiral, the Right Honourable the Earl of Warwick.

This town being thus seasonably relieved (where the besieged, both male and female, and of all ages shewed incomparable examples of fortitude and patience, to the wonder of their adversaries, and of generations to come) the Lord Admiral did advertise his Excellency, that, for the more speedy reducing of the west, he would be assistant to him, and to that purpose, that, as he moved by land, he would sail by sea, to attend him in his marches. The town of Weymouth, a Haven-town, was summoned, which, understanding that his excellency the Earl of Essex was coming before it by land, and the Lord Admiral by sea, it presently did submit unto the noble Sir William Belfore, who did summon it for his Excellency, upon conditions, that the commanders and officers should go away on horse-back, with their swords and pistols, and the common soldiers only with staves in their hands: There were taken in the town twenty-seven pieces of ordnance, fifty pieces lying in the harbour, and all the ships in it, and near unto it, and above an hundred barrels of powder, besides much arms and ammunition.

His excellency being now come into the center of the west, the countries round about did come in unto him, and the garisons did surrender at the first sound of his trumpet; they opened their gates to entertain his army, and they opened their hearts to entertain himself. There came unto him at Chard, within the circuit of twelve miles, at least four-thousand men, who were all in one meadow drawn into ranks and files, where his excellency came in person to welcome them, and the Lord

Roberts, Lord Marshal of the Field, made them an excellent speech, which they received with loud and repeated acclamations, offering to live and die, in the cause of the Parliament, as their friends at Dorchester did before them.

Much about the same time, his excellency having understood that Prince Maurice had drawn a great part of the garison from Barnstable, and the inhabitants being confident of his assistance and approach, the other part of the garison being marched forth upon some plundering design, they resisted them upon their return, and would not grant admittance to them; and a party of horse commanded by the Lord Roberts, and Sir Philip Stapleton, came so opportunely to their aid, that they chased them from that garison, and, being received themselves with great joy, they became absolute masters of it for the Parliament.

Not long after, the most noble the Lord Roberts was designed by his Excellency to march into Cornwall, which did so encourage the garison of Plymouth, that they did put on a gallant resolution to make a sally forth; which they so well performed, that, about seven miles from Plymouth, they did beat up a quarter of their enemies, and took forty-four horse, with their riders; and although that Sir Richard Greenville did attempt to rescue them, with a considerable strength, he was beaten off, and forced to fly in great disorder, with the loss of divers of his ablest men. In this service two of the chiefest commanders of the enemy were slain, and Colonel Digby, brother to George Lord Digby, was wounded in the face, and Greenville himself, who before had lost his honour, was so close put to it, that he was in apparent danger of the loss of his life.

The conclusion of one victory was the beginning of another; for this gallant service was no sooner atchieved, but his excellency understood the glad tidings of the taking of Taunton Castle, by the forces which he sent thither, under the command of Sir Robert Pye, and Colonel Blake. This was a castle-town, and of great strength and great concernment, as in the year following the enemies proved to their cost, who, with a mighty power, did lie long before it, but were never able to take it, either by force, or by persuasion. In it they found four iron pieces, six murtherers, great store of arms, of ammunition, and provision.

His excellency was now on his march towards Plymouth, which his enemies no sooner understood, but, though they were at least three thousand strong, they presently abandoned their holds, and retreated into Cornwall. By this means his excellency possessed himself of Mount-Stamford, Plimpton, Salt-Ash, and divers other small garisons, with their ordnance, which, by reason of the strength of their fear, and the apprehension of their sudden danger, they were not able to draw off. From these places adjoining unto Plymouth, his excellency advanced towards Tavistock: Here Sir Richard Greenville's house was stormed, the enemy, in vain, hanging out a white flag, and desiring parley; quarter for life was granted to all, the Irish excepted. In this house were taken two pieces of cannon, eight hundred arms and more, a great quantity of rich furniture, and three-thousand pounds in money and in plate. Sir Richard Greenville was not here in person; he was retired to Newbridge, which is a passage into Cornwall, which he strongly guarded, but the forces of his excellency, after some dispute, did beat him from it, hav-

32 LIFE AND DEATH OF ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX.

ing slain about an hundred and fifty of the enemy, and taken many prisoners, and become masters of that passage: Lancaster at the first approach of his excellency did submit itself unto his mercy: From Newbridge Sir Richard Greenville retreated, or rather fled to Horsebridge, but the right valiant the Lord Roberts did pursue him with his brigade, and forced his passage over the bridge; and, about Lestuthiel, overtook him, and encountered with him: He found his forces to be stronger than fame had at the first reported them. But valour regards not numbers, for he charged on them with such dexterity, judgment, success, and resolution, that he covered the place with the carcasses of his enemies, and took about one hundred and fifty of them prisoners. Immediately upon this, Bodwin, Tadcaster, and Foy did stoop unto his excellency, and that with such willing humility, that they seemed rather to honour and embrace than to fear their conqueror: a conqueror he was, who overcame his enemies as much by his goodness as his greatness, and obliged them rather by his humanity than his power.

His majesty understanding that his excellency, with his army, was advanced into Cornwall, he was resolved to march after him, for he found that his army did daily increase in number, the presence of a prince, by a secret attraction, always prevailing on the affections of the people; whereupon his excellency did write unto the Parliament, that a considerable party might be sent unto him, to charge the rear of his Majesty's army, whilst he did fall upon the van, which might prove a speedy and a happy means for the securing of the King's person, and for the concluding of the war. He advertised them, that he found the people to be a wild and disproportioned body of several and uncertain heads, and uncertain hearts, and that they were apt to profane in the evening, what with so much zeal and joy they received in the morning. He desired that money might be sent unto him, to encourage his soldiers, and to confirm the people.

But his majesty, although he was marched up after his excellency, and was now about Exeter, was forced to send for provisions for his army into Somersetshire, of which Lieutenant-General Middleton having received intelligence, he valiantly encountered their convoy, and took many of their horse, and seized on many of their carriages.

Not long after he encountered with Sir Francis Dorrington's and Sir William Courtney's forces, which consisted of a considerable body of horse and dragoons, and, although the dragoons had lined the hedges, he did beat them from them, and, with great resolution charging the horse, at the first encounter he did rout them, and pursued the victory almost as far as the town of Bridgewater. In this service he took some commanders prisoners, divers troopers, and fourscore horse. Much about the same time, a pernicious design of the enemy, to blow up his excellency's train of artillery, was wonderfully discovered and prevented.

His excellency, with a labouring expectation, did attend the supplies of men and money to be sent unto him. The armies of the King, and of his excellency, were now drawn near, and daily facing one another. A party of the enemy, consisting of about three-hundred horse, had one morning cast themselves into three divisions, and, advancing near his excellency's quarters, did dare our men to an encounter: the gallant young gentleman Major Archibald Straughan, not able to endure the

indignity, desired of his excellency, that he might have leave to charge them, but with one hundred horse. His excellency applauding his courage did easily condescend unto it.

He received the first impression of the enemy without stirring from the place whereon he stood, and not firing on the enemy, until they came breast unto breast, he made such a havock amongst them, that many of them were observed to fall to the ground together, and the rest began to fly. Encouraged with this success, he charged the second division, and that with so much fury, that they began to fly in great confusion, not able to endure the shock and tempest of the charge.

After this he charged the third division, and having his men well armed, their pistols being all before discharged, they did now fall in pell-mell upon them with their swords, and did soon force them, by an ignominious speed, to fly to the main body of their army for their protection. The King himself was then in person in the field, and was a sad beholder of this slaughter, and disorder of his men.

For this brave service his excellency rewarded this victorious Major, who was a gentleman of Scotland, with many thanks, and appellations of honour, and with a gallant horse, esteemed to be worth one hundred pounds.

His excellency having a long time waited for the supplies of ammunition, money, and men, and finding that none arrived, he much wondered at the cause; and the rather, because that he was so straitened, by the iniquity of the place wherein he was encamped, that his horse had no room for forage, and he found the army of his enemy did daily increase in number, and in power; wherefore a council of war being called, it was concluded, that three thousand of our horse, under the command of the resolute Sir William Belfore, should break through the main body of the enemy, which was accordingly performed; and that with such a tempest, that they did bear down many of the enemy before them, and snatched from them several colours, which they brought with them safe to Plymouth, as the testimony of their valour: his excellency disposed of himself to sea, attended with the Lord Roberts. He took shipping at Foy, and the seas danced to receive him whom our land was not worthy of. He landed first at Plymouth, and not long after he put to sea again, and safely arrived at Southampton.

In the mean time, the most resolute Major-General Skippon, improving his necessity into a virtue, did gallantly encourage his soldiers, who were all resolved to live and die, like soldiers, with him; and, the forces of the enemy advancing towards them, they were received with such undaunted courage, that the enemy were forced, for their own safety, not only to give them quarter, but to condescend to very honourable articles on our parts, but those articles were violated, and that almost in the face of the King.

I have been often informed, that Major-General Skippon, being disappointed of his scarlet coat, his case of pistols, and rapier, did ride up unto the King, and, very roundly, told him of the violation of the articles by his soldiers, as at all times in general, so at this present in particular. The King, not well remembering him, did ask him who he was; he replied, that his name was Skippon. The King demanded who were

34 LIFE AND DEATH OF ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX.

those soldiers who had thus injured him; he shewed them to his Majesty, for, as yet, they continued within the reach of his eye; they were about nine in number.

Immediately, the Marshal was called, and those soldiers were apprehended; seven of the nine were condemned to the tree, and suffered according to their sentence.

I do believe, therefore, that his Majesty was not accessory to this perfidious rudeness of his soldiers, which though, peradventure, it had a connivance and a toleration from others, it received a punishment from him. But the protesting Cornish, who, before the advance of his majesty's army, had so freely devoted themselves to the obedience of the Parliament, and the commands of his Excellency, did shew the deepest dissimulation, and expressed the greatest inhumanity that could be put in execution; for they stripped our soldiers stark naked from head to foot, and left them nothing to comfort themselves in this distress, but the fellowship and the number of the distressed.

In this condition of innocence and injury, they came unto Southampton; but the indignity thereof in lively characters was written in their breasts, and will shortly be revenged by their hands. And, indeed, not long after they did meet them again at Newbury, and forgetting almost the military order to actuate their revenge, they did fall upon them like so many lions, and, having made a great slaughter of them, they did redeem their clothes, with the destruction of their adversaries, who, having nothing to cover them but their own blood, they did remain, the next day, a woeful spectacle to the conquerors.

His Excellency was not then present, but, remembering his virtue, they fought by his example; he was about that time at Southampton, sick in body and in mind.

There is no man who by honourable dangers did ever adventure more for wounds than he, and yet in all the wars he managed he never received any hurt, but what he did take inwardly, which, by a magnanimous and gallant patience, he admirably always both concealed and cured.

The wisdom of the parliament thought it now expedient to call home those commanders in chief, who conducted their armies in the field, that, after the great service performed for the state, the kingdom might now enjoy as much benefit by the strength of their counsels, as it received safety by their arms; and, indeed, who can give better instructions for the field, than those who have been the leaders of our armies in it?

His Excellency, with as much cheerfulness, was ready to lay down his arms, as with resolution he did take them up; and, joining with the parliament, as well in person and presence, as in affection, he did much advance and facilitate the victories to come.

And now, about the latter end of March, there was a conference between both houses of parliament, concerning the new model for the settling of the army, the former commanders being called to sit in the houses of parliament. It was before ordered, that Sir Thomas Fairfax should be commander in chief of twenty-one thousand horse and foot, to be selected for this service, and that Major-General Skippon, now governor of Bristol, should be major-general of the whole army. At

this conference there was a perfect concurrence of the House of Lords with the House of Commons, concerning the ratification of the list of Sir Thomas Fairfax's officers, in which was made no alteration at all. And this was, indeed, so acceptable to the House of Commons, that, upon report thereof unto the house, they appointed a committee to prepare a messenger to the Lords, to congratulate their happy concurrence, and to assure them of the real affection, and endeavours of the House of Commons, to support their lordships in their honours and their privileges. And now, an ordinance was drawn up for raising of money to maintain this army; which army was shortly after compleated, and with admirable success did take the field under the command of the renowned Sir Thomas Fairfax, the particulars whereof shall be the happy labour of some other pen, and not of this, which precisely only must depend upon the relations of the actions and saving counsels of his Excellency the Earl of Essex.

Long did he thus continue a mighty agent for the health of this land, until it pleased God to strike him with a violent, a sudden, and a fatal sickness; and now, being confined to his bed, he had no more to do with his hands, but to lift them up to heaven, and his tongue was the orator to render their devotion the more acceptable. It was the force of his body that overcame his foes by arms, but it was the humility of his soul that overcame the Almighty by his prayers, which being a conquest for the body not to attain unto, the exalted soul hath now presented the laurels which the body had won for the cause of the Almighty. And these being laid down at the feet of God, they will be reserved in a temple not built with hands, until both soul and body shall be united, and, in the perfection of joy, shall triumph through all eternity.

The same love, which did follow him alive, did continue to his death; many of the nobility being always round about his bed, and attending him with their grief, whom they could not relieve with their greatness. My lord of Holland had his hand so locked in his, when the coldness and sloth of death had begun to make heavy both his understanding and his limbs, that he used some strength to get it from him, as if by this, at his departure, he would leave some earnest behind him, that he would carry with him the love of his friends into a better world.

And thus, having made peace with heaven, and peace with earth, he departed this life on the fourteenth of September, leaving, in all nations, to a world of those that honoured him the grief of his loss, the lustre of his transcendent virtues, and the attractive example of them, which, whosoever shall inherit, shall become the wonder and delight of this age, the lively model and portraict of himself, and the immortal heir of his fame and glory.

A MOST LEARNED AND ELOQUENT SPEECH,

Spoken or delivered in the

Honourable House of Commons at Westminster,

By the most learned lawyer, Miles Corbet, Esq. recorder of Great Yarmouth, and Burgess of the same, on the thirty-first of July, 1647, taken in short-hand by Nocky and Tom Dunn, his clerks, and revised by John Taylor.

This was a fictitious speech, published in the year 1679, intended to expose the bombast of the rebellious speakers, as well as the real misfortunes, which the nation laboured under by the usurpation, in those times of anarchy and rebellion.

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Mr. Speaker,

I KNOW not how to speak, I know no man weaker than myself, who do acknowledge, I am as unfitting to speak in this honourable assembly, as Phormio was to prattle an oration of war's discipline to the great soldier Hannibal, in the presence of King Antiochus; yet, out of the debility of my knowledge, the inability of my learning, the imbecility of my judgment, the nobility of this conscript senate, the mutability of their censures, the instability of opinions, the probability of offending, the volubility of scandal, and the impotency of my utterance, I have, (maugre all these perillous impediments) adventured to unbesom and disburthen my mind before these unmatched patriots.

Mr. Speaker, I am not ignorant that you are appointed in this parliament, to be the ear of this kingdom, and mouth of the commons; and I desire that your hearing may not take any offence against my words; nor your tongue to retort me a reproof, instead of an applause.

Mr. Speaker, in my introduction to grammar, vulgarly call *the Accidence*, I found eight parts of speech, which is now an introduction to me to divide my speech into eight parts; that is to say:

- I. What we have done for religion.
- II. What we have done for the church.
- III. What for the King.
- IV. What for the laws.
- V. What for the kingdom.
- VI. What for the subjects.
- VII. What for reformation.
- VIII. What for ourselves.

A MOST LEARNED AND ELOQUENT SPEECH, &c. 37

Of all these in order, as my infirm loquacity can demonstrate.

Mr. Speaker, I do not herein declare either or neither the opinions of this honourable assembly, or any fancy of my own, but I will make plain unto you, how the malignants esteem of us, and into what *odium* we are fallen amongst foreign nations.

First, for religion : They say we have thrust out one religion, and taken in two ; that we have thrown down protestantism, and erected anabaptism and brownism ; that by our doctrines we do abuse the famous memory of Queen Elisabeth, King James, and consequently King Charles ; that in their religion they were papistically minded (which their lives and acts have and do manifest the contrary) and they say, it is no less than odious, and high treason, to traduce either of those deceased or surviving princes, with such false and scandalous aspersions.

Mr. Speaker, I would not be mistaken ; I say not my own words, but I say what the malignants say of my Lord Say and of us. They say, that the protestant religion was wont to be, and ought, an *inward* robe or vestment, for the souls and consciences of all true believers ; and that the bishops, ancient fathers, and all orthodox divines, had a care to keep her neat, clean, and handsome, in as spotless integrity as a militant church in this imperfect age could keep it. But they say, that we have made religion an *outward* garment, or a cloke, which none do wear amongst us, but sectaries, fools, knaves, and rebels. They say, this cloke being, with often turning, worn as threadbare as the publick faith, full of wrinkles, spots, and stains, neither brushed sponged, nor made clean, with as many patches in it, as in a beggar's coat, kept by cobblers weavers, ostlers, tinkers, and tub-preachers ; so that all order, and decent comeliness is trust out of the church ; all laudable ornaments trod down and banished, under the false and scandalous terms of popery ; and, in the place thereof, most nasty, filthy, and loathsome beastliness, our doctrines being vented in long tedious sermons, to move and stir up the people to rebellion, and traitorous contributions, to exhort them to murder, rapine, robbery, and disloyalty, and all manner of mischief that may be, to the confusion of their souls and bodies.

All these damnable villainies, our adversaries say, are the accursed fruits which our new moulded linsy-wolsey religion hath produced ; for they say, our doctrine is neither derived from the old, or new testament ; that all the fathers, protestant doctors, and martyrs, never heard of any such ; that Christ and his apostles never knew it ; and, for the book of common prayer, they say in verse :

Ten-thousand, such as we, can ne'er devise,
A book so good as that which we despise ;
The common-prayer they mean : if we should sit
Ten-thousand years, with all our brains and wit,
We should prove coxcombs all ; and, in the end,
Leave it as 'tis, too good for us to mend.

38 A MOST LEARNED AND ELOQUENT SPEECH, &c.

And so much they say we have done for religion; which is the first of my eight parts of speech; and as my weakness, and your patience will permit, I will more briefly and compendiously proceed to the second.

Secondly, we are taxed with profane and barbarous pollutions of the church, or houses, dedicated to God's service. They say, that we never built any, but have taken too much accursed pains to deface and pull down many, perverting the right use of them into stables, receptacles of strumpets, luxurious villains, and infernal stinking smokes of mungo at the communion-table, destroying those things, which we, with great maturity of judgment, learning, and wisdom, set in order, enacted by former parliaments, most execrably spoiling all by the usurped power and protection of this parliament.

Mr. Speaker, It is a rigorous medicine for the tooth-ach to knock out the brains of the patient; he is no wise man that takes violent physick and kills himself, to purge a little phlegm; nor is he a prudent builder, if his house wants some slight repairs, will pull it down: a man, that loves his wife, will not put her away for a few needless black patches that her face is disfigured withal. In like manner, if any thing were amiss, either ornament, gesture, ceremony, liturgy, or whatsoever might have been approved unfitting, scandalous, or justly offensive, it is conceived it might have been removed, or reconciled, in a more Christian way than by ruining, demolishing, tearing, and violently defacing all, without regard of humanity, christianity, or order, either from God or man, as too many places in this unjointed kingdom can most truly and wofully testify. And these sweet pieces of service (our adversaries say) we have done for the church.

Thirdly, Concerning our loyalty and obedience to the King. It is manifest, that we have all taken the oath of allegiance to his majesty, and that we have also taken oaths and covenants to make war against him. Our enemies would fain know, who had power to dispense or free us from the former oath, and likewise by what authority the latter covenants and oaths were imposed upon the consciences of men. For my own part, if there were none wiser than myself, this ambiguous ænigma would never be unriddled. But it is reported, that if we had kept our first oaths conscientiously, and not taken the second most perniciously, and performed them most impiously, then we had never so rebelliously opposed and offended so gracious a majesty.

Mr. Speaker, Our adversaries do further alledge, that our obedience to his majesty is apparently manifest by many strange ways. We have disburthened him of his large revenues, we have eased him of the charge of royal house-keeping, we have freed him of paying of his navy, we have cleared him from either repairing of (or repairing to) his stately palaces, magnificent mansions, and defensive castles and garisons; we have put him out of care for reparations of his armories, arms, ammunition, and artillery; we have been at the cost of keeping his children, and most trusty servants, from or for him; we have taken order, and

given ordinances, that he shall not be troubled with much money or meat; and that his queen and lawful wife shall not so much as darken his door. And we have endeavoured, by open rebellion, to release him of a most troublesome life and reign, by hunting him like a partridge over the mountains; and by shooting bullets of all sizes at his person for his majesty's preservation, on purpose to make him a glorious King in another world. We have eased him of a great number of his faithful friends, loyal subjects and servants, by either charitable famishing, brotherly banishment, liberal and free imprisonment, parliamentary plunder, friendly throat-cutting, and unlawful beheading and hanging, or ruining as many as we could lay hands of, that either loved, served, or honoured him.

All these heavy burthens we have eased him of, and overladen ourselves with the usurped ponderosity of them; so that our adversaries say, that the weight of them will either break our backs, our necks, or sink us for ever: and they say, that, since the world's creation, never so good a king had so bad subjects to use him so hardly.

Fourthly, Mr. Speaker, It is questioned what we have done for the laws. There are some that are not afraid to say, that we have transformed or metamorphosed the common laws of the land, into the land's common calamities; that, instead of the common benefit which the laws in community should yield to all men in general, we have perverted those laws to the private profit of ourselves, and some other particular persons. The civil law is turned into an uncivil civil war; blasphemy, atheism, sacrilege, obscenity, profaneness, incest, adultery, fornication, bigamy, polygamy, bastard-bearing, cuckold-making, and all sorts of beastly bawdry are so far from being punished, that they are generally connived and winked at, or tolerated by us. And those which should be the punishers of these gross and crying crimes, as judges, officials, deacons, proctors, and other officers, these are derided, reviled, libelled against, cried down, and made a common scoffing-stock of every libidinous incontinent whore, and whore-monger.

The law of God, contained in the decalogue or ten commandments, we have rased out of the church, not so much as suffering them to be read: and the new commandment, which was the last that Christ commanded, that we should love one another, we have turned that the foul contrary way, to the spoiling and murdering one another. The law of nature is most unnaturally changed to brutish, heathenish, devilish, barbarous inhumanity; parricide, fratricide, and homicide, hath been, and is by us defended, maintained, and rewarded; no affinity, consanguinity, alliance, friendship, or fellowship, hath or can secure any true protestant, or loyal subject, either of his life or goods, safety or freedom. These are the best reports, our adversaries, the malignant party, do give us.

It is farther said, that we have infringed and violated the law of arms here, and the law of nations abroad; for whereas messengers and ambassadors have always had, and ought to have free and safe passage, with fair and courteous accommodation and entertainment, which the

Turks, Tartars, Jews, and Cannibals always observed most obsequiously and punctually: but we, contrary to them, and repugnant to Christianity, have suffered ambassadors to be rifled, robbed, and evil entreated. And we have caused his majesty's messengers to be hanged, whom he hath most graciously sent to us with conditions of peace.

By the Vox Populi, or common vote of those people, we are pleased to call malignants, Papists, enemies to the state, with other scandals and epithets (which they utterly deny both in their words and practice:) we are justly taxed to be the main incendiaries, and pestilent propagators, of all the mischiefs which this afflicted miserable kingdom groans and bleeds under; for they say, that the old statutes of Magna Charta are overthrown by us, under pretence and colour of supporting them: and that, by our votes, ordinances, precepts, proclamations, edicts, mandates, and commands, we have countermanded, abrogated, annihilated, abolished, violated, and made void, all the laws of God, of nature, of arms, and of arts too; and, instead of them, we have unlawfully erected marshal law, club law, Stafford law, and such lawless laws as make most for treason, rebellion, murder, sacrilege, ruin, and plunder. But as for the King himself, we have not allowed him so much law as a huntsman allows a hare. These are our enemies words, and so much they say we have done for the laws.

Fifthly, Mr. Speaker, This question or query is, what we have done for the kingdom. It is said, that we have done and undone the kingdom; this ancient famous flourishing kingdom; this envy of the world for happiness; this Eden of the universe; this terrestrial Paradise; this abstract of heaven's blessings, and earthly content; this epitome of nature's glory; this exact extract of piety, learning, and magnanimous chivalry; this nursery of religion, arms, arts, and laudable endeavours; this breed of men; this wonder of nations, formerly renowned, feared, loved, and honoured, as far as ever sun and moon shined; this England, which hath been a kingdom, and a monarchy, many hundred years, under the reigns of one hundred and sixty-eight kings and queens; this kingdom which hath conquered kingdoms; that hath made India, Syria, Palestina, Cyprus, tributary tremblers; that hath made France shake, and Spain quake; that relieved and defended Scotland from French slavery, and saved and protected the Netherlands from Spanish tyranny. Now have we made this kingdom, this England, a miserable slave to itself, an universal Golgotha, a purple gore, Accedama, a field of blood, a Gehenna, a den of thieves, or infernal furies, and finally, an earthly hell, were it not for this difference, that here the best men are punished, and in hell only the worst are plagued; here no good man escapes torment, nor any bad man is troubled: the king is abused for being good and just, and his true and loyal subjects and servants are ruined and massacred for their fidelity. The protestants are called papists, because they will not be Brownists, Anabaptists, and rebels. And our adversaries are so bold to say, that we have plotted and laboured long to turn this glorious monarchy into a peddling roly poly independant anarchy, and make this kingdom to be no kingdom; and so much we have done for this kingdom.

Sixthly, Mr. Speaker, They do question us what good we have done for the benefit or liberty of the subject. Many of them say, that they know too well and too ill, what and what not; they find, (by lamentable experience) that we have turned their liberty into bondage, their freedom into slavery, and their happiness into an unexampled infelicity. Nay, it is reported, that we have found two ways to hell, which are, either to be rebels, or perjured; to fight in person against the king, and to be forsworn by a covenant to owe him no obedience, or dutiful allegiance: they say we say, tush, these are but trifles, which may be answered at an easy rate, a small matter will clear this reckoning; it is no more than everlasting damnation, for which, Mr. Speaker, I am bold to make use of a speech in the distasteful litany, 'Good Lord, deliver us.'

The malignants do compare this commonwealth to an old kettle, with here and there a fault or hole, a crack, or a flaw in it; and that we (in imitation of our worthy brethren of Banbury,) were intrusted to mend the said kettle; but, like deceitful and cheating knaves, we have, instead of stopping one hole, made three or four score; for the people chose us to ease them of some mild and tolerable grievances, which we have done so artificially, that they all cry and complain*, that the medicine is forty times worse than the disease, and the remedy a hundred times worse than the medicine. And so much is reported that we have done for the subject.

Seventhly, Mr. Speaker, The malignants query, or question, is, what we have done for reformation: what, by our industrious care, and long sitting, we have reformed; how the service of God is by us more religiously, sincerely, zealously, fervently, and ardently, preached or practised; what we have amended either in church or kingdom; how either the king is more honoured or obeyed than he was before this parliament; what good we have done this four or five years; with what faces can we look upon the freeholders and corporations in every shire, county, city, town, and borough in this kingdom, who cried us up, and with their voices elected us to be knights and burgesses; which way we can answer the same, for our many breaches of that great trust, which they intrusted us withal? I tell you, Mr. Speaker, these are home questions; and they plainly say, that all our reformation is non-conformation; and, by sure confirmation, true information, certain affirmation, we have by cunning transformation turned all to deformation: so that if our predecessors and ancestors that are departed this life (to a better or worse) should, or could, rise out of their graves, and see the change, alteration, and unmannerly manners, that have overspread this church and kingdom, they would think they were not in England, but either in Turkey, Barbary, Scythia, Tartary, or some land that is inhabited by infidels or pagans; for England, as it is, looks no more like England, as it was five years ago, than a camel, or cockleshell, are like an owl, or a red herring.

Eighthly and Lastly, Briefly and compendiously, the question is, what we have done for ourselves. We have run the hazard of our estates

* See the Tract intituled, Awake, O England, in vol. 7.

to be justly forfeited by rebellion, against a just, merciful, and truly religious king; our lives are liable to the rigour of such laws as former parliaments have enacted against rebels and traitors; and ourselves are in danger of perpetual perdition, if submission, contrition, and satisfaction be not humbly and speedily performed, or endeavoured; for we, and none but we, have altered this kingdom's felicity to confusion and misery; from a pleasant merry comedy, to a dismal bloody tragedy, sufficient to fill a large history of perpetual memory of us and our posterity.

And thus, Mr. Speaker, have I, with as much brevity as I could, run over my eight parts of speech, whereby may be perceived, how the malignant adversaries do esteem of us and our actions. I could speak more than I have said, and I could say more than I have spoken; but, having done, I hold it discretion to make an end.

THE

PLAGUE AT WESTMINSTER :

OR, AN ORDER FOR THE

VISITATION OF A SICK PARLIAMENT,

Grievously troubled with a new Disease, called the Consumption of their Members.

The Persons visited are :

The Earl of Suffolk,	The Ld. Willoughby of Parham,
The Earl of Lincoln,	The Lord Maynard,
The Earl of Middlesex,	Sir John Maynard,
The Lord Hunsdon,	Master Glyn, Recorder of London.
The Lord Barkly.	

With a form of prayer, and other rites and ceremonies to be used for their recovery; strictly commanded to be used in all cathedrals, churches, chapels, and congregations, throughout his Majesty's three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

Printed for V. V. in the year 1647. Quarto, containing six pages.

Let all the long-abused people of this kingdom speedily repair, for the remedy of all their grievances, to the High-Place at Westminster, and, so soon as entered in to the Lords-House, let them reverently kneel down upon their bare knees, and say this new prayer and exhortation following :

O Almighty and everlasting Lords, we acknowledge and confess from the bottom of our hearts, that you have most justly plagued us these full seven years for our manifold sins and iniquities. Forasmuch as we have not rebelled against you, but against the King, our most

gracious lord and governor, to the abundant sorrow of our relenting hearts, to whose empty chair we now bow in all reverence, in token of our duty and obedience. For we now too well (O Lords) understand that we have grievously sinned, which hath made your honours give us up a spoil unto robbers, viz. your committees, sequestrators, excisemen, and pursuivants; besides your several instruments of torments, distinguished by the various names of Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Majors, Captains, Quarter-masters, and a certain sort of putridinous vermin, that you use to line hedges withal, vulgarly called Dragoons, Troopers, and the like, O Lords; these, besides your continual taxes, collections, assessments, and the like; a burthen that breaks our backs and very hearts, which continually follow one on the neck of another, besides your excises on our very flesh and apparel, with every particular belonging to our trade and livelihoods; our wives, our daughters, our sons, our houses, our beds, our apparel, our horses, our hay, our beeves, our muttuns, our lambs, our pigs, our geese, our capons, and the rest of our goods are forced from us, upon free quarters, as they call it; and we poor wretched and languishing wretches, amounting to the number of millions of millions, being sufficiently humbled by all these plagues and punishments (cry to your honours for redress) besides the large portion of our bloods which from the earth cries unto your honours, even as Abel's did unto heaven; so we to you mighty Lords; we therefore humbly pray and beseech you, that your honours would be graciously pleased (in your omnipotent power) to raise to life again, but to half a dozen thousand poor widows, their dear husbands, and many fatherless children, now in a languishing condition, will for ever magnify your honours for the same; or else your honours must expect the cry of the widow to heaven against you, the curse of the fatherless, and the cry of the earth, which already begins to vomit up that blood in your faces, which so rebelliously and unchristianly you have stained her's withal; she hath yet been a place of pleasure unto you, yielding no contagious air to infect you with those consuming diseases, that now reign amongst your honours, besides so many sorrows, distractions, disorders or passions, that visit your honours' consciences; all earthly creatures have been obedient unto you, mighty Lords. Finally, she hath yielded all things to your contentment, and nothing to your annoyance: We beseech you therefore consider the present miseries of our bodies, as hunger, thirst, nakedness, want of our limbs, deformities, sickness and mortality; the troubles of our minds, as fancies, fears, perplexities, anguishes, and other imperfections; likewise the general scourges that are amongst us, as plagues, wars, and a thousand other hazardous calamities: Look but into our hospitals, we beseech you, and see lazars, cancers, fistulas, ulcers, and rottings, with wolves, sores, and festered carbuncles, frenzies, palsies, lethargies, falling-sicknesses, and lunaries. On the other side, we beseech you to consider the infirmities of our minds; the furious rages, envies, rancours, and corrosives; the unplaceable sorrows and desperate passions; the continual hell-torments, and remorse of conscience (for our late forced rebellion against our king) and infinite other sprightly fits and agonies you have brought upon us. Consider, how you have made us incur the heavy displea-

sure of the most just and christian prince* that ever reigned in this kingdom; the malice and enmity of our equals; the contempt, ignominy, and reproach of all nations; the continual mocks and scoffs we receive of our inferiors; the fraud and treachery of all sorts and degrees; our frequent molestations by plunderings, sequestrations, loss of goods, limbs, liberties, friends, wives, and children. Consider what intolerable usage hath been to divers people, since the beginning of these unnatural wars, persecuted by the rage and fury of you, who would be called Christians, but indeed the worst of tyrants: What spoiling of our goods, shedding of our bloods, oppressing of innocents, persecution of godly and orthodox ministers †, that the world was not worthy of, as reverend Armagh, Westfield, Featly, Shute, and divers other learned and holy men; in whose places what a litter of foxes have you put into God's vineyard, who root up the tender vines thereof; a crew of such vipers, that are not worth so much as the naming? what deflowering of virgins, abusing of matrons, compulsion unto wickedness and rebellion, and terrifying from all virtue and christian obedience? what inconveniences and miseries have ensued by these unnatural and bloody wars? what alteration of estates and religion, subversion of three flourishing kingdoms, slaughtering of his Majesty's subjects, destroying of cities, and confusion of all order? That it is almost incredible, that so many and so strange calamities could befall so happy a people, as we lately were, in so short a space ‡. We humbly beseech you to consider these our just complaints, and speedily let us enjoy our king, our religion, our laws, our just liberties and estates, lest the anger of the Lord take harness, and arm all the creatures to the revenge of his enemies. He shall put on justice for his breast-plate, and shall take for his helmet certain judgment. He shall take equity as an impregnable buckler, he shall sharpen his dreadful wrath into a spear, and the world shall fight with him against such senseless persons. His throws of thunderbolts shall go directly, and shall be driven, as it were, from a well-bended bow, and shall hit at a certain place. Against them shall the spirit of might stand, and, like a whirlwind, shall divide them, and shall bring all the land of their iniquity to a desert, and shall overthrow the seats of the mighty.

These are shrewd items, high and mighty Lords, and may cause you to peack one another still, and charge thorough and thorough, as well as round, yet the silly Commons will hardly be gulled so; they hope to recover their wits again, and will now listen to his Majesty, as once they might have done and have preserved their now lost estates. The twentieth part, divided amongst so many sharers, comes but to a very little: Waller's might come to some twelve butter-firkins full of gold. John Pym, that lousy esquire, might have been a second Cræsus, had he lived, and Charles his son, a very Dive, in spite of Lincoln's-Inn Pump; but he fears no peaching now, nor Hamden, nor Strowd, nor Stapleton neither; their charge will hardly be drawn up till Doomsday in the afternoon, and then the city shall receive their debts on the

* K. Charles I.

† See a list of these ministers so persecuted and ejected, in Vol. 7.

‡ As seven years.

publick faith, and learn more wit: by which time plundering will be out of request, and Sir Politick-would-be's, those great statist's, that draw all into their own coffers, and cry with the devil, 'All is mine,' will then find to their costs, that their accompts are already cast up, and their reckoning upon the paying: In the mean time, whilst thieves fall out, true folks may come by their goods. Therefore, as the Psalmist saith, *Gladus ipsorum intret in corda eorum*, i. e. Let their own swords enter into their own hearts, and let their destruction arise from themselves; let them dig their own graves; let them (as they have already) cut off those anchors, that should preserve themselves from shipwreck; let them, like enraged dogs, break their teeth on that stone that is flung at them, not so much as looking at the hand that flings it; whilst we miserable wretches, in this vassalage and servility, are daily oppressed with so many incessant afflictions, worse than an Egyptian bondage, we may cry out with the Israelites, *Ingemiscetes propter opera vociferari*, i. e. lamenting our intolerable slavery, cry out unto God, from whom (and not from your Pharaoh-like honours) we must expect deliverance. Amen.

Then let the parties, if they find no redress, turn unto the House of Commons, and say, as followeth:

WE humbly beseech you, the knights and burgesses, chosen and put in trust by your several countries, to redress our grievances (not to make us new grievances, to cure our maladies, not, in a desperate madness, to kill us instead of curing us) to keep us from robbing, not to rob us yourselves. That you would, with the eye of compassion, look upon our manifold miseries, before recited, in supplication to the Lords. We must acknowledge and confess, that you have done the part of a body without a head*; and taken great pains, though but to little purpose, in pulling down crosses off the churches, and steeples, and breaking glass-windows, whilst ye have erected greater crosses in our religion and estates. that makes (at this time) the glazed windows of our eyes to overflow. You have taken mickle pains, in making votes, orders, and ordinances, yet we never the better, but rather worse and worse; whilst you are divided amongst yourselves, you have divided our inheritance; and divided the King from his royal spouse, children, and parliament, and would have divided him from his honour and coronation-oath; divided the souls from our bodies as well as our shoes; divided religion into a thousand sects, schisms, heresies, and blasphemies, even against the Persons in the Sacred Trinity: And now will you leave us in this mist of errors and calamities, and every one take shipping, as lately Waller, Stapleton, Nichols, and many others? which increaseth our fears, that you will give but an ill account of so many of our lives, so much of our estates, &c. &c. &c. you may guess what I mean. You may give losers leave (through lamentable experience) to speak, though I believe to little purpose; therefore, *vale*, our trust is in the Lord, &c.

* Forasmuch as the House of Commons represents the body of the nation, which are the people, over whom the King only is the head.

Here let all the people sing Psalm xliii. Judge and revenge, &c. And then, facing about to Henry the Seventh's Chapel, let all the people rehearse the articles of their new reformed faith; and after say, as followeth:

MOST holy fathers, whether universal, national, provincial, consistorial, classical synodians, whose learned consultations, pious debates, sacred conclusions, spiritual decrees, evangelical counsels, infallible divinity, hath cost us so many thousand pounds, for the space of almost these five years, to compose the two tables of the law and the gospel, the ordinance for tithes, and the directory; we magnify your sanctity, we adore your holy reformation, and highly commend your unerring spirits, for the great pains you have taken in your several sciences of equivocations, mental reservations, false glosses, comments, paraphrases, expositions, opinions, and judgments, that for a long time have cheated and deluded us; for your pious zeal and affection for the cause, in setting us on to kill one another, and freely to venture all, all but the tenths, tithes, offerings, and oblations; those are yours *jure divino*; besides all the fat benefices and goodly revenues that belong unto you, besides the four shillings a day, and the fees of your classical courts, and the ten groats for drinking a Sundays. We beseech ye, by all these, pray against the plaguy diseases your hypocrisy hath brought upon the two houses of parliament, and the whole kingdom, by heresy, poverty, impeachmentments, banishments, and the like, Amen.

Then let the people sing the forty-first Psalm, and so depart.

THE

ARRAIGNMENT AND ACQUITTAL

OF

SIR EDWARD MOSELY, BARONET,

Indited at the King's-Bench Bar for a Rape upon the body of Mrs. Anne Swinnerton.

Taken by a reporter there present, who heard all the circumstances thereof, whereof this is a true copy.

London, printed by E. H. for W. L. 1647. Quarto, containing twelve pages.

This trial was taken the twenty-eighth day of January in the twenty-third Year of King Charles, Anno Dom. 1647.

SIR Edward Mosely, Baronet, indicted for felony and rape, upon the body of one Anne Swinnerton (wife to one Mr. Swinnerton, a gentleman of Gray's-Inn.) This trial was taken, the twenty-eighth day of January in the twenty-third year of King Charles, Anno Dom. 1647, before Mr. Justice Bacon, and Mr. Justice Rolls, in Hilary Term, in *Banco Regie*.

First, Sir Edward Mosely appeared at the bar, and pleaded not guilty. Then Mr. Swinnerton and his wife appeared to give evidence. Then the Court demanded of Mr. Swinnerton, what council he had ready to open the indictment; Mr. Swinnerton answered, that there had been such tampering with him and his witnesses to stop the prosecution, that he could get no lawyers to open his wife's case. The court asked him whether he had spoken with any lawyers to be of his council; he said he had, but none would undertake it, only Mr. Cooke had promised him that he would open the indictment for him, but he appears not; so that, by the tampering of Sir Edward Mosely, Mr. Lowder, Mr. William Stanley, Mr. Blore, Mr. Brownell, and twenty more, none would assist him in maintaining of the indictment. These gentlemen, before named, appeared in court, and did not deny, but that they did use what means they could, in a fair way, to put up the business betwixt Sir Edward Mosely and Mrs. Swinnerton, which they conceived they might lawfully do, believing it could not possibly be a rape, having had intelligence of some former passages in it. Then the court said, Mr. Swinnerton, if you had desired council, the court would have assigned you council. Then Mr. Swinnerton proceeded with his evidence, saying, coming home to my chamber, about six of the clock in April, 1647, I found Sir Edward Mosely came rushing out of my chamber, and I, entering, saw my wife thrown upon the ground, with all her cloaths torn, the bed cloaths torn, and hanging half way upon the ground, my wife crying and wringing her hands, with her cloaths all torn off her head, and her wrist sprained, Sir Edward Mosely having thrown her violently upon the ground; whereupon, seeing her in this condition, I asked her what was the matter; she said Sir Edward Mosely had ravished her. Mr. Swinnerton further informed the court, that Sir Edward Mosely, two or three days before he did the rape, said that he would ravish my wife, though he were sure to be hanged for it. Then Mrs. Swinnerton began her evidence, saying, Upon my oath here I swear, that he said he would force me to my bed; and then he swore, God damn him, he would lie with me, though he were sure to die for it: Then he takes me, and carries me to a narrow place, betwixt the wall of the bed, and, with his hands, forced my hands behind me, and lay with me, whether I would or no. Then Sir Edward Mosely interrupted her, saying, Did not your husband come to the chamber-door at that time you pretended you were ravished, and knocked at the door, and I would have opened the door for him; whereupon you said it is my husband, let the drunken sot stay without, and would not suffer me to open the door, and asked her whether she did not say so? She said it was false. Then the court demanded of Mr. Swinnerton, what he said to his wife, when he found her in this manner. Mr. Swinnerton answered, I said, if she were ravished, as she said she was, she must take her oath of it, and indict him for it; and, if she did not, he must believe that she had played the whore with him, and he would turn her off, and live no more with her, and she should be Sir Edward Mosely's whore altogether; but, said he, being desirous to be further satisfied in the business, I often sought for Sir Edward Mosely, but could not find him, for he had fled away from his chamber.

One day I met him accidentally in Holbourn, and desired to speak a word with him; he said, he knew my business, but he was in haste, and could not stay. Then I told him I had earnest business with him, and must speak with him: He told me, he suspected I had some design to arrest him, and would not be persuaded to stay. Then I pressed him, that if he would go and drink a cup of ale with me, he should come to no danger concerning any arrest at all; and if he then would give me any satisfaction, I would not prosecute the law against him. The court demanded of him, what he meant by satisfaction? Mr. Swinnerton answered, only to know what he could say to excuse himself. The court said, why, would you believe him before your wife? Mr. Swinnerton answered, my meaning was, if he could satisfy me, that my wife was consenting to it, I had rather wave the prosecution, than bring my wife and myself upon the stage; and this was my intent, and no other.

Then the court asked Sir Mosely, how Mr. Swinnerton's wife came to be so with her cloaths torn, and ruffled in this manner, none but he and she being in the room; Sir Edward Mosely answered, she always went very ill-favouredly in her apparel. Then the court asked Mrs. Swinnerton, whether there were any in the room but Sir Edward and herself; she answered, a little before there was my maid, but I had sent her to the baker's house for bread for my children, and in the mean while he lay with me against my will.

Then the court asked the maid what she could say; she said, when I came from the baker's, and entering into the chamber, I found my mistress crying, and wringing her hands, saying she was undone: also, I heard Sir Edward Mosely say, before I went to the baker's, that he would lie with my mistress, though he were sure to be hanged for it; and at all times he was wont to be very uncivil and rude, when he came into the chamber. Once he came into the chamber, when I was there alone; truly, I durst not stay in the chamber, for I always observed he was so leacherously given, that any woman, were she never so mean, would serve his turn. At this time he came into the chamber, a little before I went to the baker's; I observed he would fain have thrown my mistress upon the bed, when I was there; but my mistress would not yield to it, but grew very angry with him, and said he was a rogue, and spit in his face; yet he would not let her alone: Whereupon I told him, if he would not be more civil, I would call my master, and if he came, he would crack his crown for using my mistress so uncivilly. Sir Edward Mosely answered, he cared not a fart for my master, and that, for me, I was a base jade, and that he would make me kiss his, &c. What, said the court? But the maid, having some modesty, could not bring it out. Then said her mistress, he said she should kiss something that was about him. What was that, said the court again? Mr. Swinnerton answered, he said he would make her kiss his arse. Then the court said to the maid, you must not be so nice in speaking the truth, being upon your oath. Mistress Swinnerton said, Then came Mr. James Winstanley, to tamper with me, from Sir Edward Mosely, and told me, if I pleased to accept of a hundred pounds, I should have it, if I would be reconciled to Sir Edward Mosely: Then the maid said, my mistress made this answer, she cared not for money: Mrs. Swinnerton said, it is true, I said

so; and this I said, if Sir Edward Mosely would down upon his knees, and confess that he had wronged me, I would not prosecute him; but, also, I resolved that he should wear a paper upon his breast, or upon his hat, acknowledging the injury he had unto me: if he would do so, I would forgive him. Then, said she, Mr. James Winstanley desired to know where the place was in the room where I was ravished; whereupon I shewed him. Mr. James Winstanley answered, This was such a place for such a business, that, if I had the strongest woman in England, I could ravish her here, whether she would or no.

Then, the prosecutors for the King having ended their evidence, the court asked Sir Edward Mosely, what he could say for himself? He said he had many witnesses, and desired that they might be examined what they could say in his behalf.

Then Mr. Kilvert was called in—who appeared. The court said, Mr. Kilvert, though you be not upon oath, you must speak the truth in the fear of God. Mr. Kilvert answered, I know it, my Lord; what I shall say here, I speak it in the presence of God, and I shall speak no more than what is truth. Mistress Swinnerton, seeing of him, said, I hope no body will believe what this knave Kilvert will say, for he is a knave known to all the court, and all that hear him. Then Mr Kilvert went on with his evidence, saying, I thank God this is the second time I ever came in this woman's company; the first time was at the Fleece Tavern in Covent-Garden, where she came to a dinner, to meet with Sir Edward Mosely: As soon as she had sat down at the table, she said, that this room had been a very lucky room to her, for once before in this room, she had received three hundred pounds for the composition of a rape, which she charged a reverend divine withal; I shall not stick to name the man, she said it was Dr. Belcanquell; this doctor I knew to be a reverend man, and, to my knowledge, is long since dead, and in heaven; and for this rape, she said then, she would not take under two thousand pounds for a composition of Sir Edward Mosely, which she said was little enough, he having three thousand pounds a year. Mrs. Swinnerton, hearing of this, clapped her hands at him, and said, he was a knave, and a rascal, and all was false which he said.

Then the court said to her, Mrs. Swinnerton, you should carry yourself soberly and moderately, otherwise you will disparage all your witnesses. Then the court asked her whether she did meet at this tavern, (having affirmed before, that she never was in Sir Edward Mosely's company, but in her own chamber) whereupon she staggered at it a little, and loth to confess it; at last she answered, True, she was there, but this rascal Kilvert had bewitched her to come thither. Mr. Kilvert said further, after she had sat a while at the table, she takes her stool, and removes it to sit next to Sir Edward Mosely, and there falls a hugging and embracing him; whereupon, said he, Surely, Lady, whereas you say Sir Edward hath ravished you, I do believe, rather, you have ravished him, otherwise you would not make so much of him: So Mr. Kilvert made an end of his evidence.

Then Mr. Wood, another witness, said he met her at Islington, in Sir Edward Mosely's company, and there she confessed to him, that Sir Edward Mosely had many times left the key of his chamber with her, to

go to him when she pleased ; and she said she had often made use of it. Then, said this witness, after I had seriously looked upon her, and seeing of her a woman of that strength of body, I said I wondered Sir Edward Mosely should ravish her : She said, Do you wonder at that, why ? Do you take me behind the bed there, there being a bed in the room, and see whether you may not do it.

Another witness said, that she had confessed to him, that Sir Edward Mosely once lay with her, with her consent : afterwards she asked him, Now what will you give my maid, you must give her something ; he answered, I will give her forty shillings ; whereupon she said, forty shillings ! that is base, you cannot give her less than ten pounds and a silk petticoat ; but, when he went forth of doors, she said he gave her nothing but a groat, and so basely went his way.

Another witness said, he heard her say (that it being generally known that Sir Edward Mosely had ravished her) she was like to lose many of her best customers in town.

Another witness said, he heard Swinnerton say, that, if she would not take her oath that she was ravished by him, she should be no wife of his. Afterwards Mr. James Winstanley was called into the court ; he said, it is true, she took me, and shewed me the place where she was ravished. He wondering how Sir Edward, being but a little man, and she such a lusty woman, should be ravished by him ! Why, said she, should you wonder at that ? Then she put her leg between my legs, and put her other leg, setting her foot against the wall, saying now, in this posture, as you see me here, I myself could ravish any woman whatsoever.

Another witness said, the night before she went to prefer the bill of indictment against Sir Edward Mosely, she confessed she had like to have been distracted, and run mad, for fear the grand jury should find the bill.

Two other witnesses affirmed, upon their credit, whereas it was said by Mr. Swinnerton, and his wife, that Sir Edward Mosely fled from his chamber immediately after the act was done, they said they had daily recourse to his chamber, and walked to and fro with him, sometimes in Gray's-Inn Walks, sometimes to Westminster, and to other places in the town, for six weeks together, after this pretended rape, and many times they saw Mrs. Swinnerton stand at her own door, looking upon him as he passed by (which was but six steps from Sir Edward's chamber-door) and never questioned about it ; but oftentimes, they said, seeing her stand watching there, they feared she would go up to him, and tempt him to wickedness.

. Then, evidence being given on both sides, the jury went from the bar, and returned, and gave their verdict, that Sir Edward Mosely was not guilty. Then the court said, Sir Edward Mosely, take heed what company you keep hereafter : Let this be a warning to you : You see in what danger you bring yourself to, in keeping ill company.

Imprimatur, Gilbert Mabbot,
February 8, 1647.

THE
L I F E
OF
SIR THOMAS BODLEY,*

The honourable founder of the Publick Library in the University of Oxford.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

Oxford, printed by Henry Hall, Printer to the University, 1647. Quarto, containing sixteen pages.

TO THE READER.

WHEN the great restorer of learning, our munificent benefactor, Sir Thomas Bodley, made the happy exchange of the troubles of this life, with the glories of a better: the university, according to the greatness of his merits, and their loss, in solemn grief and sadness, attended at his obsequies. But lest the uncharitable censure of the world should apprehend our thankfulness buried in the same grave with him, and cold as his dead ashes, in that we pay no after tribute to so engaging a desert: We bring to the altar of eternity that part of him which yet, and ever must survive. A monument freed from the laws of time and ruin, supported with the vigour of that name, which hath a seminal strength within itself, to make whole volumes live. But lest the judging and severer eye, viewing the nakedness of this relation, may thence despise the poorness of our endeavour: that I may speak the work above all scorn, above all praise, it was his own. Nor durst we call that draught in question, which felt the hand of so exact a master; but with awe looked on it, as on the fabrick of an ancient temple, where the ruin furthers our devotion, and gaudy ornaments do but prophane the sad religion of the place. It is true, it savours not the language of our age, that hath the art to murder with a smile, and folds a curse within a prayer, but speaks the rhetoric of that better world, where virtue was the garb, and truth the complement. Those actions are of low and empty worth, that can shine only where the varnish of our words doth gild them over. The true diamond sparkles in its rock, and, in despite of darkness, makes a day. Here then, you shall behold actions with the same integrity set down, as they were first performed. A history described, as it was lived. A counsellor that admitted still religion to the cabinet, and in his active aims had a design on heaven. A spirit of that height, that

* This is the 90th number in the catalogue of pamphlets in the Harleian Library.

happiness, as in a private fortune to outdo the famed magnificence of mighty princes; whilst his single work clouds the proud fame of the Egyptian Library, and shames the tedious growth of the wealthy Vatican. I know how hard a task it will be to persuade any to copy out from this fair pattern: however, we cannot so far despair of ingenuity, as not to expect, even from the unconcerned disinterested reader, a clear esteem and just resentment of it. If we gain by this, we shall in part rest satisfied, in an age so wholly lost to vice, conceiving it a great degree of virtue to confess the lustre of that good, which our perverse endeavours still avoid.

I WAS born at Exeter, in Devonshire, the second of March, 1544; descended both by father and mother of worshipful parentage. By my father's side from an ancient family of Bodley, or Bodleigh of Dunscomb, by Crediton; and by my mother, from Robert Hone, Esq. of Ottery Saint Mary, nine miles from Exeter. My father, in the time of Queen Mary, being noted and known to be an enemy to popery, was so cruelly threatened, and so narrowly observed, by those that maliced his religion, that, for the safeguard of himself, and my mother, who was wholly affected as my father, he knew no way so secure, as to fly into Germany; where, after a while, he found means to call over my mother, with all his children and family, whom he settled, for a time, at Wesell in Cleve-land (for there, as then, were many English, which had left their country for their conscience, and with quietness enjoyed their meetings and preachings) and from thence we removed to the town of Franckfort, where was, in like sort, another English congregation. Howbeit, we made no long tarryance in either of those two towns, for that my father had resolved to fix his abode in the city of Geneva, where, as far as I remember, the English church consisted of some hundred persons. I was at that time of twelve years of age, but through my father's cost and care, sufficiently instructed to become an auditor of Chevalerius in Hebrew, of Beroaldus in Greek, of Calvin and Beza in divinity, and of some other professors in that university, (which was newly then erected) besides my domestical teachers, in the house of Philibertus Saracenus, a famous physician in that city, with whom I was boarded; where Robertus Constantinus, that made the Greek Lexicon, read Homer unto me. Thus I remained there two years and more, until such time as our nation was advertised of the death of queen Mary, and succession of Elisabeth, with the change of religion, which caused my father to hasten into England; where he came with my mother, and with all their family, within the first of the queen, and settled their dwelling in the city of London. It was not long after, that I was sent away from thence to the University of Oxford, recommended to the teaching and tuition of Dr. Humfrey, who was shortly after chosen the chief reader in divinity, and president of Magdalen College. There I followed my studies, till I took the degree of bachelor of arts, which was in the year 1563; within which year I was also chosen probationer of Merton College, and the next year ensuing admitted Fellow. Afterwards, to wit, in the year 1565, by special persuasion of some of my Fellows, and for my private exercise, I undertook the publick reading of a Greek lecture, in the same college hall, without

requiring or expecting any stipend for it. Nevertheless, it pleased the fellowship, of their own accord, to allow me soon after four marks by the year, and ever since to continue that lecture to the college. In the year of our Lord 1566, I proceeded master of arts, and read, for that year, in the school-streets, natural philosophy; after which time, within less than three years space, I was won, by intreaty of my best-affected friends, to stand for the proctorship, to which I and my colleague, Master Bearblock, of Exeter College, were quietly elected in the year 1569, without any competition or countersuit of any other. After this, for a long time, I supplied the office of the University orator, and bestowed my time in the study of sundry faculties, without any inclination to profess any one above the rest; insomuch as, at last, I waxed desirous to travel beyond the seas, for attaining to the knowledge of some special modern tongues, and for the increase of my experience in the managing of affairs, being wholly then addicted to employ myself, and all my cares, in the publick service of the state. My resolution fully taken, I departed out of England, anno 1576, and continued very near four years abroad, and that in sundry parts of Italy, France, and Germany. A good while after my return, to wit, in the year 1585, I was employed by the queen to Frederick, father to the present king of Denmark; to Julius, duke of Brunswick, to William, landgrave of Hesse, and other German princes: the effect of my message was, to draw them to join their forces with her's, for giving assistance to the king of Navarre, now Henry the Fourth, king of France. My next employment was to Henry the Third, at such time as he was forced by the Duke of Guise to fly out of Paris; which I performed, in such sort as I had in charge, with extraordinary secrecy; not being accompanied with any one servant (for so much I was commanded) nor with any other letters, than such as were written with the queen's own hand to the king, and some selected persons about him; the effect of that message it is fit I should conceal. But it tended greatly to the advantage not only of the King, but of all the protestants in France, and to the duke's apparent overthrow, which also followed soon upon it. It so befel after this, in the year eighty-eight, that, for the better conduct of her highness's affairs in the Provinces United, I was thought a fit person to reside in those parts, and was sent thereupon to the Hague in Holland, where, according to the contract that had formerly past, between her highness and the states, I was admitted for one of their council of estate, taking place in their assemblies next to Count Maurice, and yielding my suffrage in all that was proposed. During all that time, what approbation was given of my painful endeavours by the Queen, Lords in England, by the States of the country there, and by all the English soldiery, I refer it to be notified by some others relation; since it was not unknown to any of any calling, that then were acquainted with the state of that government. For, at my first coming thither, the people of that country stood in dangerous terms of discontentment, partly for some courses that were held in England, as they thought, to their singular prejudice, but most of all, in respect of the insolent demeanor of some of her highness's ministers, which only respected their private emolument, little weighing in their dealing what the queen had contracted with the States of the country; whereupon was conceived a

mighty fear on every side, that both a present dissolution of the contract would ensue, and a downright breach of amity between us and them. Now what means I set a foot for redress of those perils, and by what degrees the state of things was reduced into order, it would require a long treatise to report it exactly; but this I may aver with modesty and truth, and the country did always acknowledge it with gratitude, that, had I not of myself, without any direction from my superiors, proceeded in my charge, with extreme circumspection, as well in all my speeches and proposals to the States, as in the tenour of my letters, that I writ into England, some sudden alarm had been given, to the utter subversion and ruin of the state of those provinces; which, in process of time, must needs have wrought, in all probability, to the self-same effect in the state of this realm. Of this my diligence and care in the managing of my business, there was, as I have signified, very special notice taken by the queen and state at home, for which I received from her majesty many comfortable letters of her gracious acceptance, as withal, from that time forward, I did never receive almost any set instructions, how to govern my proceedings in her majesty's occasions, but the carriage, in a manner, of all her affairs was left to me, and my direction. Through this my long absence out of England, which wanted very little of five whole years, my private estate did greatly require my speedy return, which, when I had obtained by intercession of friends, and a tedious suit, I could enjoy but a while, being shortly after enjoined to repair to the Hague again. Nevertheless, upon a certain occasion to deliver unto her some secret overtures, and of performing thereupon an extraordinary service, I came again home within less than a twelvemonth; and I was no sooner come, but, her highness embracing the fruit of my discoveries, I was presently commanded to return to the States, with charge to pursue those affairs to performance, which I had secretly proposed; and according to the project, which I had conceived, and imparted unto her, all things were concluded and brought to that issue that was instantly desired, whereupon, I procured my last revocation. Now, here I cannot chuse, in making report of the principal accidents that have fallen unto me in the course of my life, but record among the rest, that, from the very first day, I had no man more to friend among the lords of the council, than was the lord treasurer Burleigh: For, when occasion had been offered of declaring his conceit as touching my service, he would always tell the queen, which I received from herself and some other ear witnesses, that there was not any man in England so meet as myself, to undergo the office of the secretary. And since his son, the present lord treasurer, hath signified unto me in private conference, that, when his father intended to advance him to that place, his purpose was withal to make me his colleague. But the case stood thus in my behalf: Before such time as I returned from the *Provinces United*, which was in the year 1597, and likewise after my return, the then Earl of Essex did use me so kindly both by letters and messages, and other great tokens of his inward favours to me, that, though I had no meaning, but to settle in my mind my chiefest desire and dependence upon the Lord Burleigh, as one that I reputed to be both the best able, and therewithal the most willing to work my advancement with the queen,

yet, I knew not how, the Earl, who sought by all devices, to divert her love and liking both from the father and the son, but from the son especially, to withdraw my affection from the one and the other, and to win me altogether to depend upon himself, did so often take occasion to entertain the queen with some prodigal speeches of my sufficiency for a secretary, which were ever accompanied with words of disgrace against the present lord treasurer, as neither she herself, of whose favour before I was thoroughly assured, took any great pleasure to prefer me the sooner. For she hated his ambition, and would give little countenance to any of his followers, and both the lord Burleigh and his son waxed jealous of my courses, as if under-hand I had been induced, by the cunning and kindness of the Earl of Essex, to oppose myself against their dealings. And though, in very truth, they had no solid ground at all of the least alteration in my disposition towards either of them both, for I did greatly respect their persons and places, with a settled resolution to do them any service, as also in my heart I detested to be held of any faction whatsoever; yet the now lord treasurer, upon occasion of some talk, that I have since had with him, of the Earl and his actions, hath freely confessed of his own accord unto me, that his daily provocations were so bitter and sharp against him, and his comparisons so odious, when he put us in a balance, as he thought thereupon he had very great reason to use his best means, to put any man out of hope of raising his fortune, whom the Earl with such violence, to his extreme prejudice, had endeavoured to dignity. And this, as he affirmed, was all the motive he had to set himself against me, in whatsoever might redound to the bettering of my estate, or increasing of my credit and countenance with the queen. When I had thoroughly now bethought me, first in the Earl, of the slender hold-fast that he had in the favour of the queen, of an endless opposition of the chiefest of our statesmen like still to wait upon him, of his perilous, and feeble, and uncertain advice, as well in his own, as in all the causes of his friends: And when moreover, for myself, I had fully considered how very untowardly these two counsellors were affected unto me, upon whom before in cogitation I had framed all the fabrick of my future prosperity; how ill it did concur with my natural disposition to become, or to be counted either a stickler or partaker in any publick faction; how well I was able, by God's good blessing, to live of myself, if I could be content with a competent livelihood; how short time of further life I was then to expect by the common course of nature; when I had, I say, in this manner, represented to my thoughts my particular estate, together with the Earl's, I resolved thereupon to possess my soul in peace, all the residue of my days; to take my full farewell of state employments, to satisfy my mind with that mediocrity of worldly living, that I had of my own, and so to retire me from the court, which was the epilogue and end of all my actions and endeavours of any important note, till I came to the age of fifty-three. Now, although after this, by her majesty's direction, I was often called to the court, by the now lord treasurer, then secretary, and required by him, as also divers times since, by order from the King, to serve as ambassador in France, to go a commissioner from his highness, for concluding the truce between Spain and the provinces, and to negotiate in other

very honourable employments; yet I would not be removed from my former final resolution, insomuch as at length, to induce me the sooner to return to the court, I had an offer made me by the present lord treasurer, for in process of time he saw, as he himself was pleased to tell me more than once, that all my dealing was upright, faithful, and direct, that, in case I myself was willing unto it, he would make me his associate in the secretary's office, and, to the intent I might believe that he intended it *bona fide*, he would get me out of hand to be sworn of the council. And for the better enabling of my state to maintain such a dignity, whatsoever I would ask, that might be fit for him to deal in, and for me to enjoy, he would presently solicit the King to give it passage. All which persuasions notwithstanding, although I was often assaulted by him, in regard of my years, and for that I felt subject to many indispositions, besides some other private reasons which I reserve unto myself, I have continued still at home my retired course of life, which is now methinks to me as the greatest preferment that the state can afford. Only this I must truly confess of myself, that though I did never repent me yet of those, and some other my often refusals of honourable offers, in respect of enriching my private estate; yet somewhat more of late I have blamed myself, and my nicety that way, for the love that I bear to my reverend mother the University of Oxford, and to the advancement of her good, by such kind of means, as I have since undertaken. For thus I fell to discourse and debate in my mind, that although I might find it fittest for me to keep out of the throng of court contentions, and address my thoughts and deeds to such ends altogether, as I myself could best affect; yet withal I was to think, that my duty towards God, the expectation of the world, my natural inclination, and very morality, did require, that I should not wholly so hide those little abilities that I had, but that in some measure, in one kind or other, I should do the true part of a profitable member in the state. Whereupon examining exactly for the rest of my life, what course I might take, and having sought, as I thought, all the ways to the wood to select the most proper, I concluded at the last to set up my staff at the library door in Oxford; being thoroughly persuaded, that, in my solitude and surcease from the commonwealth affairs, I could not busy myself to better purpose, than by reducing that place, which then in every part lay ruined and waste, to the publick use of students; for the effecting whereof, I found myself furnished in a competent proportion, of such four kinds of aids, as, unless I had them all, there was no hope of good success. For without some kind of knowledge, as well in the learned and modern tongues, as in sundry other sorts of scholastical literature; without some purseability, to go through with the charge; without very great store of honourable friends to further the design, and without special good leisure to follow such a work, it could but have proved a vain attempt, and inconsiderate. But how well I have sped in all my endeavours, and how full provision I have made for the benefit and ease of all frequenters of the library, that which I have already performed in sight, that besides which I have given for the maintenance of it, and that which hereafter I purpose to add, by way of enlargement to that place, for the project is cast, and, whether I live or die, it shall be, God willing, put in full

execution, will testify so truly and abundantly for me, as I need not be the publisher of the dignity and worth of my own institution. Written with my own hand, anno 1609, December the fifteenth.

THOMAS BODLEY.

' Thus far our noble author of himself, who, like to the first penman of the sacred history, seems to survive his grave, and to describe unto us his own death. For, having finished that great work which future times shall ever honour, never equal, he yielded to his fate. As being unwilling the glory of that deed should be defouled by the succession of an act less high than it. On the twenty-ninth of January, in the year 1612, his pure soul attained the freedom of its own divinity: Leaving his borrowed earth, the sad remainder of innocence and frailty, to be deposited in Merton College: Who had the happiness to call his education her's, and to be intrusted with so dear a pledge of immortality.'

THE ASSEMBLY-MAN,

Written in the Year 1647.

ΘΕΟΦΑΥΤ. Χαριτ. γ. ἀπὸ ΠΕΡΙΕΠΤΙΑΣ.

Διαλείπει τὰς μαχαμίνους, ἃ ἦς ὁ γνώσκων ἀτραπὴν ἠγάσασθαι· ἃ ἐμάνηται μίλλον, εἰπὼν πρὸς τὰς περιμετρίας, ὅτι τὴν ἀρίστην πολλὰς ἐμώμενα, i. e.

He seditiously stirs up men to fight: He will teach others the way whereof himself is most ignorant; and persuades men to take an oath, because himself had sworn it before.

London, Printed for Richard Marriott, and are to be sold at his shop under St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-Street, 1662-3. Quarto, containing twenty-two pages.

READER,

THIS pamphlet was torn from me, by those who say, they cannot rob, because all is theirs. They found it where it slept many years forgotten; but they awakened it, and made false transcripts. They excised what they liked not; so mangled and reformed, that it was no character of an assembler, but of themselves. A copy of that reforming had crept to the press. I seized and stopped it, unwilling to father other men's sins. Here therefore you have it, as it was first

scribbled, without addition of a syllable; I wish I durst say here is nothing lopped off; but men and manners are changed, at least they say so. If yet this trifle seem born with teeth, you know whose hands were knuckle-deep in the blood of that renowned chancellor of Oxon, Archbishop Laud, though, when they cut up that great martyr, his two greatest crimes were the two greatest glories Great-Britain can boast of, St. Paul's Church, and the Oxford Library. Where you find no coherence, remember this paper hath suffered decimation: Better times have made it worse, and that is no fault of

J. B.

AN assembler is part of the state's chattels, not priest, nor burges, but a partiple that sharks upon both. He was chosen, as Sir Nathaniel, because he knew least of all his profession, not by the votes of a whole diocese, but by one whole parliament man. He has sat four years towards a new religion, but, in the interim, left none at all; as his masters, the commons, had a long debate, whether candles or no candles, but all the mean while sat still in the dark; and therefore, when the moon quits her old light, and has acquired no new, astronomers say she is in her synode. Shew me such a picture of Judas, as the assembler, a griping, false, reforming brother; who rails at waste spent upon the anointed; persecutes most those hands which ordained him; brings in men with swords and staves; and all for money from the honourable scribes and pharisees. One touch more (a line tied to his name-sake, Elder-tree) had made him Judas root and branch. This assembly at first was a full century, which should be reckoned, as the scholiast's hecatomb, by their feet, not heads; or count them by scores; for, in things without heads, sixscore go to an hundred. They would be a new septuagint; the old translated scripture out of Hebrew into Greek, these turn it to four shillings a day; and all these assemblers were begot in one day, as Hercules's fifty bastards all in one night. Their first list was sprinkled with some names of honour, (Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Morley, Dr. Hammond, &c.) but these were divines too worthy to mix with such scandalous ministers, and would not assemble without the royal call. Nay, the first list had one archbishop, one bishop, and an half; for bishop Brownrigg was then but elect; but now their assembly, as philosophers think the world, consists of atoms, petty small Levites, whose parts are not perceptible; and yet these inferior postern teachers have intoxicated England (for a man sometimes grows drunk by a clyster.) When they all meet, they shew beasts in Africa, by promiscuous coupling, ingender monsters. Mr. Selden visits them, as Persians use, to see wild asses fight; when the Commons have tired him with their new law, these brethren refresh him with their mad gospel. They lately were gravelled betwixt Jerusalem and Jericho; they knew not the distance betwixt those two places; one cried twenty miles, another ten; it was concluded seven, for this reason, That fish was brought from Jericho to Jerusalem-market. Mr. Selden smiled, and said, Perhaps the fish was salt fish; and so stopped their mouths. Earl Philip goes thither to hear them spend; when he heard them toss their national, proviucial, classical, congregational, he swore

damnably, that a pack of good dogs made better musick : His allusion was proper, since the elder's maid had a four-legged husband. To speak truth, this assembly is the two houses attiring-room, where the Lords and Commons put on their vizards and masks of religion : And their honours have so sifted the church, that at last they have found the bran of the clergy ; yet such poor church-menders must reform and shuffle, though they find church-government may a thousand ways be changed for the worse, but not one way for the better. They have lately published annotations on the bible, where their first note on the word create, is a libel against kings, for creating of honours. Their annotation on Jacob's two kids is, That two kids are too much for one man's supper ; but he had, say they, but one kid, and the other made sauce. They observe, upon Herod, what a tyrant he was, to kill infants under two years old, without giving them a legal trial, that they might speak for themselves. Commonly they follow the Geneva margin, as those seamen, who understood not the compass, crept along the shore ; but, I hear, they threaten a second edition, and, in the interim, thrust forth a paltry catechism, which expounds nine commandments, and eleven articles of the creed. Of late they are much in love with chronograms, because, if possible, they are duller than anagrams. O how they have torn the poor bishops names, to pick out the number six hundred sixty-six ! little dreaming, that a whole baker's dozen of their own assembly have that beastly number in each of their names, and that as exactly as their solemn league and covenant consists of six-hundred sixty-six words. But though the assembler's brains are lead, his countenance is brass ; for he damned such as held two benefices, while himself has four or five, besides his concubine-lecture. He is not against pluralities, but dualities ; he says, it is unlawful to have two of his own, though four of other men's ; and observes how the Hebrew word for life has no singular number. Yet it is some relief to a sequestered person to see two assemblers snarl for his tithes ; for, of all kinds of beasts, none can match an assembler, but an assembler. He never enters a church by the door, but clambers up through a window of sequestration, or steals in, through vaults and cellars, by clandestine contracts with an expecting patron. He is most sure no law can hurt him, for all laws died in England the year before the assembler was born. The best way to hold him is, as our king Richard bound the king of Cyprus, in silver chains. He loves to discourse of the new Jerusalem, because her streets are of fine gold, and yet could like London as well, were Cheapside paved with the philosopher's stone ; nay, he would say his prayers with beads, if he might have a set made all of diamonds. This, this is it which tempts him to such mad articles against the loyal clergy, whom he dresses as he would have them appear, just as the ballad of Dr. Faustus brings forth the devil in a friar's weed. He accused one minister for saying the blessed virgin was the mother of God, (*θεοτόκος*, as the ancients call her.) Another he charged for a common drunkard, who, all the country knows, has drunk nothing but water these six and twenty years. But the assembler himself can drink widows tears, though their husbands are not dead. Sure, if Paracelsus's doctrine were true, That to eat creatures alive will perpetuate man's life, the assembler were immortal ; for he swallows

quick men, wives, and children, and devours lives as well as livings, as if he were born in that pagan province, where none might marry till he had killed twelve Christians. This makes him kneel to lieutenant-general Cromwell, as Indians to the devil; for he saw Oliver first threw —, then —, and can, with a wink, do as much for —; like Milo, in the Olympicks, who, by practising on a calf, grew strong enough for a bull, and could with ease give a lift to an ass. The great Turk was sending his ambassador to congratulate the assembly's proceedings against the Christians; he ordered them thanks for licensing his alcoran to be printed in English; but hearing Ottoman Cromwell had talked of marching to the walls of Constantinople, that embassy was stopped. The only difference betwixt the assembler and a Turk is, that one plants religion by the power of the sword, and the other by the power of the scimeter: Nay, the greatest strife in their whole conventicle is, Who shall do worst; for they all intend to make the church but a sepulchre, having not only plundered, but anatomised all the true clergy; whose torment is heightened in being destroyed by such dull instruments, as the prophet Isaiah was sawn to pieces with a wooden saw. The assembler wonders that the King and his friends live still in hope; he thinks them all St. Clemens's case, drowned with an anchor tied about his neck. He has now got power to visit the universities; where these blinking visitors look on eminent scholars (as the blind man, who saw men like trees) as timber growing within the root-and-branch ordinance. The assembler has now left scholars so poor, that they have scarce rags, wherewith to make paper. A man would think, the two houses intend to transport the universities, since they load asses with college-revenues: For though these assemblers made themselves heads, they are rather the hands of colleges, for they all are takers, and take all. And yet they are such creeping tyrants, that scholars are expelled the two universities, as the old Thracians, forced from their country by rats and mice; so that learning now is so much advanced, as Arrowsmith's glass-eye sees more than his natural. They never admit a good scholar to a benefice; for the assembly's balance is the lake of Sodom, where iron swims and feathers sink. Their divinity-disputations are with women or laymen; and it is only on one question, episcopacy, where the assembler talks all that he and his friends can say; though his best medium, to prove presbyters more ancient than bishops, is, That scribes, pharisees, priests, and elders were before the apostles; yet, if a scholar or good argument come, he flies them, as much as if they were his text. This made him curse Dr. Steward, Dr. Laney, and Dr. Hammond; and, had he not had more brass in his face, than in his kitchen, he had hanged himself at Uxbridge, and ended with that treaty; for he has nought of logick, but her clutched fist, and rails at philosophy as beggars do at gentlemen. He has very bad luck, when he deals in philology, as one of them (and that no mean man) who, in his preface to the reader, says, That St. Paul had read Eustathius upon Homer; though the apostle died a thousand years before Eustathius was born. The assembler's diet is strangely different; for he dines wretchedly on dry bread at Westminster, four assemblers for thirteen pence; but this sharpens and whets him for supper, where he feeds gratis with his city-

landlord, to whom he brings a huge stomach, and news; for which crammed capons cram him. He screws into families, where there is some rich daughter, or heir; but whoever takes him into their bosom, will die like Cleopatra. When it rains, he is coached (a classis of them together) rolling his eyes, to mark who beholds him. His shortest things are his hair and his cloke; his hair is cut to the figure of three; two high cliffs run up his temples, whose cape of shorn hair shoots down his forehead, with creeks indented, where his ears ride at anchor. Had this false prophet been carried with Habbakuk, the angel had caught fast hold of his ears, and led him, as he leads his auditory. His eyes are part of his tithe at Easter, which he boils at each sermon; he has two mouths, his nose is one, for he speaks through both; his hands are not in his gloves, but his gloves in his hands; for betwixt sweatings, that is, sermons, he handles little else, except his dear mammon. His gown, I mean his cloke, reaches but his pockets: When he rides in that manner, with a hood on his shoulders, and a hat above both, Is he not then his own man of sin with the triple crown? You would swear some honest carpenter dressed him, and made him the tunnel of a country chimney. His doublet and hose are of dark blue, a grain deeper than pure Coventry; but of late he is in black, since the loyal clergy were persecuted into colours. His two longest things are his nails and his prayer; but the cleanest thing about him is his pulpit cushion, for he still beats the dust out of it. To do him right, commonly he wears a pair of good lungs, whereby he turns the church into a belfry; for his clapper makes such a din, that you cannot hear the cymbal for the tinkling. If his pulpit be large, he walks his round, and speaks as from a garison; his own neck is palisadoed with ruff. When he first enters his prayer before sermon, he winks and gasps, and gasps and winks, as if he prepared to preach in another world. He seems in a slumber, then in a dream: then rumbles a while; at last he sounds forth, and then throws so much dirt and nonsense towards heaven, as he durst not offer to a member of parliament. Now, because scripture bids him not curse the King in his thought, he does it in his pulpit, by word of mouth; though heaven strike him dumb in the very act, as it did Hill at Cambridge, who, while he prayed, 'Depose him, O Lord, who would depose us,' was made the dumb devil. This, one would think, should gargle his foul mouth; for his only hope, why God should hear him against the King, is, The devil himself, that great assembler, was heard against Job. His whole prayer is such an irrational bleating, that, without a metaphor, it is the calves of his lips; and commonly it is larded with fine new words, as, savingable, muchly, Christ-Jesusness, &c. and yet he has the face to preach against prayer in an unknown tongue. Sometimes he is foundered, and then there is such hideous coughing! but that is very seldom, for he can glibly run over nonsense, as an empty cart trundles down a hill. When the king girt round the Earl of Essex at Lestwythiell, an assembler complained, That God had drawn his people into the wilderness, and told him, he was bound in honour to feed them; for, 'Lord, said he, since thou givest them no meat, we pray thee, O Lord, to give them no stomachs.' He tore the liturgy, because, forsooth, it shackled his spirit, he would be a devil without a circle; and now, if he see the

book of common prayer, the fire sees it next, as sure as the bishops were burnt who compiled it. Yet he has mercy on Hopkins and Sternhold because their meetres are sung without authority (no statute, canon, or injunction at all) only, like himself, first crept into private houses, and then into churches. Mr. Rous moved those meetres might be sequestered, and his own rhimes to enjoy the sequestration; but was refused, because John Hopkins was as ancient as John Calvin; besides, when Rous stood forth for his trial, Robin Wisdom was found the better poet. It is true, they have a directory, but it is good for nothing, but Adoniram, who sold the original for four-hundred pounds, and the book must serve both England and Scotland, as the directory needle points north and south. The assembler's only ingenuity is, that he prays for an extempore spirit, since his conscience tells him, he has no learning. His prayer thus ended, he then looks round, to observe the sex of his congregation, and, accordingly, turns the apostle's men, fathers, and brethren, into dear brethren and sisters. For his usual auditory is, most part, female; and as many sisters flock to him, as, at Paris, on St. Margaret's day, when all come to church, that are, or hope to be with child that year. He divides his text, as he did the kingdom, makes one part fight against another; or as Burges divides the dean of Paul's house, not into parts, but tenements, that is, so as it will yield most money. And properly they are tenements; for each part must be dwelt upon, though himself comes near it but once a quarter, and so his text is rather let out, than divided. Yet sometimes, to shew his skill in Keckerman, he butchers a text, cuts it, just as the Levite did his concubine, into many dead parts, breaking the sense and words all to pieces, and then they are not divided, but shattered, like the splinters of Don Quixot's lance. If his text be to the occasion, his first dish is apples of gold in pictures of silver, yet he tells not the people what pictures those were. His sermon and prayer grin at each other, the one is presbyterian, the other independent; for he preaches up the classes, yet prays for the army. Let his doctrine and reason be what they will, his use is still to save his benefice, and augment his lecture. He talks much of truth, but abhors peace, let it strip him as naked as truth; and therefore hates a personal treaty, unless with a sister. He has a rare simpering way of expression; he calls a married couple, saints that enjoy the mystery, and a man drunk, is a brother full of the creature; yet at wedding-sermons, he is very familiar, and like that picture in the church at Leyden, shews Adam and Eve without fig-leaves. At funerals, he gives infallible signs, that the party is gone to heaven; but his chief mark, of a child of God, is to be good to God's ministers. And hence it is, he calls his preachment, manna, fitted not to his hearers necessity, but their palate, for it is to feed himself, not them. If he chance to tire, he refreshes himself with the people's hum, as a collar of bells cheers up a pack-horse. It is no wonder he will preach, but that any will hear him, and his constant auditors do but shew the length of their ears; for he is such an *Asperitatem*, that, to hear him, makes good scholars sick, but, to read him, is death. Yet, though you heard him three hours, he will ask a fourth, as the beggar at Delph craves your charity, because he eats four pounds of bread at a meal. It was from his alarm, the watch-makers

learned their infinite screw. His glass and text are equally handled, that is, once an hour; nay, sometimes, he sallies, and never returns, and then we should leave him to the company of Lorimers, for he must be held with bit and bridle. Who ever once has been at his church, can never doubt the history of Balaam. If he have got any new tale or expression, it is easier to make stones speak, than him to hold his peace. He hates a church where there is an eccho, for it robs him of his dear repetition, and confounds the auditory as well as he. But, of all mortals, I admire the short-hand men, who have the patience to write from his mouth; had they the art to shorten it into sense, they might write his whole sermon on the back of their nail; for his invention consists in finding a way to speak nothing upon any thing; and, were he in the grand seignior's power, he would lodge himself with his mutes; for nothing, and nothing to purpose, are all one. I wonder in conscience, he can preach against sleeping at his opium-sermons. He preaches, indeed, both in season, and out of season; for he rails at popery, when the land is almost lost in presbytery, and would cry fire, fire, in Noah's flood. Yet all this he so acts with his hands, that, in this sense too, his preaching is a handicraft. Nor can we complain, that plays are put down, while he can preach, save only his sermons have worse sense, and less truth. But he blew down the stage, and preached up the scaffold; and, very wisely, lest men should track him, and find where he pilfers all his best similes, (the only thing wherein he is commendable, St. Paul himself having culled sentences from Menander's *Thais*, though it was his worst, that is, unchaste comedy.) Sometimes the assembler will venture at the original, and then, with the translator of *Don Quixot*, he mistakes sobs and sighs for eggs and collops. But commonly, for the want of Greek and Latin, he learns Hebrew, and straight is illuminated, that is, mad; his brain is broke by a brickbat, cast from the tower of Babel; and yet this empty windy teacher has lectured a war quite round the kingdom: He has found a circulation of blood for destruction (as famous Harvey for preservation) of mankind. It was easy to foresee a great mortality, when ravens were heard in all corporations; for, as multitude of frogs presage a pestilence, so croaking lecturers foretold an assembly. Men come to church, as the great Alexander went to sacrifice, led by crows. You have seen a small elder-tree grow in chinks and clefts of church-walls; it seems rather a weed, than a tree, which, lend it growth, makes a rent in the wall, and throws down the church. Is not this the assembler? Grown from schisms, which himself begot, and, if permitted, will make the church but a floor or church-yard: Yet, for all this, he will be called Christ's minister and saint, as the rebels against King John, were the army of God. Sure, when they meet, they cannot but smile; for the dullest amongst them needs must know, that they all cheat the people; such gross low impostors, that we die the death of the Emperor Claudius, poisoned by mushrooms. The old hereticks had skill and learning, some excuse for a seduced church; those were scholars, but these are assemblers, whose very brains, as Manichæus's skin, are stuffed with chaff; for they study little, and preach much, ever sick of a diabetes; nor do they read, but weed authors, picking up cheap and refuse notes, that, with Caligula,

they gather cockle-shells, and, with Domitian, retire into their study to catch flies. At fasts and thanksgivings, the assembler is the state's trumpet, for then he doth not preach, but is blown, proclaims news very loud, the trumpet and his forehead being both of one metal; and yet, good man, he still prays for boldness; he hacknies out his voice, like a crier, and is a kind of spiritual adjutant, receives orders, and spreads them. In earnest, the states cannot want this tool, for, without him, the saints would scarce assemble; and, if the zealots chance to fly out, they are charmed home by his sounding brass. There is not, on earth, a baser sycophant; for he ever is chewing some vote or ordinance, and tells the people how savoury it is; like him, who licked up the emperor's spittle, and swore it was sweet. Would the two houses give him cathedral lands, he would prove Lords and Commons to be *jure divino*; but, should they offer him the self-denying ordinance, he would justify the devil, and curse them to their faces; his brother kirk-man did it in Scotland. It is pleasant to observe, how finely they play into each other's hands; Marshall procures thanks to be given to Sedgwick, for his great pains; Sedgwick obtains as much for Marshall, and so they all pimp for one another; but yet, to their great comfort be it spoken, their whole seven years sermons, at Westminster, are now to be sold in Fetterlane and Pye-corner. Before a battle, the assembler ever speaks to the soldiers, and the holding up of his hands must be as necessary as Moses's against the Amalekites; for he pricks them on, tells them, That God loves none but the valiant; but, when bullets fly, himself runs first, and then cries, All the sons of Adam are cowards! Were there any metempsychosis his soul would want a lodging; no single beast could fit him, being wise as a sheep, and innocent as a wolf; his sole comfort is, he cannot out-sin Hugh Peters; sure as Satan hath possessed the assembler, so Hugh Peters hath possessed Satan, and is the devil's devil; he, alone, would fill a whole herd of Gadarenes; he hath sucked blood ever since he lay in the butcher's sheets, and now, like his sultan, has a shambles in his countenance, so crimson and torrid, you may there read, how St. Laurence died, and think the three children were delivered from his face. This is St. Hugh, who will level the assembler, or the devil's an ass. Yoke these brethren, and they two couple like a sadduce and a pharisee, or a Turk and a Persian, both Mahometans. But the assembler's deepest, [highest abomination, is his solemn league and covenant; whereby he strives to damn or beggar the whole kingdom, out-doing the devil, who only persuades, but the assembler forces to perjury or starving. And this, whoever lives to observe it, will, one day, sink both him and his faction; for he, and his oath, are so much one, that, were he half-hanged and let down again, his first word would be, covenant! covenant!

But I forget, a character should be brief, though tedious length be his best character; therefore I will give you, what he denies the sequestered clergy, but a fifth part; for weigh him single, and he has the pride of three tyrants, the forehead of six jailers, and the fraud of twelve brokers; or take him in the bunch, and their whole assembly is a club of hypocrites, where six dozen of schismatics spend two hours for four shillings a-piece.

A
WORD FOR THE ARMY,

AND
TWO WORDS TO THE KINGDOM.

To clear the one, and cure the other. Forced in much Plainness and Brevity from their faithful Servant, Hugh Peters.

— *Nunc nunc properandus et acri
Fingendus sine sine rotâ.* —

London, printed by M. Simmons, for Giles Calvert, at the Black Spread-Eagle, at the West End of Paula, 1647. Quarto, containing fourteen pages.

THOUGH I have looked upon the scribblings of this age as the fruits of some men's idleness, and most men's folly, and therefore should not willingly have owned myself, if found among that rabble: yet, when it grows so unlimitedly high, and impudently brazen, that some men I know, men even above flattery, and so sleek and smooth, in their uprightness (among whom I place the present general and his second) that I had thought nothing of that kind could stick, and yet these besmeared by uncircumcised pens.

I. Two things I resolved, which now I offer to the world. The first is an humble petition to the parliament, that they would please to try their now well-backed authority, that some one faithful discreet man may be chosen to divulge gazettes, courants, or news, who shall be accountable to the state, for what he prints or communicates to the kingdom; and that two of each party (for parties there are) shall undertake for what is printed on the behalf of either, that so all scandalous and slanderous personal affronts may be avoided, and matters worth time and reading may be published: or, if none of these may be gotten, at least men may put their names to their papers, that honest men may know where to find an accuser; for, *si sat sit accusare, quis erit innocens?* I list not to answer objections may be made hereunto; since this boundless kind of boldness were better curbed to some inconvenience, then continued to a mischief, even the poisoning the whole nation: it should not be a wise man's quære, what strength, wit, acuteness, &c. runs through such a paper? but, *cui bono?*

II. My second resolve is, though not to answer every late pamphlet punctually, which rather than do, I might undertake to cleanse the stable in the story: yea, though my share lies so much in them, that it would be costly to purchase clean handkerchiefs to wipe off every spattering on my face, and I could as shortly, and more truly, answer

all, as he did Bellarmine, with, Thou lyeſt; knowing no public instrument, in no age, in no place, can travel without others dashing and dogs barking: yet, to prevent ſtones from ſpeaking, and graves from opening, or ſome horrid unheard of thing from appearing, to ſatisfy the wide-mouthed world, and the black-mouthed pamphleteers; I ſhall, in plainneſs and faithfulneſs, ſhew you the army's wounds ſince they put up their ſword, and, with them, the ſtate's diſeaſe; and, in humility, offer the cure, and leave all to a wonder-working God.

First, let me tell you, negatively, the evils, commonly charged upon the army, are not the army's evils. We have generally *cauſam pro non cauſa*, in which Mr. Prynne was wont to exceed, who ſpoke much more than he meant to ſtand to: the ſum of all his is the army's rebellion. Another pedantick ſounds a retreat, who, being nameleſs, will not endure a charge; the marrow of his divinity, non-obedience. Another brings the army to the bar, where he pleads with a company of balled threatenings, and would fright Fairfax with a ſight of a king at Whitehall. One cries, they ſin againſt Cæſar; another, they have deflowered the parliament; another, they have raviſhed the city; another, they are ſectaries, enemies to government, falſe to God, to man, friends, enemies to themſelves. They have loſt Ireland, ruined England: Oh! taxes and free-quarter: Oh! this tinkling with the court, cries one: Oh! their doubtful carriage with the court, cries another: Cavaliers ſhall up, cries one: we ſhall never ſee good day, ſays another. I do not think Paul heard ſuch a confused noiſe, when himſelf could hardly get leave to ſpeak: that the word army muſt answer all the doubtful miſchievous deadly queſtions in the world: for example;

Who brings famine? the army.

Who the plague? the army.

Who the ſword? the army.

Who hinders trade? the army.

Who incenſeth Scotland? the army.

Who hardens the king? the army.

Who confounds all? the army.

And if it ſhould be asked the cavaliers and malignants, who conquered you? they would answer, the army: if the preſbyters, who diſappointed you? the army: if the independents, who leaves you in the dark? the army: and if Haman were asked, what he would do with theſe Jews? we know the answer: alas, poor army: *qualis de te narratur fabula*? But to my purpoſe; the grand complaint (which, as moſt inſiſted upon, ſo is moſt likely to have vulgar acceptance) is the army's diſobedience to the parliament, by which the ſtate was endangered to loſe all conſiſtency; in reſpect of which, the apprentices routing the houſe is but duty or innocence; or, at worſt, a parallel practice.

To which this is my plain and full answer.

It is confeſſed they were not willing to diſband at Walden, being urged thereunto, and denied in Eſſex, when expected and preſſed: but conſider, 1ſt, It was required but conditionally, with regard to their ſecurity, indemnity, and arrears, and none of theſe performed; it was not ſuch a *monſtrum horrendum*.

2dly, They were free Engliſhmen as ſoldiers, and muſt maintain their

obligation to the state, as well as answer the major and more corrupt votes of the house.

3dly, Nature commanded their self-preservation, when such instruments were sent to disband them, and command them for Ireland, of whose non-integrity they had good experience.

4thly, When not long before they could not have leave to petition their faithful general, how should they expect any thing, being disbanded?

5thly, This piece of disobedience was not new unto them, when the same practice was familiar from men more mercenary in the north, and their denial never counted rebellion, but glibly swallowed.

6thly, I answer, and I desire it may be observed: the first force ever put upon the parliament was long before this, and that nearer hand: did not the city remonstrance hang like a petard upon the parliament door week after week, and every ward in course, to attend and fire it? Speak, gentlemen of the house, how you were accosted and saluted, and in what language, till you were forced to speak pure London.

7thly, I do here offer to make good upon oath, that the commanding party, in the house, had more force upon them to disband us, than we put upon the house in refusing. For proof whereof, master Anthony Nicholls, lately with us at Kingston, before his flight, being urged by myself, before another sufficient witness, to speak to this point, calling for a testimony from heaven, professed, that, when the army offered at first to go for Ireland, he with the other impeached members fully condescended to it, and they gave him the agitation thereof; but, as he protested, the ministers in London came to them with violence, pressing the contrary upon this ground: that this army would soon conquer Ireland, fill it with schisms, and not only command it, but in a short time give law to England; and therefore would hear of nothing but the disbanding it, which, quoth he, put us upon that violent course: now who forced these ministers? I do not say; but you see who forced those parliament-men, and we know they would force the army; and upon denial the army are the forcers. And, if the city remonstrators durst speak, they can tell you who forced them to force the parliament: and if the apprentices would break silence, they could tell you who spit in their mouths, and clapped them on the back.

In all this I speak not my delight, but my grief, that so many pulpits should plainly witness this force, as history tells us who poisoned king John. And though we have not been ignorant of this kind of violence (which I had rather attribute to my brethren's zeal, than their malice) yet you see how tenderly we have dealt with those: we knowing many godly amongst them, who have not yet declared against them, complained of one of them; nay, though this army, from first to last, never had any of these brethren to offer one sermon to us to encourage us in dangers, to rejoice with us in our success; nay, though they know we want helps, and have been forced to use such help, as they have reviled us for, and so would have us make brick without straw; nay, though we know most hard measure met us; I do profess I conceive even Gargamus himself might have marched through the army unmolested,

though we are not ignorant, *hinc nostri fundi calamitas*. The Lord pity and pardon, the army doth.

8thly, Lastly, The army durst not disband, not seeing a suitable power to stand betwixt honest men and their dangers; the garrisons not possessed by men of trust, and the five thousand horse intended not in such hands as to be wished; and the best of them might be soon disbanded, when the foot scattered.

No, no, this is not the army's wound or sore; and, to answer the retreater's grand question, whence are wars? I answer with the apostle James, and add: 'peace begets plenty, plenty pride, and pride war, and war begets peace, and so round again' The school-boy, that helped him to so many Latin ends out of Tully, can answer a harder query; but, since he pretends to religion, I wonder this offended brother doth not attend the rule, Matth. xviii. Why cannot he as well speak to a brother offending, and so tell him, as to tell all the world of him? I have been satisfied in my own spirit, that the godly could not be much offended with us, since none have taken the liberty of speaking to us; which, I dare say, from the general to the meanest officer professing godliness, had not been unwelcome.

But I look upon that author to be as great a stranger to the army, as he is often to his own principles, and his whole course to be a trade of retreating, and leave him to another pen. Nor is a general toleration the army's gangrenæ, when as they never hindered the state from a state-religion, having only wished to enjoy now what the Puritans begged under the prelates; when we desire more, blame us and shame us. Neither was it the evil of the army, that, being modelled, they suddenly closed, and marched at that time, when the boldest complainer now would have given them two parts of what they had, to have secured the third. Friends, it was not their evil to divide part of their force to Taunton, and, with another part, to fight at Naseby, and after that, by God's blessing, to deliver up a free kingdom to an ungrateful inhabitant, and to an envious cruel piece of a parliament; nor did those honest-hearted, so much aspersed, Fairfax and Cromwell sin in owning the army at New-market; nor in their march from thence towards London; nor in their respects to those noble commissioners of parliament sent to them; nor in their courtesy to those discreet citizens from London, who deserve much; nor their condescending to their desires to march off upon promise of two things: First, that they would put out the imperious reformadoes. Secondly, in securing the house, though neither performed; nor in scattering their forces at two hundred miles distance, and providing for Ireland; nor in their return upon those confessed insolencies; nor in marching unto and through the city, to shew their harmless intentions; nor in securing the king in that juncture; nor in hearkening to their agitators in their just proposals; nor in asking money to avoid free quarter, and other burdens; nor in bringing those of the house, that fled to them, home again; nor in desiring a sound parliament, and clearing it from such persons as had shaken their publick interest; nor in propounding wholesome means to the house, and leaving them to their feet, to be enlarged, altered, or explained, to the kingdom's advantage; nor, lastly, are complaints against private

soldiers the proper evil of the army, since, when I speak of the army, I mainly intend their counsel and conduct; for you know, in such a body, that sickness in pay causeth death in discipline. But positively we will turn up our lap, and shew you our nakedness, *et habebitis confectos reos*. We acknowledge, we are reaping the ill fruits of our want of action: *Sæviior armis luxuria incubuit, victosque ulciscitur*.

It may be, some of us have had our lordly dish in Jael's tent, and our head may be nailed to the ground; we may think, the war being ended, we may begin to look to our own comforts and subsistence; and we are apt to plead, who shall enjoy honour, and other advantages, but those that have won them through hazards? and think they may be confided in. It may be, some of us look upon our shops and trades, as things below us. We want that communion with God, and one with another, which we had in sad hours; we are forgetful of our mercies; we may be apt to quarrel one with the other, for want of an enemy.

We may have such a neighbour of the court, that some of us may be planet-struck, yet I hope not principle-shaken; we may wander too much from our own first undertakings, in the opinion of others.

We are not without varieties of thoughts about the matters of God, which never appeared when we had no time for talking, having so much to do and act. We cannot, we confess, live beyond our frailties, in many kinds: to be short, we have prayed more, loved more, believed more, than we do. We are grown effeminate with ease, and are more moved with a dead dog, than we have been with a living lion; we are less in heaven, and more on earth; and these truly, are our wounds, dear friends.

Some other diseases there are as much considerable amongst others, which may be of greater and stranger influence, as,

1. All men's unbelief in God for the carrying on his work; he is not minded in the whole business.

2. Our not designing a government from first to last.

3. Our general, proud, and careless carriage towards the present differences, which make so much noise amongst us.

4. A selfishness and negligence in committees, and men intrusted, behaving themselves as if they could keep their painted and well-stuffed cabbins when the ship is sinking.

5. A general want of the fear of God, and that spirit of trembling before him, which, whilst it was upon Ephraim, he was a glorious tribe.

6. An oscitant and untrussed kind of deportment in all men towards publick affairs; the truth is, the want of a publick spirit threatens ruin very much.

7. Unwarranted jealousies of all men, and all actions; yea, though convinced of each others faithfulness.

8. Common unthankfulness and ingratitude to God and man; I fear, shortly, the greatest error, in the kingdom, will be the famine of love.

9. Delay to the distressed, making them more miserable than the matter of their complaints doth.

10. A spirit of lying and false witness-bearing, reaching to the un-

dervaluing of our enjoyments; to say England is grown so poor by the war, is false; excepting what is blasted by some northern winds, our treasure is yet in the kingdom: London as rich as before; witness cloaths and diet; witness marriages and disposing of children, where piety, proportion, and parentage take little place, unless mingled with much red clay; witness the ready money for purchases, if cheap, though shaken titles in tottering times

The Cure may lie in these.

The army, you say, must yet be maintained, and we have thought of establishments, &c. to take off all offences occasioned by the army; either you must find action for it, which will answer much, or repartite it upon several counties, according to proportion, that every county may know their own men and their charge, by which the Hollanders have kept their army these seventy or eighty years. I have formerly answered all objections may be made against it. The immediate pay of the soldier in every county, as it will cut off many unnecessary charges, so it will be easy and contentful to both parties, I mean the soldier and the landlord.

2dly, Good men, not good laws, must save kingdoms; not that I would separate them; therefore, I think that the first work to be attended: for, as the Venetians live upon their curious elections, so the Netherlands, by keeping their government in such hands as they do, though perpetuating offices to them hath proved dangerous. Good justices, good mayors, &c. had it been our first work, it would have been our best, and Englishmen can as soon conform to just and honest government, as any other people. See it in the army, how serviceable the worst impressed men have been under example; and characters to be given out for the elector, and elected, and for the managing of chief burgesses. What if every fifty, in every county, chose one to choose for them, &c. most men being ignorant of the worthiest of men.

3dly, That all men, from the highest to the lowest, may know what they may trust to without delay, and to trust God with the management of it, if according to his will.

4thly, Tythes, or something of analogy to them, brought into a common stock in every county, will do two things, viz. keep a good proportion of money ready in every county, and content the preacher and his widow better; when in towns two hundred pounds, or one hundred and fifty pounds per annum, and in the parish one hundred pounds shall be certainly paid, and forty pounds to the widow, &c. as in other countries they do; and hence raise a stock to set the poor on work in every county, the want of which hath been so much complained of.

5thly, That salaries may be appointed to all places of trust, that temptations to deceit take not hold of officers.

6thly, A committee for union betwixt all men truly godly; that we may swim in one channel (which is in hand) with free and loving debates allowed in every county, that we may convince, not confound each other: two or three itinerary preachers, sent by the state into every county; and a committee of godly men, ministers, gentlemen, and others, to send out men of honesty, holiness, and parts, into all countries, recommended from their test.

7thly, Three men yearly chosen in every parish, to take up differences, which may be called friend-makers, as they do in other places with good success.

8thly, That the customs (by which great sums come to hand) may be in very choice hands, and their under-officers, in all parts, may be presented from those parts to them; and out of two or three, so presented, they choose one, if not just exception against him.

9thly, That my former model for the navy may be reviewed and accepted, which was presented about two years since; whereby the navy's debts may be paid, and two parts of three in the charge saved for the future, and the work better done.

10thly, That merchants may have all manner of encouragement; the law of merchants set up, and strangers, even Jews, admitted to trade, and live with us; that it may not be said, we pray for their conversion, with whom we will not converse, we being all but strangers on the earth.

11thly, That foreign nations may have due respect by all fair correspondences with them, and intelligencers kept among them; especially that Scotland may be used in all things as neighbours and friends, though not as masters and commanders.

12thly, That academies may be set up for nobility and gentry, where they may know piety and righteousness, as well as gallantry and courtship (we commonly fetch over the dirt of France, rather than their excellencies), and that shorter ways to learning may be advanced; and that godliness in youth give them place in colleges before letters and importunity of men.

13thly, That the work of Ireland may not thus still be made a mock-work; but that the business may be carried on strenuously and vigorously by men to be confided in; who may take it upon them by the great, or day-work, either of these; there are good men will undertake it upon them, if fully countenanced with a good magazine and some money; for what we send now is but like a worm in a hollow tooth, it takes up no jaw.

14thly, That no magistrates in matters of religion meddle further than as a nursing father, and then all children shall be fed, though they have several faces and shapes.

15thly, That all men intrusted may have set time, place, and persons appointed, to give up their accounts unto of their employments.

16thly, Since the vast and even incomprehensible affairs of this kingdom, by the present council, must have so many agitations and so many varieties pass upon them; two ways it may be cured:

1. If nothing be taken into the house's consideration but *res vere ardua*, wherein the heart-blood of the kingdom runs, and no petty matters.

2. If a council of state of ten or twelve honest and godly well-biassed men might sit near the house, and these, not invested with power, might commend matters of high concernment to the house, and receive their scruples, and those to state also government of churches.

17thly, That burgesses of parliament may be better proportioned, six, four, or two for shires, and some for great cities; that they give

monthly some account to the places intrusting them, and that some laws may be probationers for a month or two.

18thly, That some of the parliament may be appointed to receive such suggestions from friends for the good of the whole, which they cannot constantly bring in by way of petition.

19thly, That prisoners, especially for debt, may have dispatches, and not lose heads, hearts, and hands as well as heels, in gaols; and that the creditor may maintain them in prison: that poor thieves may not be hanged for thirteen pence half-penny; but that a gally or two may be provided to row in the river or channel, to which they may be committed, or employed in draining lands, or banished.

It were also to be wished, that our gentry find out callings, and that younger brothers may be better provided for by their parents, that some of them fall not on learning and the ministry as a shift, and some, which is worse, take up their employments in high-ways, or, at best, pester Ireland, or foreign plantations; and all to maintain the paintry and glisten of the family, and too often to keep up the name and honour of it in a sottish and luxurious hire.

20thly, Quick justice makes quiet common-wealths; I look upon that as contenting the Hollanders, under their vast taxes, and excises. What they have they can keep, where, in every town, you may get justice as often and as naturally, as their cows give milk. The few advocates in Amsterdam will tell you what little use they make of lawyers, where I have known a merchant dealing for thirty thousand pounds per annum, and in seven years not spend twenty shillings in law.

And, if I might not offend the court and gentry, I would say the wrapping up of so many of them in gowns, and scuffling at Westminster, is rather a mark of their meanness and jejuneness, and our slavery and folly, than of any national glory: that, to this day, we can neither buy nor sell, convey nor make testaments, without great and questionable parchments: and for law must *jurare in verba*, either of Littleton, Cook, or a casuist, *ejusdem farinae*, which would find a cure in keeping records in all counties of all men's estates and alienations, &c. and those transmitted to a grand or leiger record at Westminster; the strength and time, spent in term quarrels, were better bestowed upon the West Indies, to which we have been so often called, and would soon make an end of Europe's troubles by drying up that Euphrates.

I know not what engagements the king hath upon any, nor how the intercourse lies; but, before the close of new addresses, I wish the people might have two things granted them, viz.

1. To understand by some wise statist what the true English of prerogative, privilege, and liberty is. If these three bawling children were well brought to bed, the whole house would be quiet.

2. That a certain time might be appointed to chase their burgesses undeniably, if they please to make use of it, with writs or without; what year this shall begin I say not; but, if not granted, you shall hardly keep tyranny out of doors.

To close and cure all; would this nation but follow the plain footsteps of providence in one thing, the work were done.

Let us but consider, whether the Lord hath not pointed out his

work unto us, viz. putting righteous men into places of trust, making way thereunto; as if the fulfilling of the many prophecies, and the expectation of the just, were now to be answered. Witness the first and now second gaubling the parliament, the like in the city, the same in the army, no less in the ministry, as in the choice of Jesse's sons: neither this nor that must serve but the least, that the whole kingdom hath been in the refiner's fire. The Lord would do us good against our wills: but we content ourselves to give him a female when we have a male in the flock. This broke the axle-tree of the Jewish state and church, and that bought *Aceldama*.

However, I am confident, God will carry on this work, which is his own; and to that end I look above all present agitations, knowing if we enter into our chambers, and shut our doors for a little moment, the indignation shall be overpast.

THE BREWER'S PLEA :

OR,

A VINDICATION OF STRONG BEER AND ALE.

Wherein is declared the wonderful bounty and patience of God, the wicked and monstrous unthankfulness of man, the unregarded injuries done to these creatures, groaning, as it were, to be delivered from the abuses proceeding from disdainful aspersions of ignorant, and from the intemperance of sinful man.

1 Cor. xii. 19, 20, 21.

*If they were all one member, where would the body be?
But now are they many members, yet but one body.
The eye cannot say unto the haul, I have no need of thee,
nor, again, the head to the feet, I have no need of thee.*

Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas.

Juven. Sat.

London, printed for I. C. 1647. Quarto, containing eight pages.

Lectori candido et benevolo, S. P. D.

Courteous and judicious reader, to thy view chiefly do I expose these my ensuing lines, being urged thereunto by the loud cry of two horrible wrath-provoking sins, now reigning amongst us, viz. unthankfulness towards God, and uncharitableness towards man. These two like inseparable companions always go together, both dishonouring

the Creator; some unthankfully vilifying, and others intemperately abusing the creature; to reform which lies only in the magistrate, yet blame and aspersions are cast upon those who suffer most (by such lewd and prodigal offenders) I mean the distressed company of brewers, whose sad condition groans for speedy relief; a company very needful, and also profitable to this city and suburbs, yet looked upon with an unkind aspect, but occasioned by those who may be well affected, but, being mistaken in their judgment, can give no true and solid reason for it. But, according to that of the poet,

*Non amo te Volusi, nec possum dicere, quare;
Hoc tantum possum dicere, non amo te.*

WHAT, a vineyard in England? hath God been pleased to warm this western climate with a temporal blessing of so excellent a nature for the sustaining, yea, for the reviving of the poor wearied labouring men; and not only so, but also for the chearing up of the drooping spirits, and the gladdening of the hearts of the sorrowful and afflicted? this is no small favour, which hath so long been bestowed upon us in this accidental part of the world: but it is a wonder, that, for so great a blessing, we should return so little thanks unto the Almighty; yea, many amongst us take not so much notice of it, as to account it for a blessing; and others, more ungrateful, little knowing what the want thereof would produce, seem to loath it in their thoughts, by their disdainful expressions and aspersions cast upon those creatures, without which this kingdom, especially near London, were in a sad condition, as I shall shew more plainly hereafter. And here is manifestly seen, not only the great bounty of God, but also his exceeding wonderful patience, that, notwithstanding such murmurings, he hath yet continued his blessing amongst us, though he sometimes threatened a dearth thereof. Thus God dealt with his Israel in the wilderness; although some murmured at manna, yet he withdrew not that favour from them. But our disdainers will say, it is their zeal against drunkenness; I may as well say, O sinful zeal! staggering and wavering no less through ignorance, than the drunkard through his intemperance. Because some do abuse the good creature of God by that detestable sin of drunkenness, shall others, therefore (such as would be thought to be religious) expose it to disdain? nay, cry it down as a thing to be extinguished? let such ingenuously confess which they hold to be the greater sin, to abuse or to extinguish any of God's creatures; the abuse, by punishment duly inflicted, may be reformed; but to extinguish, or diminish the virtue of any of the creatures, is to deprive not only the offenders, but also the innocent, of the full fruition of those creatures which God hath appointed for the comfort of mankind.

After Noah had offended, and suffered reproach by his cursed son, did he, to manifest his detestation against that sin, give order to destroy that vineyard which he had so painfully planted? had not this error been greater than the former? for he, that will serve God aright, must neither turn to the right hand nor to the left, but must walk before him in a straight path with an upright heart; to diminish or detract

from the excellency of the creature, is to dishonour the creature. And it is a punishment from God upon a people, when a people degenerate from its natural virtue, or is deprived of its proper excellency; as appeareth by the expression of the prophet, bewailing the sad condition of Israel: saith he, 'your silver is become dross, your wine is mixed with water,' Isa. i. 22. And our Saviour, who came to repair our ruins, and to purchase for us a better paradise than that which Adam lost, made it his first miracle to make water wine, and that of the best, John ii. 10. whilst some of us would turn our native wine into water, I mean our strong beer into beer of the least nourishment and meanest condition. For brevity's sake, let these two witnesses suffice, although the Holy Scriptures are full of expressions tending to the commendations of those creatures most (I speak concerning temporal blessings) which are most cherishing to the vital spirits, and most preservative to the health and well-being of weak mankind. The same holy spirit, that pronounceeth woes against gluttons and drunkards, commendeth Canaan, because it flowed with milk and honey, and corn, and wine, and oil, Deut. xi. 9, 14. And, although England hath not naturally the wine of the vine, yet it enjoyeth the plentiful fruition thereof; yea, in such an abundant manner, that many English prodigals, though vast estates have been left to divers of them, yet have complained more of the want of money than of the want of wine. But grant that these foreign plantations should fail us, or that we should be disappointed, yea, almost destitute of wine by some unexpected means proceeding from providence, either divine or human, or that those ships that ventured, or those commodities transported for wine, should be otherwise employed; or improved to the enriching of the kingdom, that wine thereby should be scarce amongst us, yet hath England whereat to rejoice within itself. For of hops and malt our native commodities (and therefore the more agreeable to the constitutions of our native inhabitants) may be made such strong beer, being well boiled and hopped, and kept its full time, as that it may serve instead of sack, if authority shall think fit, whereby they also may know experimentally the virtue of those creatures, at their full height; which beer being well brewed, of a low, pure amber colour, clear and sparkling, noblemen and the gentry may be pleased to have English sack in their wine-cellars, and taverns also to sell to those who are not willing, or cannot conveniently lay it in their own houses; which may be a means greatly to increase and improve the tillage of England, and also the profitable plantations of hop-grounds, thereby enabling the industrious farmers to pay their rents, and also to improve the revenues of the nobility and gentry; and so much the more may they be pleased to add some of those places, which, as yet, are receptacles for wild beasts (parks and forests) in which may be erected fair and profitable farms, and so become comfortable habitations, for laborious and painful husbandmen, with no small profit to the owners thereof, and also to the general good of the whole nation; should part of those commodities, transported for wine, be more advantageously disposed of, and our vineyard at home be better husbanded and manured, and at lesser rates such good strong beer as shall be most cherishing to poor labouring people, without which they cannot well subsist,

their food being, for the most part, of such things as afford little or had nourishment, nay, sometimes dangerous, and would infect them with many sicknesses and diseases, were they not preserved (as with an antidote) with good beer, whose virtues and effectual operations, by help of the hop well boiled in it, are more powerful to expel poisonous infections than is yet publickly known, or taken notice of.

And should the Almighty, being provoked by our sins, afflict these parts with the infection of the plague, in what a deplorable condition would the poor of this city and suburbs be, if they should be deprived of the comfortable fruition of good strong beer and ale? For the providing whereof, the licensed well governed victualler is to be encouraged by suppressing of unlicensed ale houses, which are the only receptacles of drunkards, and by severe punishing those lewd livers, who frequent those disordered houses, which only dare harbour them, because, having no licences, they are in no danger of the loss thereof, and being accustomed to their evil courses, both they that keep such houses, and they that frequent them, regardless of their reputation, by reason of continual impunity, grow impudent and fearless either of God or the magistrate, which causes scandalous aspersions to be cast on those which offend not; but the licensed victuallers, keeping good houses and good orders, paying taxes according to their degrees, are no less necessary for the poor neighbouring inhabitants, and also for strangers, as occasion may require, than any other retailing trade; for, as the brewer is the poor man's treasurer, so the victualler is the yeoman of the poor man's wine-cellar, providing and preparing, for present use, such sound well ripened beer, as the poor cannot provide for themselves, neither without it can they go on in their labour, unless beef, pork, and bacon, and such hearty meat could be afforded them at a cheaper rate; but, although such meats should prove more scarce and dear, yet, if it please God, in mercy, to send plenty of corn for bread and beer, we shall not hear the cry of the poor complaining of want, so long as, for a small matter, they can send for so much good bread and beer, as will suffice their whole families, which is not only a sustenance against hunger, but a preservative against sickness. But grains, if they be taken hot, and put into a vessel fit for that purpose, they are an excellent bath for itching limbs; also they are good food for the cattle of this city and suburbs, without which, hay and other provisions would be at a far dearer rate than usually they are. Thus we see that, among the many temporal blessings, which the Lord hath bestowed upon us, this is none of the meanest; the Lord in mercy grant us thankful hearts. But, *nescio quin teneros oculis mihi fascinat agnos*: behold a foul monster called ingratitude, with two prodigious heads and scorching eyes, hath cast such looks upon this our vineyard, as if like Balak and Balaam they were conspiring together to bring a curse thereon, though of differing dispositions, yet both dangerously provoking the Almighty to displeasure. The one of these heads is of that sort of people, who out of a fervent zeal to the glory of God the creator, forget to honour him in a right taking notice of him, in his mercy and bounty towards us in his creatures, but, with an austere countenance and supercilious eye, and speeches agreeable therunto, alight and despise the creature, and those

that deal therein, because abused by intemperate persons: thus the creature is made the patient of evil, groaning as it were to be delivered therefrom, and yet is burdened with hard censure, a double injury. Zeal without discretion is like heat without moisture, every way destructive. Let such consider, if at any time afflictions befall them, would they be contented therefore to be evil thought of, because they fare so ill; nay, will not the calamity be the more heavy unto them, when they shall see that it lays them open to uncharitable censure? this is all one, as if we should afflict the innocent, because they are abused, and let the guilty escape and prosper according to that saying, *Felix ac prosperum scellus virtus vocatur. Optimi corruptio pessima*, is a destiny equally fatal to every good creature, and, the better the creature is, it, being corrupted or abused, is so much the more dangerous and hurtful; the sweetest ointment, being putrefied, becomes most noisome; and man himself, by creation the most honoured of all the creatures, being degenerated into a condition tending to cruelty and violence, is more insatiable and unavoidably dangerous than any beast. Nay, religion itself, which is *illa aurea catena* that golden chain, whereby God and man, with reverence be it spoken, are so nearly linked together, John xvii. 11, 21. I say religion, which is that *scala miliarium*, by which we are directed the right way to ascend the heavenly throne of glory, is not free; *quis talis fando temperet u lachrymis?* from the foul abuses of audaciously wicked mankind, the profane person maketh a mock of it, the hypocrite maketh it his cloke for every occasion; but it will prove a mourning one at the last, full of lamentations and woes. But this is not a subject now to treat of; wherefore I cease, but I shall not cease to mourn, although in silence *cura leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent. Igne quid utilius?* what more needful than fire? yet many fair buildings have been destroyed thereby, shall it therefore be forbidden? then let not those, whose better fare maketh them so insensible of poor men's wants, deny them that good beer, which is so needful to their meaner food, because that some abuse it. But alas! who complaineth of that foul sin of gluttony? which, as a grave insatiable, hath swallowed up many of those good creatures, which are appointed for our nourishment and comfort; but, by the excessive abuse thereof, many of excellent parts have been much disabled both in body and mind from the free and happy use of those good gifts, which God bestowed upon them to be improved, and also employed to his glory; and that in their latter days most, which is that age of man which should be most adorned with wisdom by reason of long experience; yet let not any cry out against, or lay any blame upon Eastcheap, plentiful Cheapside, or Leaden-Hall, or either Fish-street, or any other of those fair and plentiful markets in about this city, wherein God's bounty is manifested and extended towards us in so large a manner; but rather, in a detestation of our own unworthiness, and unthankfulness, let us all cry out and say, *nos, nos inquam, desumus Iapeti genus qui præsumus*; Prometheus the son of Japhet, for the heathen look no higher but somewhat darkly concerning Noah, who was their two-faced Janus (who saw the end of the old world, and the beginning of the new) having, as poets feigned, stolen fire from heaven, and brought it amongst the sons of men, it occasioned

many new and dangerous diseases; even such is that zeal, which is not guided by true knowledge, and limited within the bounds of charity; it fills the mind with many strange and dangerous errors, corrupting the judgment, which are the diseases of the soul; but doubtless those, that are truly religious, will qualify and cool (I do not mean, extinguish) the hot fervency of their zeal, with the sweet dew of discreet and pious charity, knowing, that God is a severe judge against those, who, passing by themselves, presume to censure others; which is one of those crying sins, which the land now mourns. The other head of that wrath-provoking monster, ingratitude [*si ingratum dixeris omnia dixeris*] is that wretched sort of people, who falling, an infirmity proper to the drunkard, into the error of the left hand, are so besotted with the love of the creature, as altogether to neglect their duty towards the Creator, who is blessed for ever. Amen.

This brutish sin, drunkenness, may be called a sin of sins, the fruitful mother of a numerous brood, hateful even among the heathen; the Turks, amongst whom our English beer is of more esteem, than any other sort of drink, are severe punishers of drunkenness; in Cairo, a fair city in Turkey, it is punished with death; among the Indians, in some parts, it was so severely punished with death that they spared not the magistrate, but gave rewards to them, that slew him in the time of his being drunk; such was their cruel zeal, or heathenish severity, permitting no time for repentance, as being ignorant what belonged thereunto, nor to set their houses in order for the good of their posterity. But the indulgent lenity of our magistracy, to the endangering of many souls, hath so provoked the Almighty to take the matter into his own hands, that sometimes he hath also, for a warning to others, punished this sin by death; witness those untimely ends, some having died immediately in the sin, yea in the very house where they have so offended; others have broke their necks off their horses, and others, going a ship-board, have fallen between the ship and the boat, and so have been drowned, a manifest token of God's displeasure against that sin. Neither hath he spared the glutton, though a sin less scandalous, because not so easily discerned; yet no less detestable in the sight of the all-seeing Almighty, witness that rod of many twigs, I mean the many diseases, and divers weaknesses, pains, and infirmities inflicted upon their bodies, and also the unsuitness of their intellectual parts to any thing that is good: but now, in this time of reformation, better things are not only hoped for, but also expected, that the magistrate may be pleased, for the glory of God, whose substitute he is, and for the good of the commonwealth, whose welfare is committed to his care, to do his endeavour, according to the power and trust committed unto him, to punish, according to the laws of this kingdom, those that wilfully offend and continue in those gross sins, the foulness whereof is expressed, Deut. xxi. 20, 21. Prov. xxiii. 21. Rom. xiii. 13. Ephes. v. 18. Those which are drunken are drunken in the night, saith the apostle, 1 Thes. v. 7. If such modesty was amongst those, who, as yet, were not converted to the faith, or perhaps, as yet, had no knowledge of the truth; how great a shame is it, for such a nation as this, where the sound of the gospel hath been so long heard, to harbour such offenders, yea, to

let them pass unpunished? the consideration of which, doubtless, will move the hearts of the pious magistracy of those times, to have a more vigilant eye over those irregular unlicensed private houses, which hitherto have been the more secure, because so little suspected, that not only the drunkards, but also the places of drunkenness, may be punished, whereby the good creatures may be delivered from those servile uses, or rather freed from those base abuses, which they are exposed unto, by unworthy intemperate persons. And also, whereby those, who deal in those creatures, may the more chearfully go on in their lawful callings, and the more assuredly expect a blessing from the Almighty, upon their careful endeavours, that so the company of brewers may be looked upon as supporters and relievers of a great part of the poor of this city and suburbs, and be had in such respect, and enjoy such privileges, as a brother company and members of this city of London, according to that admonition of the apostle, 1 Cor. xii. 14. The body is not one member, but many, &c. and verse 18, God hath set the members every one of them in the body, as it hath pleased him, &c. which holy advice, let every one so observe and follow, that evil-speaking may be put away, that envyings and emulations may cease, that we may, all according to our degree, like stars in their order, fight against Satan, that common enemy to all mankind, who would deprive us of our spiritual Canaan; as the stars, in their order, fought against Sisera, who would have deprived Israel of their temporal Canaan; that the Lord may be pleased to shine upon these three kingdoms, with the blessings of truth and peace; that the affrighting voice of the oppressor may cease, and the cry of the oppressed may be no more heard; that all men may receive their due respect, not according to the greatness of their estates, but according to the manner of their getting those estates; that the ensuing year may be as it were a jubilee, wherein every true Israelite may return to his own proper inheritance; that the winter storms of wars, and rumours of wars, may cease, and truth may spring forth like a vine, with her clusters of plenty, and the peaceable voice of the turtle may be heard in our land. In the meanwhile, let every true-hearted Christian send forth such sighs and prayers to the Almighty, that he may be pleased to frame such hearts, in all the three nations, that with speed he may bring people from captivity, that Jacob may rejoice, and Israel may be glad, which the Lord grant for his mercies sake.

THE SCOTTISH POLITICK PRESBYTER,
SLAIN BY AN ENGLISH INDEPENDENT:

Or, the independents victory over the presbyterian party. The rigour of the Scotch government, their conniving and bribing; the lewdness and debauchery of elders in secret. A tragi-comedy.

Diruo et aedifico, muto quadrata rotundis.

Printed in year 1647. Quarto, containing sixteen pages.

THE PERSONS.

Diractory, the Scotch presbyter.
Sargus, Luxurio, two lewd elders.
Anarchy, an independent. Priscilla, his wife.
Liturgy, an episcoparian.
Moneyless, a courtier.
A pursuivant, officers, mutes.

PROLOGUE.

Presbytery and independency
Have long time strove for the precedency;
Here one kills t' other; when you see him die,
Wish his destroyer fell by liturgy.

ACT I. SCENE I.

Enter Diractory, Sargus, Luxurio, two Elders.

Direct. I T must be so.

Sarg. If that he'll not comply: have you heard nothing from him?

Lux. No, he seems to slight our summons.

Direct. Let him smart for't, Luxurio, denounce him to the horn, after excommunication *ipso facto*: what madness doth possess him, that he'll not buy his peace?

Sarg. I sent one of my agents to him, who gave him timely notice, there was no way but punishment, except a fee.

Direct. Have you already fram'd the warrant?

Sarg. Yes.

Direct. Read it.

[Sargus reads.

Bishops Liturgy.

We, the elders of the congregation demoniack, upon information and notice of some scandals that you have given, whereof we are to take

notice, do hereby, as officers of the church, require and command you to appear before us, on Tuesday the seventh day of February, Anno 1644, to answer such things as shall be objected against you.

*Directory,
Sargus,
Luxurio.*

Direct. Send it away with speed: fond man, doth he not know that we have scourged lords, and trod on kings? that temporal force will aid our spiritual plots; Knox and Melvill have left power to us, ample as that Rome's bishop claims; I'll make myself as great as him, if I get foot in England: I hug my genius that doth prompt me on.

No dull and heavy fancy clogs my soul,
'Tis purest fire extracted from the pole.

If that I can persuade the Englishmen to let me noose them, as their brethren, I'll spread my pennons further yet:

And, like a comet in the evening sky,
Strike with amazement every wond'ring eye.

Let's be gone.

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE II.

Enter Liturgy, Dipwell.

Litur. And why new Jordan?

Dipw. If we give credit to the card, 'twill tell us, like to that river through which once Levites did bear the holy ark, New River flows.

Litur. But can those tender virgins, that resort there to be baptised, endure the bitter blasts of Boreas's and Hyem's frosty breath, and not be much impaired in their health?

Dipw. The water, without doubt, is sanctified; and, as the holy martyrs, girt with flames, sang cheerfully, as if they nothing felt, so compassed about with ice and cold, those, that we there dip, receive no harm.

Litur. Strange delusions.

Enter a Pursuivant, with officers.

Purs. By the command o' th' ruling presbytery demoniack, sir, I arrest your person.

Litur. Where's your warrant?

Purs. Here.

Litur. Ha, my inveterate foes have all conspir'd to work my ruin. Look here, friend; because I did refuse to come when summoned, nor sent a fee for my discharge, [shews Dipwell the warrant] so to maintain their lust and luxury, who, by their daily prodigality, consume their *aurum Tholosanum*, in riotousness, adultery, and fornication. O England! wilt thou be slave to these vermin? the vulgar do not know what will ensue, should they accept of a presbytery; those that do sit at helm will not discover it, for that it tends to uphold their pride and wantonness; good men are vassals to the vile:

The Crown stoops to the mace,

The noble to the base.

While that the fathers of the church do walk like men dejected and
forlorn,

Mourning like doleful pelicans, and howl
In desert places, like Minerva's owl.

Who would have thought so flourishing a state,
As England was but seven years ago,
Should now become the pattern of all woe;
Calamity and comfort comes and goes
From state to state, as Neptune ebbs and flows;
With human things, a thing divine doth play,
Nothing arriv'd at height, but doth decay:
Earth's toys are false, they bid us soon adieu,
Her during sorrows are most certain true.

Come, I'll along, Sir, with you: Mr. Dipwell, will you be witness of
my usage with me?

Dipw. Sir, do not go, 'tis madness for a man to put himself into
their hands that hate him.

Litur. Should I not go, they'll give me over to the temporal sword,
and in the market-place proclaim me rebel, confiscate my estate, and
send me into banishment.

Dipw. Will Englishmen put on this Scottish yoke? I have a hope
the independents may send hence this government to be abhorr'd, from
England to Geneva, where 'twas born.

Litur. Pray heaven it prove so. Now to my adversaries: my soul
condemns their most usurped power, though now it overflows in tears,
whose current overflows its banks.

Where griefs virago, upon either hand,
Worser than Scylla, or Charybdis, stand.

Ereunt.

ACT II. SCENE I.

Enter Anarchy, Priscilla, his wife.

Pris. I'LL none of this same lousy learning to make my son a whore-
master, e're he hath seen the age of eighteen years; for, when they once
come but to construe Ovid *de arte amandi*, their bowels yearn to occupy
the nine.

Anar. Away, thou fool; doth not even nature tell us, that learning
doth support the world, and taught the rustick clown the way to till
the ground, to bind the corn in sheaves, and wield the flail?

Pris. I say, I will not make my son a beggar, expose him to contempt
and scorn; send him to Oxford, send him to Cairfax rather, and see him
caper in a string; no, no, we, in this age of ours, the heavens be praised,
have little use of learning; if he can read his psalter, and cast up his ac-
counts for bread and salt; he's a sufficient scholar: Besides, heaven
bless the parliament for their most pious acts in general and particular,
that they have reduced those tippling black coats to a new modell'd
garb, that, where before they drank too much, and eat too little, they
now shall neither eat nor drink: What shall we do with such lobcocks,

that must sit all the week in taverns and ale-houses, and on the Saturday bestow two hours in study, which, when they utter the next day, there's none can understand it.

Anar. The blind cares not, if Sol ne'er shine, they still can grope their way ; my son shall be a scholar, and let the worldlings wallow in the dung, while he the Indies bears about him; none knows the learned's bliss, but those that learned are ; I do look on Plato's divinity, next unto Moses's writings ; fam'd Aristotle's learned philosophy, next unto Jesse's sons rare proverbs ; Livy's large book, next to the chronicles of Israel's kings, and Homer's deathless verse, next unto David's lays : May hell conspire to cast plagues on those would not have learning be advanc'd and honour'd, when ignorant armies, ignorant parliaments, ignorant synods, ignorant fools and knaves

Shall lie unthought of, rotting in their graves ;
The learned's songs, when they in dust do lie,
Shall wrestle even with eternity.

Enter Moneyless.

Mr. Moneyless, I joy to see you, Sir.

Mon. Sir, I made bold to press into your privacies unawares ; my ignorance will, I hope, purchase my pardon.

Anar. Still complimenting ; you courtiers feed on compliments as your meat ; leave it, and take more solid food, a thousand of 'em will not staunch ones hunger : What news, what news abroad ?

Mon. Faith, none that makes for me ; the King must not yet see Whitehall ; Cromwell won't have it so.

Anar. We can grow great without him ; what profit doth the world receive by Kings, who, at the best, are but relenting tyrants, whose power is dissonant from God's appointment ? How bravely Holland thrives, guided by States, where people rule the people ? There's a strong sympathy in nature ; the mutual love they talk of, that was wont to be 'twixt subjects and their Kings, is now for ever lost.

Mon. Sir, I know you are an enemy to monarchy, and would digress even from your principles, should you allow of kingly government, which makes your words invalid.

Anar. Well said, I like thee, that adversity's bleak storms have not unriveted thy fix'd resolves, but thou still art faithful to thy master.

O, Courtier, curse them that have caus'd thy woe,
That like a skeleton thou now dost show :

You came, I know, to dine with me, and are most welcome : What printed news abroad ?

Mon. As I was coming to you, I met another meagre courtier's face, and he shewed me a song, of which I begg'd the copy ; I hope 'twill not offend your ears, if I do sing them to you.

Anar. Not the least, let's hear.

Moneyless sings.

THE King shall now enjoy his own,
And have the sovereignty,
Once more fill his refulgent throne
Like to some deity.

But first of all his charge must hear
 For things most trivial;
 Three kingdoms blood, Lilburne doth swear,
 Upon his head must fall.

The parliament, as some report,
 Intend for to disband;
 And, if they would, we'd thank them for't,
 And something give in hand.

They now have seven years sat,
 And yet it will not be,
 The army (shall I tell you what?)
 Will never make them free.

Is it not pity, that at last,
 When they intended fitting,
 They should out of their house be cast,
 And suffer for their sitting?

And all the gold that they have got,
 And without fear extorted,
 For to enjoy is not their lot,
 O they are strangely thwarted.

His Majesty is quitted now
 Of Brown that wooden jailor,
 And in his stead, they do allow
 Joyce, that same prick-louse taylor.

'Tis very good to ease our teen,
 The army are so witty,
 And many thousands of them seen
 Incompassing the city.

Why sure it cannot but well hap,
 And prove a good purgation,
 That fourscore members, at a clap,
 Are forced from their station?

The propositions now are gone,
 And surely now the King
 Will ratify them every one,
 But I fear no such thing.

He cannot sure dare to resist,
 If he intend to eat,
 For 'tis well known he long hath mist
 His wonted clothes and meat.

Our dearest brother (Jockey) now
 Is his destruction wooing,
 And very fain would something do
 To purchase his undoing.

Their long-eared assembly
Do grieve and groan in ire,
That their compounded presbytery
Should back to them retire.

Truth is, how much the more, at first,
Our splendor shined bright,
We are so much the more accurst,
Inveloped with night.

How like you this ?

Anar. 'Tis an excellent song, yfaith ; Shall I, Mr. Moneyless, crave a copy of it ?

Mon. Both I and it are at your service.

Anar. Come, Mr. Moneyless, 'tis almost dinner-time, time was you welcomed me ; 'tis fit I should be grateful ; come wife.

Exeunt Anar. Priscilla, manet Mon.

Did I e'er think that want should so oppress me, that I should be constrained to wait on this man for a dinner ?

Yet, of my wants, how dare I so complain ?

Shall I not suffer with my sovereign ?

Whom yet I'll not despair to see plac'd in his throne, his crown on's head, his scepter in his hand ; the citizens now do triumph o'er the courtiers :

O why should fortune make the city proud,
And give them more than is the court allow'd ?
The King's own brightness his own foil is made,
And is to us the cause of his own shade.

Exit.

ACT III.

Recorders, a Consistory of the Presbytery ; then enter Directory, Sargus, Luzurio, after them, with officers, Liturgy, Dipwell afar off.

Direct. BRING forth those weeds of shame—apparel him. [*A coat of sackcloth brought out.*]

Litur. I hope I shall have licence for to speak.

Direct. Not a syllable ; 'tis known thou art by name and nature an enemy to our government, and hast avouch'd it to be tyrannous ; saying, that Scotland, by their policy in bringing their church-form amongst us, do put assassinate our monarchy, thirsting to be our lords, all which here openly recant, or we'll surrender thee.

Litur. I recant, ye Cacodemons ; hear me, and mark,
First, leathern swains shall plow amid the sky,
Thames turn his course, and leave his channel dry ;
Sodom's dead lake revive, and entertain
Leviathan and Neptune's hungry train ;
Fishes the flood forsake, and fowls of heaven
Bedeck'd with scales, and in the ocean driven ;
The brightest flame of heaven shine by night,
And horned Cynthia give diurnal light,

Before I change my settled constant mind,
 To damn myself, that you may count me kind;
 Cemonian stairs. Phalarian bulls, nor all
 Torments that flow from cruel tyrants gall;
 Tarpeian mountains, altars of Busire,
 Or furnaces of Babylonian fire,
 Sha'n't make me stoop to such base fools as you,
 Or unto your intentions for to bow.

Sarg. He raves: Sir, these loose words will but augment your sorrow in the end; do you know where you are?

Litur. Very well, lecherous Sargus, better than thou knowest to be honest.

Direct. Stop his mouth, were ever heard speeches so desperate? Dare you, before this holy convocation, to prate so peremptorily?

Litur. Dare you, ye sots, assume unto yourselves the name of holy? Methinks your cheeks should, knowing you to blame,
 Out-blush the crimson of your gowns for shame;
 You are more cruel than the crocodile,
 That mangles Memphians on the banks of Nile;
 That kills, with weeping tears, for hunger's need,
 But you can smile, and murder for no need.

Lux. Venerable fathers, this is unsufferable; if with audaciousness you thus dispense, hereafter never look to be reverenc'd, but to be scorn'd and laugh'd at.

Direct. Satan hath sure inspired him; bring forth the engine; support him up. [*The stool of repentance brought forth, contrived in the fashion of a pulpit, covered over with black.*]

Litur. He that lays hand on me, encounters death.

[*Plucks forth a dagger.*]

Direct. Hear then your sentence: Since you deny to be a penitent, we here confiscate all is yours, to be employ'd for pious uses, yourself within three days for to depart the land, and never to return, on pain of death; this is your doom, and now break up the court. [*Exeunt.*]

Litur. O my mild judges, you shew your pity and your piety; your utmost wrath can't hurt my inward man, I there am still the same, and not exil'd.

Guilt sorrow, shame, horror attend you still,
 And let wild Ate lead you where she will.

Dipw. Heaven keep me steadfast to my principles, Is this a limb of the presbytery?

Direct. Yes; but his merits make him fit to be lopped off, for it; Who could be infected worse than they are?

Dipw. You hear your sentence, will you depart the land?

Litur. No, I'll not forsake my native soil upon such slender grounds, I'll live a while in private; I know an independent army will crop presbytery in the bud, and break this bed of snakes, the only way that now is visible for to repair my breaches; O thou etern, the true almighty Jove, suffer not innovations to go on, to bring this kingdom to destruction; but why, alas, do I now talk of Jove?

For now, alas! no Jupiter is found,
But in all lands Pluto a God is crown'd.

Exeunt:

ACT IV.

Enter the two elders, Sargus and Luxurio, singing.

Sarg. NOW sable night hath with her ebon robe
Darken'd the surface of this earthly globe,
And drowsy Morpheus, with his leaden key,
Lock'd up the doors of every mortal eye;
Come let us fall unto our wonted games;
Let us be blith, and nourish wanton flames.

Luz. What Lyncian eye discerns our lewd delight,
Cover'd with darkness of the cloudy night?
Why should we censure fear, or idle sound
Of human words, that are environ'd round
With marble walls? The wit of mortals can
Not find our wiles, past finding out of man,
And heaven regards not the works of men;
Come let us boldly feast and frolick then.

Sarg. Come forth, ye creatures of delight,
And let us in embraces spend the night.

[Six whores put forth on two beds, three on a bed, musick, they rise and dance with the two elders.]

A SONG.

MEET, meet, and kiss,
And girt each others waist,
And enjoy the lover's bliss,
Until the night be past.
Elders, that are holy men
All day, must sport at night.
So, so, to't agen,
Twill heighten appetite.

Sarg. Those three are thine, these mine, let's to't
Like monkies, or the reeking goat.

[They ascend each on a several bed, and are drawn in.]

SCENE II,

Enter Priscilla sola,

Prisc. Methinks the hours fly not with winged haste as they were wont, or is't the expectation of my love, that makes the night seem tedious; my heart extremely throbs, methinks the walls seem as wash'd o'er with blood; 'tis my fantasy, thought, like a subtle juggler, makes us see things that really are not; there's something in me whispers fatal

40 THE SCOTTISH POLITICK PRESBYTER, &c.

things, and tells me 'tis not safe to sleep betwixt my lover's arms to-night: why, sure I dream, I was not wont to have these dubious fancies? I have begun to love him, and will now never desert his friendship until death; but thus I tamper poison for myself; but, were I sure to drink the baneful draught, I could not now go back:

For, when the flesh is nuzzled once in vice,
The sweets of sin make hell a paradise.

Enter Directory.

O you are welcome, Sir.

Direct. Worthy of all love's joys, Hast thou not blamed my tardy stay? Thou art most certain, sure, thy husband is far off; if he should take me with thee, his jealousy and wrath might prompt him to strange actions.

Prisc. I have not the least fear of his approach.

Direct. Come then, my Puxdra, and let us taste those joys thy husband is unworthy of.

ACT V.

Directory and Priscilla put forth in a bed, both sleeping.

Enter Anarchy, with a torch.

Anar. TITAN to the Antipodes is gone,

To luminate another horizon:

'Tis now dead midnight, Morpheus, death's eldest brother,

Hover about this place, and charm the sense

Of these two creatures made of impudence;

Are they so shallow, to conceive that I

Am made of mimical pantomimy?

O woman, woman, who art compounded of all ill, I durst have pawned my soul, this wife of mine had harboured a soul as white as the Alpine snow; but she is ulcerous and deformed. Who knows how often they have met and wallowed in their active sweats? What woman may be trusted?

Lust is a subtle syren, ever training

Souls to destruction, by her secret feigning:

She is the prince of darkness' eldest daughter,

Wanting no craft her cunning sire hath taught her:

'Tis like Medusa's tress; and, if it be

Twin'd in the body of man's living tree,

Man's heart of flesh converts, if he have one,

By secret vigour, to unliving stone.

Damn'd strumpet, have I ta'en you with your lecher?

African panthers, Hyrcan tygers fierce,

Cleonian lions, and Danonian bears,

Are not so ravenous, whom hunger pin'd,

As women that are lecherously inclin'd,

But I prolong their lives, and tire the ferry-man with expectation.—
Say, it is not wisdom to cope with two that struggle for their lives.—
these are the bonds of death. [Tiss them to the bed.] So awake, you
 lustful pair. *[They awake.]*

Direct. Ha!—we are undone.

Anar. Yes, Directory, e're winged time add one hour more to this
 declining night, thou shalt be numbered with the dead.

Direct. O my unhappy fate!

Prisc. Dear husband, spare our lives, and then inflict what punishment thou wilt.

Anar. O my fine Directory, camest thou from Scotland hither to
 cheat us out of our religion, our lives, our king; and, covering thy ills
 with virtue's cloke, act even those crimes, which but to hear them named
 would fright the cannibals? And shall we not strive to circumvent
 thee?

Direct. I pray, hear me, Sir.

Anar. Hath guilt emboldened so thy mind, that thou darest view my
 face, and speak?

Prisc. Sir, I confess, my crime cannot be expiated, but with blood;
 but, if mild pity harbour in your breast, I do implore your mercy.

Anar. Peace, vile strumpet; thou mayest as well attempt to scale
 the heavens, and ride on the sun-beams, as strive with talk to mitigate
 my fury, and stay the course of my revenge; but first, good Directory,
 I will stab you by the book, and torture you, not opening a vein.

Dumb Shew. Solemn Musick.

One, representing Directory, accompanied with a rabble in the habit of elders, running as flying from soldiers, who pursue them with their swords drawn.

Did you behold the pageant; great Babylon is fallen; an English army
 hath extirpated presbytery, root and branch; the elders may, in Scotland,
 court Susanna, here are too many Daniels to sift them; and now,
 Sir, you must go, but not to Scotland; that's but purgatory; yet where
 you'll find many blue bonnets more, I mean to hell.—Thus I dismiss
 thy soul.—

Direct. Hold, Sir, and, e're you send my soul to wander in the invisible
 land, hear what I now shall utter: By heaven and earth, and him that
 made them both, I ne'er was guilty, not in thought, till this dire
 hour, of the defiling of your marriage bed.

Anar. Dost think, dull fool, that all thy protestations, thy heav'd up
 hands and sighs, were they as numerous as the sand hid in the Baltick
 sea, should raise my heart for to relent? No, in thy death England
 gathers life, whose happiness I wish: Thus for it work.

[Stabs him with a poyard.]

Direct. O! thou hast op'd a flood-gate, which will not close, till my
 heart-blood is drain'd.

Prisc. If thou wer't born of woman, spare my life.

Anar. O thou luxurious strumpet, hath not thy guilt, or fear, bereft
 thy tongue of utterance? Methinks thou should'st, when thinking on
 thy fact, convert to stone, and save my hand a labour to send thee to
 another world. There, strumpet. *[Stabs her.]*

Prisc. O heaven !

Anar. So—How like you this? Phlebotomising only can cure the fever in your blood. Why don't you mingle limbs? Get up and at it.

Direct. Like to a ship dismember'd of her sails, and cuff'd from side to side, by surly waves, so doth my soul fare :

As that poor vessel, rests my brittle stay,

Nearer the land, still nearer cast away.

Presbytery in my fall receives its mortal wound, and ne'er must look in England to bear sway. O, O, I see in this the power of Providence :

Whose stronger hand restrains our wilful pow'rs,

A will above doth rule the will of ours.

[*He dies.*]

Anar. He's dead, but she remains with life: And wilt thou not accompany thy lecher, that he may man thee into Charon's boat?

Prisc. My soul disdains her habitation, and now will needs be fleeting: Know, Sir, for now I fear not all your fury, I lov'd Directory as my own soul, and knew him oftener than yourself; for which may heaven forgive me! For his sake I could wish to live, but now he's gone, what should I do on earth?

Death our delights continually doth sever;

Virtue alone abandoneth us never.

[*She dies.*]

Anar. She's gone; farewell for ever: May heaven forgive thy fault! I would not prosecute revenge so far, as wish thy soul destruction: What now remains for me? I must be gone far hence, e're Sol visit our horizon; let fortune do her worst.

Her frowns he fears not, nor her hott'st alarms,

That bears against them patience for his arms.

Exit.

ST. EDWARD'S GHOST,

OR

ANTI-NORMANISM;

Being a pathological complaint and motion, in the behalf of our English nation, against her grand, yet neglected grievance, Normanism.

Quænam (malum) est ista voluntaria servitus?

Cicero, in Orat. Philip. I.

London, printed for Richard Wodenoth, at the Star, under Peter's Church in Cornhill. 1647. Quarto, containing twenty-eight pages.

AD LECTOREM.

READER,

THIS essay having long * waited for room and free audience on the publick stage, doth now appear: If thou hast a mind to quarrel

* Being written Anno Domini, 1642.

with it, it must be against the matter, or the form; against the matter thou who art English canst not, without betraying either thy ignorance, in not knowing thy nation's dearest * rights, or thy impiety in opposing them, being no other than what she enjoyed, and joyed in, till she lost them by perfidious robbers. But if it be the form that thou disrelishest, I confess, it needs much favour, and therefore should gladly have seen thee, or some other, to have prevented it with a better; yet, for thy better bearing with the prolixity of the historical part of it (occasioned by the copiousness of the subject, worth, and opposite arrogance) thou mayest remember, that it was King Ahasuerus's choice recreation to review the acts of his ancestors, and that the Jews could hear even St. Stephen reciting their high pedigree patiently; however, it shall suffice me in this business to have attempted to have done worthily, and I doubt not but every true Englishman will not only indulge the work's weakness, but also lend both his heart and hand in all lawful means toward the accomplishing of its demands. as without which obtained, at least in a good degree, this nation can never be honourable, nor, consequently, happy. Vale.

JOHN HARE.

WHILE I behold and revolve the great and laborious inversions^a and eversions of things effected by the representative body of this kingdom, in this and precedent parliaments, with that liberal and vast expence of English blood, lives, labour, and cost, which, with the height of animosity, and seeming magnanimity, former generations have bestowed, and the present doth not spare in asserting the publick causes of this nation, and all, excepting what is about some ecclesiastical niceties, for the securing, or enlarging, of our estates and privileges from domestick oppression, and centered in the object of ease and commodity, and such like petty advantages; I cannot but with shame and grief of mind look upon the genius of our nation, as seeming to have transmigrated from that metamorphosed prince of Chaldea, who, being transmitted from the top of humanity, into the condition of beasts of the field, for a great part of his ensuing age, made fodder, and other brutish accommodations, the proper subject of his content and contentions, not harbouring, in the mean time, a back-looking thought towards that royal estate, by the possession whereof, he had been once the most eminent of the mortals of his age; or, as resembling some strange hero, who being captived, and marked for a slave, should have his senses so captivated also, as to be more ambitious to be chambered in his jail, and to glitter in gilt fetters, than to be restored to his lost freedom and reputation, contending with earnest extremity for the one, but not breathing so much as a wish for the procurement of the other.

That this is our case, I would that the heavy, long, and overlasting, heaven grant not everlasting, groans of the hereditary liberty and honour of our nation (the choicest and most essential fundamentals of her temporary well being, and the most precious part of her earthly patrimony, her happy ornaments of her youth) long since overthrown, and for many

^a i. e. The title and quality of a free nation.

ages together, lying patients, most wretchedly, under a mass of unworthy oppression, did not too evidently evince, whilst we, her sons, in the interim, sparing no endeavours in the behalf of our less valuable rights, are, in this respect, so stupidly senseless, that whereas we have cause enough, with that Ænean prisoner Enceladus (the eternal monument of dejected greatness) to testify the weight of our disgraceful burden with fiery sighs, and sulphureous blasts of indignation; we, contrariwise, are so far from any reluctance, as to lie in a dead sleep under it, as under our grave-stone; having inscribed thereon the epitaph of our honour in red letters of shame, not daring, or not willing, so much as to breathe forth a complaint, or to wish for a removal of that, than which there is nothing under heaven more insufferable to ingenuous men, and to such as would be accounted other than the progeny of Cham, preordained to servility.

This mountain of dishonour, which the English name hath so long groaned under, and yet we have never once adventured to complain of, much less endeavoured to remove, is no other than that infamous title of a conquered nation, and that by so infamous a conquest; but, more especially, the still visible fetters of our captivity, the evidences of that title; those foreign laws, language, names, titles, and customs, then introduced, and to this day, domineering over ours; our stupid degenerateness consists in this, That in all our contentions by pen or sword, in all the essays of our poets or orators, (excepting some few, whereof Vergestan deserves to be memorised.) I could never yet find any considerable endeavour for our vindication from this thralldom and disgrace; but rather, like tamed creatures, or unnaturalised Janizaries, we sooth and applaud ourselves in these gives and servile robes, as patrician ornaments; and (that, which, methinks, no true Englishman can observe without indignation) many of those that would be accounted to have honoured our land, with their pens, have placed that their honouring us for a great part, in celebrating the glory of that Normanism and Francism, which the desert of our sins hath inflicted on us, and seem to have sacrificed their love and duty to their own nation, together with their discretion, for an holocaust on the altar of that name, which is diametrically enmity to the English; and such are those that ascribe so much worth to the Norman blood, and strive to pen up all nobility and gentry within the accursed catalogue of those names that came from the Gallick continent.

Indignities that merit a Lucan's genius, and Tully's *dicendi vis*, to lay open and explode them; but since the such of this nation, contrary to my perpetual and earnest wishes and expectation, are undutifully silent herein; duty to my country shall make it no indiscretion in me to undertake the task, though, alas! performing it rather by an intimation, than due illustration of the truths which follow.

There is no man that understands rightly what an Englishman is, but knows withal, that we are a member of the Teutonick nation, and descended out of Germany; a descent so honourable and happy, if duly considered, as that the like could not have been fetched from any other part of Europe, nor scarce of the universe; which will be plain and manifest, if we take a just survey of the gloriousness of that our mother nation, and that in the sundry respects of her ancient and illustrious original, her generous qualification, and magnifick and warlike nature; her

achievements, domination, greatness, and renown; her Majesty, and other heroical points of excellence, wherein she is so transcendent, and which make her so princely, as that no other nation in every respect, the Scythick excepted, may, without arrogance, dare to compare with her.

To begin with her original, of it I may say as Virgil of Fame, *caput inter nubila condit*; she is a primitive nation, and vaunts her descent to be from no other place, than from the top of Nimrod's tower, where was made the first division of mankind into nations; she derives not herself, (like those of her neighbours that boast so much of their great birth) from the conquered relicks of ruined Troy, whence also Virgil took so much pains to deduce his Romans, or from any other nation; but, as most conceive, the first transmigration, that the Teutones made, was, as is aforesaid, from the building of Babel, from whence they were conducted by the great Tuisco, whose name they still retain, and placed in those seats, which they have not only ever since defended against all invaders and intruders, but also most notably enlarged the same upon their neighbours; others, in more ignorant times, conceited they had their original and spring (like the giants, Myrmidons, Cadmus's new men, and other warlike breeds) from the soil and earth under them, as which was never known otherwise, than appropriate to their name and possession.

To this antiquity of the Teutonick house, there wants not a conspiring quality of blood effectual to make it the most illustrious and first nation of christendom; for Gomer, Japhet's eldest son, is acknowledged, by historians, to have been the first king and possessor of Europe, whose heir and first-born was Askenaz, the father and denominator of the German nation; the Jews, at this day, calling the Germans Aakenites, and the Saxons, our progenitors, as the most noble tribe, still retaining, with a little metathesis, as well the name as blood of the same royal patriarch; but whether he were one and the same with Tuisco, or else his progenitor, is left uncertain.

For the general qualification of these our ancestors, it hath ever spoke them to be no other than the true sons of Tuisco, that is, of Mars, as some interpret him. The first character that was given of them to the world, was by great Alexander himself, and resulted from that compendious discourse betwixt him and their ambassadors, when, upon their worthy answer to his proud question, as the supplement to Curtius's history recordeth, he pronounced them an haughty and cavaliering nation, envying that any should be as magnanimous as himself.

The next light that was given of them to the southern world was in lightning terror; this was by that famed expedition of the Cimbri and Teutones, peculiarly so called, when those our more immediate ancestors, wanting elbow-room in their native country of Low Germany, and the Cimbrick-Chersonese, undertook, in a party of three-hundred thousand adventurers, to seek and mend their fortunes in foreign countries. The first country they took in their way was France, then called Gaul, a country preordained for the exercise and subject of our conquests, and beating a nation, at that time esteemed the paragon of the world, and for strength, valour, and numerousness invincible; this France, and

French nation, till then unconquered, and in their maiden glory, that Almain army over-ran, subdued, and trampled under foot, thereby leaving to us, the progeny of their nation, the prime right and title of conquering them again; this province being ransacked, over the belly thereof, those second Anakites bore on their uncontrolled march towards the Alps and Italy, where lay the term and scope of their resolution and design, which was to try masteries with Rome for the empire of the world; Rome was not then in her infancy, under the displeasure of heaven, and propugned by a disorderly and unskilful multitude, as Brennus found her, but flourishing in the height of her fortune, strength, and youthful vigour; her discipline unmatchable, her armies almost invincible, and those managed and conducted by the greatest general of that age, Caius Marius; so that well might these positive advantages, concurring also with sundry accidental ones, which last were, indeed, the most efficacious occasions of the event, lend the Romans the fortune at that time over those our ancestors; but, although by the disposition of the supreme will, they fell short of their design, and left the honour of Rome's destruction for some (the Goths) others of their countrymen, in ensuing ages; yet did they shew forth such famous symptoms of more than human daringness and abilities, that the affrightment, which they cast before them, shook all Italy, and loaded the Roman altars with prayers at that time, and long after, with praises to their deities, for the deliverance of their city from so formidable an invasion; a deliverance that endowed Marius with the pre-eminent name amongst Rome's preservers, as being from the invasion of such whose performances proclaimed them a gigantic army, and the most valiant men that ever the Romans had to deal with.

Neither did our ancestors glory fail to increase with the increase of time; for the next age produced Ariovistus, with his martial army from Germany over the Rhine to the second conquest of France; so that twice was that nation subdued and broken by our ancestors the Teutones, before ever the Roman eagles durst assail it: And, had not the Romans then interposed, all France, as well as Belgia, had, long before the time of Pharamond, fallen into the Germans possession. These Germans, at that time, as Caesar recordeth, had the French in such vassalage and subjection, as that they durst not so much as mutter out a complaint, or petition to their Roman friends for relief against them; nor did the French, who had been accounted of all nations the most valiant, in that age, presume in any sort to compare themselves with the Germans; but, as the same great author witnesseth, confessed in plain terms, that they were not able so much as to withstand their fulminating looks; and by their reports of the Germans formidableness, concurring with the Cimbrick memory, so scared even Caesar's legions, that all his centurions fell to a disposing either of their persons to a more security by flight, or of their estates to their friends by testament. And whosoever surveys the writings of Caesar, Tacitus, and other Roman authors of those times, no less eminent for judgment than authority, shall find in them the Teutones, our ancestors, to have been always accounted, in effect, the Anakitish and most soldiery nation of the world; and, for personage, the flower and quintessence of mankind, chosen and advanced

above all nations to the dignity of the Cæsarian guard ; by nature consecrated to heroick activeness, disdaining other than sanguinean desudations ; and who, during the whole age of the Roman monarchy, resisted the violence thereof, and were as often invaders as invaded.

After the dissolution of the Roman empire, how did the Teutonick glory and puissance break forth and diffuse themselves ? The German colonies filled all Europe ; the Franks seized upon the Transalpine Gaul, since, from them, named France ; the Lombards upon the other Gaul, afterwards called Lombardy ; the Goths on Spain ; and the Saxons, or English, our peculiar progenitors, in a more plenary way, upon the best part of Britain, which we now possess, to which we have since also added the command of the Welsh, Irish, and Scots : So that in all the regions aforesaid, as the sovereignty and royalty, so also most of the nobility, and in England the whole commonalty, are German, and of the German blood ; and scarcely was there any worth or manhood left in these occidental nations, after their so long servitude under the Roman yoke, until these new supplies of free-born men from Germany reinfused the same, and reinforced the then servile body of the west, with a spirit of honour and magnanimity ; insomuch, that, as Du Bartus hath well observed, that land may well be stiled the *equus Trojanus*, or inexhausted fountain of Europe's worth and worthy men ; which was also apparent and conspicuous in that ever-glorious and renowned expedition of the west, for the Holy Land, under the conduct of Godfrey of Bulloigne, wherein there was scarce a personage of worth, but who, together with the plurality of the inferior soldiery, was German by birth or blood.

As this our mother nation hath been transcendant above others in her achievements, and her noble and fruitful issue of transmigrators and colonies, wherewith she hath replenished and re-edified her sister nations of the rest of Europe, and thereby inabled them to hold up their heads, as now they do among the potent monarchies of the world ; so is she no less eminent in the vast bulk of her own body, and the ample tract of land which she holds and possesseth, and so ever hath done against all the world, being indeed the heart and main body of Europe, as reaching from the Alps, near to the frozen ocean one way, and from France and the British Sea, unto Poland and Hungary, the other way, containing for members her several tribes of the Imperial Germans, the Switzers, Belgians, Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, besides us English. It is true, that the Celtick nation was once very great and famous, as possessing both the Gallia's and Britain ; but she hath long since, in all her three seats, surrendered up her possessions, or liberty, together with her name, to the incroachments of her Teutonick neighbours ; and doubtless, were all the foresaid limbs of the Teutonick nation as united in the political association of one head and heart, as they are in the natural ligaments and communion of blood, laws, language, and situation, that empire would not only be the head of the west, as now it is, but also able to wrestle with the oriental competitor, for the command of the world, or at least to shoulder out of Europe his intruding usurpation.

One more flower of this our mother nation's royal garland, and a

point of her prerogative above other nations, not only of Europe, but also of the rest of the world, the Scythick excepted, is her unconqueredness, her unstained virginity and freedom from foreign subjection, which, from her first foundation and cradle, she hath so conserved and defended, that none can truly boast to have been her ravisher. The Roman invasions indeed often assayed her, but could never force her; as for Alexander, the Germans heard of him, but never saw him otherwise than by their ambassadors, who gave him and the world notice by their honourable answer to his insolent question, how much they feared him: and, lastly, for Charlemain's German wars, they were but as civil and domestic, his Franks, and more particularly himself, being then in all things, but habitation, Germans, and consequently also his achievements may by good right also be reckoned among the German acts: What other nation can glory of the like? It is confessed, that the Greeks and Gauls were, for many ages, famous assertors of their liberties; but the latter of the two never enjoyed theirs since the time of Ariovistus and Julius Cæsar, and the poor, never enough to be lamented, Greeks, beside their ancient subjection to Rome, have in these latter times lost not only their liberty, but also an empire to boot, together with their laws, religion, honour, and never before conquered language, to the cruel oppression of Turkish barbarism, all which the Teutones have by the special favour of Heaven, from their first beginning, preserved inviolate against all invaders; indeed our neighbours the Scots boast much of the like privilege, but upon no equal grounds, for their remoteness and inaccessibleness, together with the unprofitableness of their soil, have been their chief protection from following the fortune of their mother nation of Ireland, and yet not so protected them, but as their own chronicles confess, their land hath been won from them, and they forced into exile for sixty years by the Romans, and their nation more than once subdued by our Edward the First, when they so often swore fealty and subjection to the Crown of England; and for the Scythians, as they of all the world have the best right to compare themselves, as having never submitted their necks to any external power, so may they also for that privilege in part thank their remoteness and barren climate, that have rendered their vast country not worth the conquering, and themselves as difficult to be found as vanquished by strong and well appointed armies.

But that, which makes up the sum and apex of this nation's pre-eminence, is her Imperial crown, the crown of Christendom, which the Divine Providence upon special choice hath devolved on her, that so she might be no less in title than merit the queen of nations; this her possessive dignity was long since foretold by the Druids, who, as Tacitus recordeth, prophesied that the empire should be translated from Rome over the Alps, and is no other than what she was born to in the right of Askenaz's blood, educated to an inviolated freedom, and generous exercises, and settled in by the purchase of the sword, and Rome's adoption; and the same hath been for many ages by her, without competition, enjoyed, she possessing also most of the other kingdoms and principalities of these parts by her colonies, insomuch that the German nation may justly seem to have been created and appointed, for heir of

the western world, even as the Scythick of the eastern, as betwixt which two nations and their colonies, both the sovereignty and possession of the most part of Europe and Asia is divided, they being in all things parallels and competitors; Heaven grant that at length our Teutonicks, shaking off their enervating vices and divisions, with the same manhood wherewith in ancient times their ancestors retunded that Scythick invasion of the Huns, mawling that *orbis malleum*, and in after ages chased the Turks, another tribe of the same nation, from the Holy Land, and repressed their incroachings on Christendom, may also in these last times, at least, un-europe the same enemy and his barbarism, and re-advancing the eagle in the midst of Constantinople, recover, to great Tuisco's name, that right and honour in Thracia, which, as may be conceived, his person there sometime enjoyed under the name of Mars, confirmable by the still lasting analogy both in roots and accidents betwixt the Greek and Teutonick idioms.

Such is the transcendent quality of our mother nation, and in these sundry respects she sufficiently appears to be the chief and most honourable nation of Europe; of all which honour of her's we are true inheritors and partakers, either as members of that body, or as children of that mother, we being flesh of her flesh, and bone of her bone, yea of the most ancient and noble of her tribes, according to the Germans opinion; the Saxon still retaining the name, with a little metathesis, as is before related, of the patriarch Askenaz, and this so totally and intirely, that whatsoever blood among us is not Teutonick is exotick; for, as is also before intimated, our progenitors, that transplanted themselves from Germany hither, did not commix themselves with the ancient inhabitants of this country, the Britons, as other colonies did with the natives in those places where they came, but totally expelling them, they took the sole possession of the land to themselves, thereby preserving their blood, laws, and language, incorrupted; and, in this panegyrick of the Teutonick blood, I have so prolixly insisted, not only to vindicate our own, as being a stream of the same, and to evince the nobility thereof, but withal to convince the folly of those wretches among us, who averring ours do so much adhere unto, and dote upon descents from France and Normandy.

But, lest any that cannot reproach us as Germans, should calumniate us as transmigrators, the consideration of the general quality of such will be our sufficient apology, for that it is well known that most colonies and transmigrators are made up, and consisting of the flower and choice youth of that country from whence they are transplanted, and being such, *calum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt*, though they change air, they retain their spirits; and this is moreover observable for our advantage, that we left not the land of our fathers, either as exiled for demerits with the Parthians, nor forced and profligated by neighbours, as many others, nor yet with the mind of rovers, that go unjustly to despoil others of their goods and country. But, than which nothing could be more honourable, the first cause and occasion of our coming into this land was, at the earnest suit and intreaty of the distressed Britons, the ancient possessors of the same, to relieve and succour their oppressed nation, against the barbarous and ore than

unneighbourly vastations and invasions of the Scots and Picts, who with the height of insolence and ferocity, domineered, at that time, over this part of Britain. This was no less honourably achieved than undertaken by our ancestors; for Prince Hengistus, with a small band of English volunteers, which he brought over from Saxony, renownedly repressed and quelled the pride and insolence of the Scots, and with his additional forces so secured this land against them, that for many ages after they dared not to set foot out of their own limits; nor ever since could the most successful of their incursions penetrate to the walls of York.

But did we therefore leave the free country of our ancestors, and come over hither to relieve and deliver others from foreign subjection, that we ourselves might succeed in servitude? Sure it will scarce appear, that we had any such intent by our ensuing doings and sufferings, for after that, upon our fatal falling out with the Britons about pay, we had long wrestled with that nation, for the possession of this land, and with infinite expence of blood and labour, gained it wholly to ourselves, Hengistus's assistance to the Britons being much of kin to that of Ariovistus, unto the Sequanish Gauls. What inundations of invasions did we sustain, what numberless conflicts and encounters did we continually maintain, for the keeping of our possessions, and preservation of our honour and liberty, as they were derived inviolate from our progenitors? And all but against Danish intruders, a people that were our consanguineans, our ancient countrymen and brethren, whose prevailing over us would have introduced scarce strange laws or language, nor other blood than Teutonical; and although in process of time, being overladen with their inexhausted numbers, and to avoid further profusion of christian and Teutonical blood, we condescended to some composition with them, and permitted them a cohabitation with us; yet afterwards did we sufficiently quit ourselves of them, and their intruding, and by a general execution, made them an example for such like usurpers; such was our ancient antipathy to servility, and the abhorringness of our nation's genius from closing with dishonour.

Neither was this our generosity of blood, and freeness of descent and condition, the sum of our inheritance, or the whole stock of honour, that the bounty of heaven had committed to our possession. We were also blessed with a hopeful language, and happy laws; laws envied, but not equalled in Christendom, and, by historians, admired, as most plain and compendious, and of such a politick structure, as made our Prince a true and happy monarch, and yet ourselves as free as any people of Europe. Our language was a dialect of the Teutonical, and although then but in her infancy, yet not so rude as hopeful, being most fruitful and copious in significant and well-sounding roots and primitives, and withal capable and apt for diffusion, from those her roots, into such a Greek-like ramosity of derivations and compositions, beyond the power of the Latin, and her offspring dialects, as might have, with majesty, delight, and plainness, interpreted our conceptions, and the writings of foreigners, to the capacity of any Englishman, without the help of a dictionary, or the knowledge of two or three other languages, which now is requisite to him, that will rightly understand or speak

even usual English; and our laws and language being not only thus laudable, but also congenite, and appropriate to our name and nation, were most essential parts of our honour, and no less dear unto us, and that worthily, than our blood, and so the pleasant subjects of our delight and study; as also our princes and nobility, being no less naturally our own, were the just objects of our zeal and affection, as was testified in that title of the Prince Edgar Atheling, who was stiled England's darling, for his blood's sake, and in opposition to the Norman.

And is it then suitable to the dignity, or tolerable to the spirit of this our nation, that, after so noble an extraction and descent, such honourable achievements performed, so much done and suffered for our liberty and honour, against the most mighty of monarchs, and puissant nations; and, after such privileges conferred on us from heaven, we should have our spirits so broken, and un-teutonised, by one unfortunate battle, as for above five hundred years together, and even for eternity, not only to remain, but contentedly to rest under the disgraceful title of a conquered nation, and in captivity and vassalage to a foreign power?

*Siccinè in antiquam virtutem animosque viriles
Et pater Æneas & avunculus excitat Hector?*

Did our ancestors, therefore, shake off the Roman yoke, with the slaughter of their legions, and, during the whole age of that empire, as Tacitus confesseth, resist the puissance thereof, that the honour and freedom of their blood might be reserved for an untainted prey to a future conqueror? Could not they endure the sight of a Cæsarian trophy, set up by Germanicus in their land? And can we not only endure, but embrace the title and ensigns of a conquest over us, that even still triumphs in our land, in her full insolence, while we can turn our eyes and meditations no where about us, but we meet with some object that reproacheth us as captives. If we address a look toward our laws, they still scorn to speak otherwise, than in the conqueror's language, and are (if Master Daniel and others write true) for the most part, his introductions, shutting up the remaining liberties of our nation, under the name and notion of franchises, as if we were no further to be accounted free, than infranchised, that is, adopted into the quality of Frenchmen, or made denizens of France, whereby, the first point, that occurs to the reader of our laws, is our shame. If we survey our language, we there meet with so much tincture of Normanism, that some have esteemed it for a dialect of the Gallick. If we contemplate the heraldry and titles of our nobility, there is scarce any other matter than inventories of foreign villages, that speak them to be not of English blood; but tell us, as their ancestors sometimes told King John, that their progenitors conquered this land by the sword. And, lastly, if we but hear the royal title rehearsed, we hear it likewise attended with a *post conquestum*; so that we cannot move with our senses, but we hear the chains of our captivity rattle, and are put in mind that we are slaves. *Vinci humanum est*, no people but may be overcome; that may be born withal; but *sub victoria acquiescere*, for so many hundred years

together, and in a so long continued possibility of excusing dishonour, and regaining liberty; to sit, as it were, snooring in a captive and servile condition, and to be fed with the bread of captivity, were more proper to an Asiatick nation (those *natis ad servitutem*, as Tully calls them) than to one of Europe, and to any European, than a Teutonick, and indeed to tame creatures and cattle, than to those that profess themselves free-born men.

But let us a little reflect upon the nature and quality of these conquerors, with their conquest over us, perhaps, they may be such, as, for their dignity, may say unto our nation, as that hero in the poet:

——— *Solamen habeto*
Mortis, ab Æmonio quod sis jugulatus Achille.

And their domination over us such, as against the right and equity whereof there is no pleading: But, alas! what was that tenth worthy, whom we are not ashamed even still to surname our conqueror, but a Norman bastard, as a Scottish writer well terms him, or, at best, a vassal-duke of a French province; and what his *Argyraspides*, his gallant followers the Normans, but a people compacted of the Norwegians and Neustrians, that is, of the off-scowering and dross of the Teutonick and Gallick nations, whose ambitious leader, upon a pretence of a various title to this crown, intruding upon us in a time of disadvantage, and being thereupon put to try it out by the sword with his then usurping competitor, by subtlety, not valour, obtained the hand over him, and so, as legatee and kinsman of St. Edward, the last rightful English King, and, upon his specious and fair vows, and promises, to preserve inviolate our laws and liberties, was admitted to the throne? So that all the alteration and dishonour that followed was, by his villainous perjuriousness and treachery, introduced upon us, and that title of a conqueror was not at first, but by the flattery of succeeding times attributed to him, and hath been ever since, by our sordid treachery against our country, continued; whereas, had he assumed it at first (as was well observed by an illustrious personage of our neighbour-nation, the Scots, who are generally more sensible of our dishonour in this respect, than most of ourselves; perhaps, worthily mindful of the ancient extraction of the most and chief of their south-landers from the English blood; as he, I say, hath well observed in a late speech of his made to his majesty) he must either have come short of his ambitious ends, or have sought after a new people to have exercised his title upon, so odious at that time was the title of a conquered nation to our ancestors.

But admit it were so, that he won this land by the sword, as he and his followers afterwards boasted, and that he obtained such a dismal victory over us, as the Norman writers predicate; whereas, notwithstanding, if we may believe *Æmilius Veronensis*, in his French history, a more impartial writer in this cause, there was no such matter; who, taxing those Norman writers of arrogance, reports that the truth of it was, that our English soldiers, whom Harold, the usurping king, brought into the field against the Normans, were no less displeased

with him, than with his adversaries; and that they only put themselves in a posture of defence, without caring to offend the enemy, and that, when, in the beginning of the battle, Harold chanced to be slain by an arrow, the controversy was presently ended, without more blood-shed, an agreement made, and the Norman admitted in respect of his claim, and upon his promises afore-mentioned; this he reports. But were it so, that our English nation was directly vanquished and conquered by the Normans, at the sound whereof every true Englishman's stomach may well rise, have not we more than once requited their nation in the like kind? how often have our armies vanquished and conquered, not only Normandy, but also France itself, whereof the other is but a vassal-province? and why one victory of theirs over us should be of more moment and effect against us, than so many of ours against them? I see no other cause or reason, than injuriousness towards us, and retchlessness in us.

But were it so also, that the Norman race were as lawful lords, and domineered by the same right, of an absolute conquest over us, as the Turks do, at this day, over the Grecians, betwixt whose case and ours, religion excepted, there is a near affinity; will any reasonable man be so unjust, or any Englishman be so impious, as to define it for unlawful in us, to endeavour to recover our right, and lost honour and liberty? would any man be so absurd, as to stigmatize and detest it for rebellion in the Greeks, to shake off, if they were able, the Turkish yoke, and to recover from that enemy's usurpation their ancient honour, laws, liberty, and language, that now lie overwhelmed and buried in Turcism, as ours in Normanism? Surely, we ourselves should condemn them, if they would not endeavour it, while our own laws attribute not, to the wrongful disseizer, any such right to his forceably gotten possessions, but that he may, with more right, be redisseized by the first owner, or his heirs. And indeed, it were so far from injuriousness, both in the Greeks and us, to dispossess the usurpers, that, in the mean time, we are most injurious to ourselves, our progenitors, and our posterity, while we so traiterously yield up, to those robbers, what our ancestors so dearly purchased, and preserved for us to enjoy, and afterwards to transmit, and leave to their and our name and blood, in all succeeding ages. But, in this, we are far more inexcusable than the Greeks, for that they never yet enjoyed the means of a deliverance, which we, either in a fair or forceable way, scarce ever wanted; and surely, if our right doth call, our honour doth cry out upon us, that, if our progenitors massacred the Danish garisons that usurped over them, we should not, like the Jews, ear-boarded slaves, for ever serve the progeny of their subjects, the Norwegians; that we, who instead of being conquered with other nations, by Charlemain, have conquered even the French themselves, would not live captives to their vassals, the Normans; and that, since our ancestors never submitted their necks to the yoke of Rome, we should not suffer ours to be for ever wedded to one brought over from Neustria, the meanest shire of one of Rome's (anciently) captive provinces, unless, perhaps, it be more honourable for our country to be a Norman *municipium*, than a Roman province; to use the Norman laws, than the civil of the empire, and the Norman

language, rather than the Latin; any of which notwithstanding, the Roman emperors, during their prevailing over some skirts of our ancient country of Germany, as Batavia, Rhætia, and the borders of the Rhine, never obtruded on our countrymen there, but desiring only, for their worth, their personal assistance in the wars, permitted them, and them only of all nations, the continuance of their own laws, language, and liberties in all things. But all these, we, their degenerate posterity, have, in a large degree, betrayed to the usurpation of a Norman colony.

But if we think we have not yet received shame enough by this Norman conquest, in being thereby stripped and spoiled of all that stock of honour, which might have descended to us from our ancestors, and of all that our nation had to take pleasure in; we want not a further degree of the same shame to consider ourselves in, that is, as we are by this pretended conquest cast into such a predicament and condition, as makes us incapable of acquiring new honour ever after, so long as we remain therein; the evidence of this we may descry in our own laws, wherein we find, that such, as are in the nature of villains, are incapable of enjoying free-hold lands, but, though they purchase never so much, it belongs all to their lords. Should the Turks janisaries, under their master's conduct, conquer the whole world, yet could they not justly gain to themselves the name of men of honour, but only of stout and dutiful slaves; which is also illustrated by that apophthegm of Tully, who defining the way for one that would attain to highness, *tunc, saith he, incipiat alius imperare, cum suis iniquissimis dominus parere desierit*; let him first unslave himself, before he talk of getting honour in enslaving others; and therefore, though both France and Spain should be by us never so often conquered, yet could our name thereby take no true lustre, till it be cleared of this fast-sticking blemish, and that we have unconquered ourselves; but as an ill-humoured, or deformed body, is not rectified by nourishment, but finds its pravity to increase and dilate with itself, so should our name and fame, by our achievements, be extended to the world's, both temporal and local, ends; yet thither also would our disgrace accompany it in equal characters, and proclaiming that we are a conquered, and still captive people, quash all honour, that otherwise might accrue or adhere to us.

I should be voluminous, should I fully describe how injurious and dishonourable it is to our nation for to continue under the title and effects of this pretended conquest, being such as we see and feel even the barbarous and contemptible Irish to be more than sensible and impatient of the like, while, with so much hazard of their lives and fortunes, and, against such formidable opposition, they endeavour the excussion thereof. But I am far enough from exhorting to an imitation of their violent and horrid practice, we feel too much thereof among us, although for lighter ends; neither, I hope, is any such way needful, since we all, from the greatest to the least, profess ourselves English, and would seem to aim at the honour of the English name, his majesty, for his part, having, by many passages, shewed himself the most indulgent patron thereof, and our nobility and commons on both sides contending, or, at least, pretending, for no other; none, I hope,

amongst us dissenting, that, if any should oppugn it, he were worthy to be proscribed and prosecuted either as a viperous malignant, or as a public adversary. So that it is but the carcase of an enemy that we have to remove out of our territories, even the carcase and bones of the Norman duke's injurious and detested perpetrations, much more meriting to be dug up, and cast out of our land, than those relics of his body that were so unsepulchred from his grave in Caen. Let us therefore, until we have wiped off this shame of our nation, and demolished the monuments thereof, no more talk of honour, as being a thing that we have least to do withal, but, yielding that and the glory to the Norman name, reserve unto ourselves nothing but the inheritance of shame and confusion of face; yea, let us either confess and profess ourselves for ever mere vassals and slaves, or else attempt to uncaptive ourselves, the end and scope of this whole discourse, that is, effectually, yet orderly and legally, to endeavour these following particulars:

1. That William, surnamed the Conqueror, be stripped of that insolent title (which himself scarce ever assumed after his victory, much less pretended to before, but hath been since imposed on him by Norman arrogance and our servile flattery), and that he be either reputed amongst our lawful kings by force of St. Edward's legacy, or adjudged an usurper; however, that he may no longer stand for the alpha of our kings in the royal catalogue.

2. That the title to the crown be ungrounded from any pretended conquest over this nation, and that his majesty be pleased to derive his right from St. Edward's legacy, and the blood of the precedent English kings, to whom he is the undoubted heir; and that he restore the ancient English arms into the royal standard.

3. That all the Norman nobility and progeny, amongst us, repudiate their names and titles brought over from Normandy, assuming others consistible with the honour of this nation, and disclaim all right to their possessions here, as heirs and successors to any pretended conquerors.

4. That all laws and usages introduced from Normandy be, *eo nomine*, abolished, and a supply made from St. Edward's laws, or the civil, and that our laws be divested of their French rags, (as king James of worthy memory once royally motioned) and restored into the English or Latin tongue, unless, perhaps, it may seem honourable for Englishmen to be still in the mouth of their own laws no further free than frenchified, and that they only, of all mortal men, should imprison their laws in the language of their enemies.

5. That our language be cleared of the Norman and French invasion upon it, and depravation of it, by purging it of all words and terms of that descent, supplying it from the old Saxon and the learned tongues, and otherwise correcting it, whereby it may be advanced to the quality of an honourable and sufficient language, than which there is scarce a greater point in a nation's honour and happiness.

To which may also be added the removal of an indignity of kin to the former in quality, though not in cause, namely, the advancing of the French arms above ours in the royal standard, as if, by our ances-

tors conquest of that nation, we had merited nothing but the public subjection of our honour to theirs: the Scots, though an inferior nation, denying us any such privilege in their own kingdom.

These things thus obtained, and Normanism thus abolished, we may then, and then only, have comfort in our name, as after our excussion of that which is utterly destructive to the honour of our nation, which is the motive unto us to demand and require these things; neither want there reasons sufficient on the other side, why they may and ought to be granted, some whereof are these:

1. For his majesty, it will be no prejudice to his title, nor impeachment of the honour of his blood, should he wave his descent from Normandy, but rather an improvement of the same, by how much it is more honourable to be derived from free kings, than vassal dukes, and from Saxony, the heart and noblest part of Germany, than from Neustria or Norway; and it will, moreover, settle him as well in the true affections, as on the throne of this nation, which none of his predecessors, since the pretended conquest, could rightly enjoy, there being too much tincture of domination in their rule, and of captivity in our obedience. And this is confirmed by that love and honour which the most glorious kings of this realm have here gained by their inclining this way; witness Henry the first, approved and beloved above his Norman predecessors, who, for that sole purpose, took to wife Edgar Atheling's niece, the female heir of the English blood; next, Edward the first, whose memory is no less acceptable for his being the first reviver of that name in that line, than for his enlarging the honour and dominion of this state: thirdly, Edward the third, the most glorious, renowned, and precious of all our kings, not only for his famous victories, but withal, for restoring, in a good degree, the use and honour of the English tongue, formerly exiled, by Normanism, into contempt and obscurity. To which purpose also it is observable, that none of our kings since William the pretended conqueror, and his son, have bore their name, the imposing whereof on our princes, their royal parents seem purposely to have avoided as justly odious to the English nation; whereas, with what honour they have continually used both the name and shrine of St. Edward, I need not recount. And if these kings so lately after the conqueror, and while the Norman blood ran almost fresh in their veins, thought it their duty, in some sort, to profess, for the English name, against Normanism, how little mis-becoming will it be for his majesty, after his so many ages ingraftment into this nation, and disunion from the other, and having in him, for one stream of the Norman blood, two of the true English, to profess himself altogether English, and to advance that nation to the greatest lustre he can, whereof he professeth himself the natural head; yea, it will so far transfer him above the honour and felicity of his predecessors, as it is more honourable and happy for a prince to be called and accounted the natural father of his country, than the exotick lord of the same, of which titles the very tyrants of Rome were ambitious for the former, but rejected and detested even the one half of the latter.

2. For the Norman progeny, they may consider, that themselves, as Norwegians, are originally, as Verstegan hath well observed, of one

and the same blood and nation with the English, namely, the Teutonick, and that, in doing what is here required, they shall but shake off that tincture of Gallicism, which their ancestors took in Neustria, and rejoin themselves with their ancient countrymen; which also even their own honour requires of them, even according to the opinion of the ancient Treviri, who, as Tacitus recordeth, though inhabitants of France, yet disdained to be accounted of the French blood, but ambitiously adhered to their descent from Germany; the Gallick nation having been servile ever since the time of Julius Cæsar, and no other their language, which we so much dote upon, than an effect of the Roman conquest over them, and a testimony of their long vassalage and subjection to that empire.

But, if they can relish no honour but what must arise, and fetch life, from our shame, let them revolve how loth they would be to be served, as sometime the Romans dealt with the insulting Gauls, the relics of Brennus's army, whom they utterly rooted out of Italy, *nequis ejus gentis superesset qui incensam a se Romam jactaret*, as an historian hath it; and, if they will needs continue the Danes succeeders in insulting over us, they may also remember that we are the posterity of those English who massacred them, and that when they had a potent kingdom at hand to revenge it, which these others are to seek for.

3. Lastly, State policy requires it, it being requisite to the good and safety of the kingdom in general; for, if ingenuous valour in the people, and their love to their king, state, nobility, and laws, with regard to honour, be the chief strength of a realm against foreign invasions (for instance, and testification whereof, we need look no further than the Scots) it is necessary, that, if our state should enjoy that strength, our nation enjoy these demands; for, how can we love and fight for those laws, which are ours only by our enemies introduction, and are our disgrace instead of honour; or for that sovereignty and nobility, in whose very titles, as before is related, we read our country to be already in captivity, and that the alteration of the state will be, to us, but changing of usurpant masters? Neither will the recordation of our ancient honour be any better a provocation to that purpose. Should the Turk go about to exhort his Grecian soldiers to valianthness in his cause, and against his foreign enemies, by commemorating unto them the ancient glory and prowess of their nation, would not that cohortation merit to be taken as an insulting irrision? and, should not the first effect thereof be a vindictive incitement of them against himself, as the most proper object thereof in all respects? so also cannot the remembrance of our ancient glory, if we consider ourselves aright, incite us to any thing more than the clearing of ourselves from this insulting conquest, as already, and long since, pressing us with that dishonour, which other dangers at most but threaten? and as, upon these grounds, we can scarce find courage to fight for the safety and preservation of the state; so for the same reasons have we as little heart to pray or wish for the same, until our national honour be restored to a coexistence therewith.

Since, therefore, these things are so behoveful for our nation to demand, and for our state to grant, if, after due consideration thereof,

we continue to want the happy fruition of the same, it must be ascribed either to an overgrown baseness of mind in the one, or an unnatural malignity in the other, as indulging rather to a foreign name, than to a nation whereof the said state is a part, and intrusted with the welfare and honour thereof; and in this still-servilising case it will be ridiculous for us, the nation, to pretend to honour or renown, but more proper for us for ever to profess ourselves of that quality wherein we take up our rest, to wit, captivity and servility: but, if we may descry a glorious morning, and ἀνταλλὰ of our benighted honour, refulging in the happy accomplishment of these our desires, then shall we with alacrity press all that the English name investeth unto the defence and enlargement of the English dominion, and, instead of disclaiming our nation, and transfusing to others, as many of us now do, and have done especially in Ireland, we shall joy to make Anglicism become the only soul and habit of all, both Ireland and Great-Britain. *Diri.* Octob. 1642.
J. H.

SERJEANT THORPÉ,

Judge of Assize for the Northern Circuit,

HIS CHARGE,

As it was delivered to the grand jury at York assizes, the twentieth of March, 1648; clearly epitomising the statutes belonging to this nation, which concern (and, as a golden rule, ought to regulate) the several estates and conditions of men; and, being duly observed, do really promote the peace and plenty of this commonwealth.

From a Quarto, containing 30 pages, printed at London, by T. W. for Matthew Walbancke and Richard Best, at Gray's Inn Gate, in 1649.

GENTLEMEN, friends, and countrymen, I do not question, but that the stile and title of our commissions, under which we are now to act, and execute the authority and power committed to our hands, being changed from *Carolus Rex Angliæ*, to *Custodes libertatis Angliæ auctoritate parliamenti*, works divers effects upon the tempers and spirits of men, according as the spirits themselves are tempered and affected; and that some of those spirits (like the sun upon wax) it softens into obedience and compliance, and others of them, again (like the same sun upon clay) it hardens into stiffness and opposition. Proud, ambitious, and malignant spirits, finding themselves frustrated and defeated hereby of their designed hopes, and hopeful designs, for obtain-

ing their desired ends; and, being filled with prejudice to others, and self-love to their own opinions, and therefore having turned themselves aside from the use of their own reason, and from all overtures and arguments of satisfaction, and having given up their understanding to blind affections,—it startles and confounds with passions and amazements, heightened into choler and disdain; because, looking through the false glass of their own self-interest, they find nothing therein, but imaginary shakings of foundations, overturning of laws, and confused heaps of ruins and distractions. But to these, if any such be present, (especially, if they have been formerly engaged in open war against the public interest of the nation, and so are cast, by God's justice, for their transgressions into a mean and low condition;) all I shall say, (with the poor comfort of calamity, pity) is this, that, if they have not already tasted enough of the cup of God's wrath, for their misdoings, let them take heed they engage not again, for fear that, hereafter, they be enforced to drink the dregs of his displeasure. Other silly spirits there are, who, standing unbottomed upon any solid principles of their own, find themselves tossed to and fro with the wind which blows from others' mouths; one while listening to the prophet, who bids them go up to Ramoth-Gilead, and prosper; and by and by again yielding him that bids them not go up, for fear of perishing; and so they are carried into cross and oblique opinions, and actions, tending to, and endangering, their utter ruin and destruction. And, to these men, all I shall say, and advise, is this, that they will forthwith repair to the school of reason, and suffer themselves to be guided and led by impartial and wholesome lessons, and instructions, to a better information of their judgments, whereby they may be settled upon undeniable grounds in the knowledge of themselves, and the truth, and of their own right, interest, and concernment. But another sort of men there are, who are willing to let their eyes stand in the place where nature set them, and to make use of that reason and judgment, which God hath given them, and, with erected minds, to apprehend the sense of their own future happiness, and to hearken to the voice which calls them to the flourishing actions of a reformed commonwealth, and therefore do entertain this change with suitable opinions and compliance from these grounds which they thus propound and argue with themselves.

1. That all power and authority is originally and primarily in God, and comes from God; and this they rest upon, as being a scripture-truth.

2. That God, out of his wisdom and providence, hath dispensed and transmitted so much of this authority and power to men, as is necessary for their use. First, as in relation to the inferior creatures, to rule and govern them, as lord and king. And, as in relation to one another, from a principle of nature, (*conservatio sui-ipsius*) to seek and endeavour their own preservation and security, which principle draws them to this conclusion (*salus populi suprema lex*) the safety of the people is the supreme law, both of nature, and nations. And from this natural principle, and supreme law of nature, however all men, in their original creation, are all of one and the same substance, mould, and stamp, yet, for preservation's sake, they find a fitness in

subordinations and degrees among them, for the better ordering of their affairs; and so they appoint rulers, and authorise governors over them, as trustees for themselves. They also elect government, create rules, orders, and laws, by which they will have their rulers and governors to guide and steer their actions in the course of their government, to which they will conform their obedience; and this truth is ascertained from hence, that there were people before there were either rulers or governors of people, and that therefore these rulers and governors were but made by the people, and for the people, with this reserve, that whensoever the people should perceive, that their trustees, and governors, did turn *potestatem* into *potentiam*, the power and authority of government, by rule and law formerly agreed upon, and consented unto by the people, into an armed force; and that they did alter the people's *rempublicam*, into the governor's *rem privatam*; and that their government, ceasing to be free, was made to hang over the people's heads, as a lordly scourge to their destruction; then, and from thenceforth, and that with good comeliness of reason, the people betake themselves to thoughts of reformation; and finding cause to dislike their former choice, being not tied by any scripture-rule to any one form of government, they chuse again, and take some other form, differing from that before, whereby they will avoid the evils they suffered under their former choice, and enjoy the good of a more beneficial preservation; for, like mariners and men in a ship at sea, they will no longer trust an unskilful or perfidious steersman, lest they should be found guilty of their own ensuing shipwreck and destruction.

And this brings me to the next assertion, and position, which I own as a most certain truth, and positive assurance, that the people, (under God) is the original of all just power, and that, let the government run out into what form it will, monarchy, aristocracy, or democracy, yet still the original fountain thereof is from the consent and agreement of the people. And from this assertion, and position, I am led on further, by plain reason, to understand, that rulers, and governors, are accountable to the people for their misgovernment; namely, when they transgress the rules, and laws, by which the people did agree they would be governed. But, let me not be mistaken, for, when I say, accountable to the people, I do not mean to the diffused humours and fancies of particular men in their singular and natural capacities, but to the people, in their politick constitution, lawfully assembled by their representative.

Touching the government of this nation, it hath anciently been monarchical, in the frame and constitution of it; but yet it never was a pure monarchy, for a pure monarchy is a clear tyranny: but it was a political monarchy, or monarchy governed by laws, taking in thereto all the goods, and avoiding all the ills, both of aristocracy and democracy; and so I may truly say, that look upon the frame and constitution of it alone, and, as it were, upon the theoretical and contemplative part of it; and, supposing it possible that the practice would answer the theory, no man can deny, but that it was a frame of most excellent order and beauty: for, first, it had a king, the chief officer, one single person; and therefore, avoiding the proud factions and con-

tentions, usually happening in aristocracy, as likewise, the disordered confusions, common in single democracy; but yet a king bounded and compassed with laws above him, being the rules already made and given him to rule by; and, with a necessity of concurrence and compliance, with lords and commons below him, for future legislative power and authority, and so avoiding the danger of tyranny usually incident to monarchies, which commonly makes the monarch's will the law, and so establishing the government upon this foundation,

Voluntas lex imperatoris esto.

But, alas! when I have shewed you the frame and constitution of the late government, I have shewed you all the beauty of it; for, when you come to examine the practical part, you shall find nothing less than excellency, or perfection in it. Look into your own stories, and you shall always find the king and great lords, *comites suos*, as they were called, incroaching upon the people's liberties and rights, and incroaching to themselves superlative prerogatives and dominion over them. On the other side you shall find again the people struggling to preserve themselves and their own interests, labouring still to avoid the miseries, and to free themselves from the mischiefs of their sufferings.

The times and transactions, before the Norman William got the crown, and which past among the Britons, Romans, Danes, and Saxons, being dark and obscure, I pass by, and, therefore, I shall only speak something of the times and transactions since.

First, The tyrannical domination of that first William and his son, the second William, gave the people to see their ensuing miseries; for, though they made choice of the second William, who was but a second son, and rejected Robert, his elder brother, yet they soon found their kindness was suddenly forgotten, when once the crown was obtained, and, therefore, they refused, when he was dead, to chuse again, till, by new engagements, oaths, and royal promises of better government, they were cheated into a second election of Henry the first, who was a younger brother likewise. But it was not long after before monarchy played *rex*, and pleasure and will ruled, and the whole kingdom almost was turned into forests; and the laws, which the people were brought to live under and obey, were the cruel and insupportable laws of the forest, which were made rather to preserve the beasts, than the people within the bounds of forests. Then the people, finding no other remedy, betook themselves to thoughts of reformation, as I told you at the first. And in the time of King John, at Renymeed, they demanded restitution of St. Edward's laws, for so they called that Saxon Edward, who was dead many years before, but without any heir or successor of that kind, (for we never read of any St. king since him:) and by those laws they say they will be governed, and to those laws they will conform. Hereupon a new compact is made, the articles of Renymeed, containing most of St. Edward's laws, are confirmed and established, by consent, in parliament, and so the people are for that time satisfied, and think themselves very safe, as they well might think so, under the security of an act of parliament. But yet this act proved no security, for, in a short time after, all was let loose again, and the same mischiefs and oppressions upon the people were still continued as before,

and many more additions made thereto, to the utter enslaving of the English nation.

Hereupon the people stand up, once more, for their liberties and native rights in the ancient laws of the land, and demand, the second time, to have them confirmed, and to be kept from violation, and so, in the ninth year of King Henry the third, was the great charter of the liberties of England (being but a declaration of the ancient common laws of the land, and little differing from the articles of Renymed, together with the charter of the forest) framed and consented to in full parliament, and are the first acts of parliament now extant in print. And so the people sat down again under the protection of this second security; but, how weak a security it proved, let the practice of the next King, and all succeeding Kings, tell you, though it had been confirmed and allowed by themselves two and thirty times; for in the two next Kings time you shall find the good men of the land discountenanced, and vain, loose, and wanton persons to be the men in highest esteem; nay, murderers and robbers, and the like, cherished and maintained, and, if brought to publick justice, and condemned for their misdoings, yet pardoned again, and set at liberty; and though (by the fundamental law) parliaments, (the usual salve for the people's sores) were to be called and held twice a year, yet were they laid aside, and rarely made use of; and then, when they were called, it was but to serve the king's turn, for granting subsidies, or the like. And therefore this when the people perceived, in the time of King Edward the Second, they thought fit to question his misgovernment, by articles of impeachment in parliament against him, and then to depose him from his kingly office, and to make his son, during his father's life-time, warden of the kingdom, and shortly after they made him King (while his father lived) by the name of Edward the Third. And now are acts of parliament made against the former mischiefs: First, against the King's granting pardons to robbers and murderers; and four acts of parliament are made at the neck of one another, and pursuing one before, telling the king plainly, that he may not, he must not grant pardons, but where he may do it by his oath, namely, in case of homicide, by misfortune, and homicide, in his own defence. Secondly, for more frequent holding of parliaments, namely, that they should be held once a year, and oftener, if need be. But little effect did these produce, for the mischiefs have continued, and the people have still suffered, by the breach of those laws, even until these very times, the very same mischiefs as before.

In the time of King Richard the Second, the disorders of the court, and oppressions upon the people from thence, were so great and unsupportable, that the people articulated against that King, and likewise deposed him, and so they afterward did in like manner depose King Henry the Sixth, and King Edward the Fourth, by consent in parliament. Thus you see how the exercise of kingly office, within this nation, hath been made use of to the damage of the people, and how the people again have put in use their authority over their kings, to call them to an account for their misgovernment. Touching the last king, much hath been said, and too much hath been felt by this country, in

relation to the last war. But pardon me, if I tell you so, it was a just punishment of God upon us of this county; for, I may truly say, the water had its rise and beginning here, here in this county, nay, here in this court, for this was the first place in England where any grand juries of the county charged themselves and their countrymen with any tax to raise a war against the publick interest of the people, as they did here when, at the summer assizes in the year 1642, they charged the county with a tax of eight thousand six hundred pounds, to maintain a thousand dragoons, upon pretence to keep the country in peace. But alas! the dragoons were no sooner raised, but they were made use of for another service, namely, to attend the King's standard at Nottingham, and from thence were carried to fight at Edge-hill against the parliament forces, for better keeping the peace in Yorkshire; and though it be true, that this tax of eight thousand six hundred pounds was never levied, yet our own great lords and gentlemen made it the foundation and rise of another tax of thirty thousand pounds, which they laid and levied upon the county in October after, for bringing in the Earl of Newcastle and his forces.

But (as I said before) God's punishment is just upon us; for, as the war began here, so it hath ever since continued among us, and even at this day, when all the rest of the kingdom is in peace and quietness, only we are now upon sieging, at our own charge, of your cursed castle at Pontefract, which began at first, and continues to be the last of our enemies hold and garisons within this nation.

But to return to the point of the King's incroachments upon the people's liberties, and therein I will clearly tell you my own thoughts in one particular, and instance in that one, but it is, to my apprehension, *sum magnum*, and *instar omnium*; it is as the lion said of her whelp, when the fox upbraided her, that she was not so fruitful in procreation as the fox, but brought forth only one lion at once; it is true, saith the lion, but that one is a lion; and so I may say by the King's negative voice in parliament; for admit but this one piece of prerogative to be just, and consonant to the constitution of the government, and I dare affirm, that the people of England were in a possibility, by that constitution of government, to be as arrant slaves and vassals, as were in Turkey, or among the Moors in the gallies: For let the King put what oppression he will upon the people, let their grievances and burthens be never so great, and let him, at the people's desire, call parliaments for redresses thereof never so often, and let never so good bills be prepared and presented to him for reformation, yet still he shall put them off with this royal compliment, *Le Roy s'avisera*, signifying, *quoad* the practice, in plain English, 'I will not help you, nor release the unjust burthens and oppressions I have laid upon you.'

But add to this that other incroachment of the lords negative voice upon the people, which they also have with much lordliness practised in answer to the commons bills, though of the highest concernment for their weal, however they express that negative in court-language and good words, 'We will send an answer by messengers of our own;' as if the people should expect they meant to return some concurrence with

them, when, God knows, nothing is less thought upon, or meant by them.

And now let the people see their own condition, now let them consider how they have been abused by good words and phrases, which if they had clearly and universally understood the meaning of, or if these negatives had been clearly expressed, in downright language, 'We will not help you!' or, 'We will not ease you of your burthens or oppressions that lie so heavy upon you,' truly then I presume the people would long since have been stirred up to help themselves, and to have endeavoured as well to take away the mischief, as to avoid the misery of such a government. For my own part, I speak it freely from my heart, that as I am a free-man, both by birth, and education, and am inheritable to the laws and free-customs of England; so I do naturally desire the security of government, and I do willingly submit to the justice of known laws: But I have ever abhorred all arbitrary powers, or to be subject to the wills or passions of men; and therefore I have always thought, since I could think any thing upon the grounds of judgment or reason, that, so long as these two fore-mentioned negatives remained upon the people, there could be no security or freedom in the government held over them; and there was no one thing that hath so firmly fixed me in the way I have gone, and wherein I now am, and to oppose the other, as, the mischiefs I understood to be in the two negative voices of the King and the lords: Adding to this the two fundamental court-errors, and destructive positions, maintained and held forth to the people by flattering royalists, and proud and ambitious prelates, viz. that the King had an original right to rule: And, secondly, that the King was accountable to none but God for his misgovernment; for, lay but these two together with the negative voice, and let any man judge what they may and must necessarily produce, in point of tyranny and oppression over the people.

I trust I have shewed you the true original of all just power and authority, and from whence it is that the exercise of authority and power is practised among men over one another; I have shewed you also the justice which lies in this: 'That Kings, rulers, and governors, and particularly the King of this nation, should be accountable to the people for their misgovernment'; and how destructive a tenet it is to say, 'That a King hath right to rule over men upon earth, and that yet God hath not given a power to earthly men to call him to account for misgovernment;' unless you will suppose that Kings at first did fall from heaven, and were sent down from above to exercise their wills, and act their lusts below.

And having said thus much upon this subject, only to give a hint, from whence you may observe (till the parliament's own declaration be published, which, I hope, will fully and clearly set them out) what the grounds and reasons were, that the parliament had found the kingly office, within this nation, to be useless and dangerous; and why, therefore, they will no more trust the crown upon the head of any one person, nor transfer the custody of the liberties of England, and Englishmen, into the power of another, who may abuse them; and, therefore, why, likewise, they resolve to keep the crown within its proper place, the ca-

binet of the law, and to allow the law only to king it among the people; and that the people themselves [by their representatives] shall be the only keepers of their own liberties, by authority derived from their own supreme and sovereign power, established in law and common surety: Which brings me now to the stile of our commissions, *Custodes libertatis Angliæ autoritate parliamenti*.

And, touching the King of England's right to rule, or title of law, by inheritance and descent, to the crown of England, thus much may be safely and truly said: That, if it be an ancient and original inheritance fixed in any one family, it was gained at first by the power of the sword, and by conquest; which title, in law, is but a disseisin, and an unlawful title, and therefore may be again as justly regained, as it was gained at first by force, and by the stronger arm and sharper sword. And, as it was so gained at first, so it hath been ever since, either by the like pure force, or else by consent of parliament, upon particular cases, kept and continued; and so you will find, if you look, how every King, since the Norman William (called the Conqueror) came to the crown: For, of all those five-and-twenty Kings and Queens, which have since that time kinged it among us, there are but seven of them, who could pretend legally to succeed their former predecessors, either by lineal or collateral title. I have not leisure to repeat the particulars; and this, I have said, may serve to give you occasion (if you be so minded) to look further into it, and to satisfy your judgments herein, and, by consequence, to keep you from engaging against yourselves, and the nation, for a name, or for a thing, which is not truth.

And now I come to that, which is our true business, our work of the first magnitude, *opus diei in die suo*, the articles of your charge, which I intend (for the better helping of your memories) to deliver to you in writing, with the laws and the punishments; and briefly to run over the rehearsal of the facts only, without further mention concerning them; yet with such necessary expositions and explanations of particulars, as shall be needful in my passage through them; adding only this for an animadversion to you, that you and I are trusted, at this time, with the administration of justice in our own country, amidst all the temptations, which our several relations of friends, kindred, or acquaintance, can offer unto us; which shews, that they, who do so trust us, have great assurance and confidence in us; and then we must conclude, that this confidence puts a greater obligation upon us to fidelity and integrity in the discharge and performance of that trust committed to us. Add to this that *vinculum animæ*, the bond of the soul, the obligation of an oath, and I doubt not but it will be found, that, though love, fear, and particular interest be the usual cords which halter justice, yet, at this time, they will be found to be, among us, but sorry and unmasculine pieces of rhetorick, either to affright us from, or soften us in our duties.

The matter of your charge will be to enquire into, and find out the several offences, which have been committed and done against the polittick body of the commonwealth, as so many several diseases and infirmities in the several parts of the natural body of a man, which distemper and endanger the health of the whole; and they are of four sorts.

First, Such as are against the peace of the commonwealth, or whereby publick peace is disturbed; and those I call diseases endangering the heart of this politick body.

Secondly, Such as are against the justice of the commonwealth, or whereby publick justice is perverted; and those I call diseases endangering the head of this politick body.

Thirdly, Such as are against the plenty of the commonwealth, or whereby publick plenty is diminished; and those I call diseases offending the stomach of this politick body.

Fourthly, Such as are against the beauty and good complexion of the commonwealth, or whereby this beauty and good complexion is discoloured and defaced, contained under the name and title of common nuisances; and those I call diseases offending the outward senses of this politick body.

Touching those against peace, they are of five sorts.

1. Treasons; which, again, are either high treason or petty treason.
2. Felonies; which, again, are done either against the publick, or against the particular person, or possession, of another.
3. Premunire.
4. Misprisions.
5. Trespasses.

High treasons are these.

1. If any levy war against the supreme authority of the nation, or adhere to the enemies thereof. And, when I do so express it, supreme authority, I give you the meaning of the Stat. 25 E. III. 2. which mentions it thus: 'If any levy war against the King, or adhere to the King's enemies within the realm.' For the name and word King (*quatenus* the chief officer is trusted with the government in the administration of that government) is frequently used to set forth the publick interest of the people; so we call it the King's peace, the King's coin, the King's highway, and the like: All which, in truth, are the publick concerns of the people, being for their publick use and benefit, and are therefore expressed and exhibited unto us under the notion of the King's name, because he is their publick officer, and trusted for them. So that to levy war against the King, or to adhere to the King's enemies, is to levy war against the kingdom, and the government of it, and the supreme power and authority of it; or, which is more plain in the expression, to levy war without lawful warrant and authority so to do. And yet this, I believe, was that which hath misled (and, perhaps, may still mislead) many of our countrymen: That, 'because they had the person of the King with them (betwixt whom and whom there were mutual and reciprocal deceivings) and they (never remembering, that, when in person he deserted the parliament, he left the King and kingly authority behind him, because he left the kingly office, and the power thereof, and publick government behind him) they caught at the shadow, and let go the substance; and so, under colour of fighting for the King, they fought against him. Yet, because *omnis non capit hoc*, every man did not understand this distinction betwixt the politick and natural body of the King, therefore see how mercifully and favourably the parliament hath dealt with these men, that they have not pressed the rigour of the

law upon the offenders of this kind; whose offences being high-treason by the fundamental justice of this nation, and so their lives and whole estates, lands, and goods, being forfeited by the law for the same, yet this forfeiture hath not been exacted upon them; but, in hope they will at last see their errors, and repent for their misdoings, the parliament hath been pleased to carry a more tender hand, and, by way of commutation, to pass over their offences with the punishment of a small fine for such misdoings, yet with this silent admonition, like that to the woman in the gospel, 'Go thy way, and sin no more, lest a worse thing happen unto thee.'

2. If any counterfeit the great seal, privy seal, or privy signet.

3. If any counterfeit the coin of the nation, or otherwise clip, or diminish it.

4. If any kill a judge, or justice of oyer and terminer, in his place, doing his office.

5. If any jesuit, or seminary priest, born in England, and ordained and professed beyond sea, by authority derived from the see of Rome, do come into, or abide within this realm.

6. If any the second time extol, defend, or maintain, within this realm, the usurped jurisdiction, or authority of the Pope, or any other foreign prince.

7. If any bring over and put in ure, or receive from beyond sea any bull, or instrument of absolution, or reconciliation, to absolve the people of this nation from their allegiance here to the see of Rome; or endeavour the second time to withdraw the people to the obedience of the see of Rome; or, if any be absolved, reconciled, or withdrawn. And here you must understand, that, in treasons, actors and consenters are principals, and there are no accessaries at all in treason.

Petty treasons are these.

If a servant kill his or her master or mistress,

If a wife kill her husband.

Premunire.

Touching premunire, it is, properly, a writ, or process of summons, awarded against such as brought in bulls, or citations from the court of Rome, to obtain ecclesiastical benefices, by way of provision, before they fell void; for, of old time, divers acts of parliament were made, viz. in the times of King Edward the Third, King Richard the Second, and King Henry the Fourth, against the Pope's exercise of jurisdiction within this nation, and against those subjects that did appeal, from the courts of justice here, to the court of Rome; and who obtained provisions there, to have abbies and priories, or benefices with cure, here; which proceedings tended (say those statutes) to the destruction of the realm, and of religion. Therefore, these being held to be great offences, and so tending to the disherison of the rights belonging to the crown and the people of England, and to the destruction of the common law, are made to be grievously punishable, viz. To be imprisoned during life, to forfeit lands and goods, and to be put out of the protection of the law. Afterward other later laws were made in the time of Queen Elisabeth, against other offences of like nature, wherewith we have now to do; namely,

If any send over, or contribute money, or relief, for maintenance of any jesuit, or seminary priest, or college beyond sea.

If any extol, defend, or maintain the jurisdiction or authority of the Pope (or of any other foreign prince) within this nation.

If any bring over any *agnus Dei*, crosses, pictures, or beads, hallowed (as they call it) at Rome, to disperse among the people, or if any person receive any such, or know of this offence, and conceal it three days.

If any do aid, or assist those, who put in ure any Pope's bulls, or instruments of absolution brought from Rome.

Misprision of treason are these.

If any know another to be guilty of high-treason, and do conceal it.

If any forge or counterfeit foreign coin, not current here.

If any utter counterfeit coin, knowing it to be such.

If any strike, or draw a sword, to strike a justice, sitting in place of judgment.

Felonies against the person of another are these.

If any commit homicide, viz. kill or slay another.

If, out of precedent malice, expressed or implied, it is murther.

If, upon a sudden falling out, it is manslaughter.

If in doing a lawful action, it is called chance-medley, misadventure, or misfortune.

If in his own defence, it is so stiled, homicide *se defendendum*, and so also poisoning, stabbing, and bewitching to death are homicides.

If any commit a rape, viz. have the carnal knowledge of a woman against her will, or with her will, if she be under ten years old.

If any take away, or consent, or assist to take away any maid, widow, or wife, against her will, she being then interested in lands or goods.

If any marry a second husband, or wife, the first being alive.

If any commit buggery, or sodomy, a crime *inter Christianos non nominandum*, says the indictment.

If a gipsy, or counterfeit Egyptian, have continued a month within this nation.

If any person, appointed by law to abjure, refuse it, or return after abjuration.

If any do wilfully, and maliciously, cut out the tongue, or put out the eyes of another.

If any receive, or relieve, or maintain any jesuit, or other seminary priest, knowing him to be such.

If any incorrigible rogue, judged dangerous, and banished, return again.

If any dangerous rogue, branded in the shoulder, return again to a roguish life.

If any person, infected with the plague, wilfully go abroad, and converse among company.

Felonies against the Possession are these.

If any break a dwelling-house in the night, with intent to do any felonious act there.

If any rob another by the high-way, or take any thing privately from his person.

If any take the goods of another in his absence, with intent to steal them.

If any servant go away with his master's goods (delivered to him) with intent to steal them, being of the value of forty shillings, or above.

If any rob a church.

If any maliciously burn the house, or stack of corn, or barn of corn, of another.

If any take up a hawk, and do not carry her to the sheriff, to be proclaimed.

If any do, the second time, forge any deed, evidence, or writing, and publish it to be a good deed.

If any acknowledge a fine, or judgment, or deed, to be inrolled in the name of another, and not being the true person.

If any raise, imbezzle, or withdraw any record of the court.

If any use the art of multiplication of gold, or silver.

If any hunt by night in parks or warrens, with painted faces, or other disguises, and deny it upon examination.

If any persons, above twelve in number, raise any tumults or unlawful assemblies.

If above forty persons shall assemble together to do any unlawful act, and shall continue together, three hours, after proclamation for their departure.

If any depart out of this nation, to serve a foreign prince, without leave, and before bond entered, and oath taken according to the statute.

If any soldier, or mariner, who hath received press-wages, according to the statute, do afterward depart from their service, without license.

If any such soldier or mariner, do wander and beg, without a pass, or if they counterfeit their pass.

If any person having the custody of publick stores of victuals, or ammunition, imbezzle, or purloin any of it, to the value of twenty shillings, or above.

If any do the second time transport sheep beyond sea.

If any persuade another to commit any felony, or receive and assist any felon, after the felony committed, these are accessaries to the felony.

If any rescue a felon from prison.

If any felon break prison, and escape, or be suffered to escape, and be rescued.

Misprision of felony is this.

If any know another to have committed felony, and do not reveal it.

Trespasses and offences against the peace, finable, are these.

If any menace, assault, beat, or wound another.

If any make unlawful entry upon other men's lands, or unlawfully take away other men's goods.

If any make unlawful assemblies, routs, or riots.

If any chide, brawl, or draw a weapon to strike, or do strike in a church, or church-yard.

If any keep a fair, or market, in any church, or church-yard.

If any say, or hear mass.

If papists be absent from church, a month together.

If any keep a recusant school-master, or other recusant servant in his house.

If any shall voluntarily disturb the preacher in his sermon.

If any affirm, that the eating of fish, or forbearing flesh at set times, are necessary for our salvation, or for other purpose, than as a politick constitution.

If any frame, make, or publish any false, scandalous, writing, or picture against another, or libellous, or to the disgrace of others, or whereby to move contention amongst the people.

And, touching this devilish intention of libelling and defaming others, in these days, more frequent than ever, by false and horrible lyes, and slanders, and pamphlets published even against the parliament itself, and every member of it, and every man that wishes well to it, yourselves can testify how frequent it is, and hath been of late, and therefore I beseech you be careful to find out some of those, who have been offenders in it.

And thus you have here mention of the offences against publick peace, which are so many diseases in the heart of the politick body of the commonwealth.

Next come the offences against publick justice, which are also to be found out by us; and these are either against justice in the general, or are offences by officers trusted in particular administrations, or by artificers, and labourers, and masters, and servants.

Offences against justice in general.

If any be a common stirrer, and procurer of law-suits, or a common brabblor or quarreller, among his neighbours; this is barratry.

If any buy or contract, for a pretended right or title to land, or other thing in controversy of suit; this is unlawful buying of titles.

If any maintain the law suit of another, to have part of the thing in demand, otherwise; this is maintenance or champerty.

If any get goods of another into his hands, by false tokens and messages; this is a deceit punishable.

If any counterfeit any deed or writing, and publish it as true, this is forgery.

If any corrupt a jury-man, by bribery or menace, to divert him from giving a just verdict, this is imbracery.

If any corrupt any of you of the grand jury, by bribes, or otherwise, to make favourable presentments.

If any informer, upon penal laws, do not duly pursue his information, or, if he sue out a process, before the information be exhibited, or compound before the defendant hath answered, or after an answer without license.

If any wilfully and corruptly swear falsely, in evidence to a jury, it is perjury: and to procure another so to do, is subornation of perjury.

If any take more interest upon loan of money, than after eight pounds per cent. for a year, this is unlawful usury and extortion.

Touching publick officers, trusted in the administration of justice, and failing in their Duty.

First, the sheriff.

This is a great officer, and is much trusted in the service of the people, and, by the state of *articulum super chartas*, is to be chosen yearly by the people, that they might the better be assured of those they trusted. But this privilege of election (among others) the people have lost, and the court, of later times, did learn how to make profit, both by electing sheriffs, as also by keeping them off from being elected.

In his office you find him a judge, and a minister of justice: He is a judge in his court, called the Turn, and sits as judge, and hath the profits in the court, called the County Court.

Touching the Turn.

If the sheriff, or his deputy, do not send indictments, found in his turn, to the next sessions.

If the sheriff, or bailiffs, arrest any person upon an indictment in his turn, or levy the fines, or americiaments, imposed in his turn, without warrant indented from the sessions:

Touching the County Court.

If the sheriff, or his bailiffs, enter plaints in his county court, in the absence of the plaintiff, or of some other known person authorised by him.

If the sheriff, or his bailiffs, enter more plaints than one, in his county court, upon one cause of action.

If the sheriff, or his bailiffs, fail to summon the defendant to appear at the county court.

If the sheriff, or his bailiffs, levy the americiaments, set in the county court, upon the defendants for not appearing, called, the Sheriff's americiaments, without an indented estreat between him and two justices of the peace.

As a minister of justice.

If the sheriff let his county or bailiwick to farm.

If the sheriff, or his bailiffs, collect the green-wax estreats of the exchequer, without shewing the estreats under seal.

If the sheriff's officer, or jailer, for any cause, but court fees, detain any prisoner in jail, after the court hath discharged him.

If any sheriff make out any warrant to make an arrest, not having the process then in his custody.

If the sheriff, or his deputy, take for breaking-up a common law mean process, and making an arrest, above two shillings and four pence, viz. twenty pence the warrant, four pence the arrest, and four pence the bond, if the defendant be bound, or four pence the jailer, if the defendant come to the jail.

If the sheriff, or his deputy, take above one shilling a pound for doing an execution, under one-hundred pounds, and six pence a pound for every hundred pounds more, and this, after the execution is levied.

If the sheriff, or his bailiff take any money, or other reward, for sparing an arrest, or for letting to bail persons not bailable, or for shewing him any other favour.

If the sheriffs refuse to let to bail persons arrested upon mean process, who are bailable by law.

If the sheriff, or his deputy, take a bond, for appearance of any other form, than that directed by the statute.

If the sheriff return any jurors, without their true addition.

If the sheriff or his deputy take any thing, for making and returning pannels of juries, or take above four-pence for the copy of one pannel.

If the sheriff or jailer deny to receive, without fee, felons sent to the jail.

If the bailiff of any liberty do not perform the same duties as are enjoined to sheriffs, in executing warrants and processes directed to hem.

Touching the constable.

This is an officer of justice, and an officer of peace, and is of great trust, and good use, if he perform his duty; and therefore, by the way let me say, that care must be taken by the justices of peace, and stewards in leets, that able and honest persons, and fit for the service, be put into this employment.

If he does not endeavour to preserve the peace and prevent the breach of it.

If he does not arrest night-walkers, and suspected persons.

If he does not hastily pursue hue-and-cry after murtherers, and robbers.

If he does not cause watch by night, and ward by day, to be kept within his office, from Ascension-day, to Michaelmas-day, and ward by day, the rest of the year.

If he does not truly execute and return all warrants sent to him, from justices of the peace.

If he does not appoint in Easter-week overseers of highways.

If he does not apprehend beggars, rogues, and vagabonds that are wandering or begging within his office, and if any have hindered him from doing his duty therein.

If he does not punish, by the stocks, such as refuse to labour in hay and harvest-time.

If he does not inventory felons goods happening within his office.

If he does not, once a month, search ale-houses, maltmakers houses, and houses of gaming and bawdery.

If he does not present at the sessions, or to the next justices, the disorders in ale-houses, defects in highways, recusants absence from church, and such as keep dogs, guns, nets, and the like, for the unlawful taking of wild-fowls and hares.

If he does not drive the commons within his office for infected and unlawful cattle, once (at least) in summer.

Coroner.

If he fail to perform his duty upon summons as well where the fact is by misadventures, as by man's haud.

If he take any fee, where the fact is by misadventure.

If he take any fee, above thirteen shillings and four-pence where the fact is by man's hand, and that of the goods of the manslayer, if he be in custody; or, if he escape, then of the town, where the fact was done.

Clerk of the market.

If he take any common fine for dispensing with faults in weights and measures.

If he take any fee for marking weights and measures, but those allowed, viz. one penny for a bushel and hundred-weight; half a penny for half a bushel, and half a hundred-weight; a farthing for every less weight or measure.

Clerk of the peace.

If he take any fee for his office-doing, but those allowed, viz. for an ale-house recognisance, one shilling.

For a badger's or drover's license, two shillings.

For inrolling presentments for recusants 0.

For inrolling of a recognisance of a rogue, taken into service, one shilling.

For inrolling a deed of bargain, and sale of land, being under forty shillings *per annum* value, one shilling.

And if it exceed forty shillings, *per annum* value, two shillings and six-pence.

Ordinary.

So formerly called, as having had jurisdictionem ordinariam in jure proprio. But that name and thing fell away with the bishops. And the officer, who now officiates in that service of proving the last wills, and granting the administration of the goods of dead men in the southern province, doth it now by the mediate authority and power of the parliament, by vertue of an ordinance for that purpose. But, in these northern parts, the old authority is both boldly and unlawfully exercised, and continued without any warrant at all. But touching the fees, taken upon these occasions, thus much is to your present purpose.

If he take any fee, but those allowed for proving of a will, or granting an administration, viz.

Where the inventory exceeds forty pounds, five shillings.

Where it is under forty pounds, and above five pounds, three shillings and six-pence.

Where but five pounds, or under, six-pence.

Or a penny for every ten lines, ten inches long, which rate is also allowed for their copies.

And what is taken, more than those, is extortion.

If any minister take any mortuary, but where the custom of the place allows it; or where it is allowed, if he take any mortuary for an infant, feme covert, or traveller; or if he take any thing, where the inventory is under ten marks; or, if he take above three shillings and four-pence, where the inventory is above ten marks, and under thirty pounds; or,

if he take above six shillings and eight-pence, where the inventory is above thirty pounds, and under forty pounds; or, if he take above ten shillings, where the inventory is above forty pounds.

Searchers and scalers of leather.

If they be not appointed by the owner of the market, in market towns.

If they (being appointed) refuse the office.

If they do not, in convenient time, perform their duty and office upon particular occasions when leather is brought to them to view.

If they be not furnished with a register-book and a seal.

If they fail to set down all bargains of tanned and unwrought leather.

If they allow such as is insufficient, or disallow such as is sufficient.

If they take any fee, save such as is allowed, viz. for every ten hides, two pence, and for every six dozen of calves-skins, two-pence.

If triers of tanned leather, seized for insufficient, be not appointed by the owners and rulers of fairs or markets.

If the triers refuse to perform their duty.

Toll-gatherers.

If owners or rulers of fairs and markets have not appointed some certain place for sale of horses there, and a toll-gatherer to attend.

If the toll-gatherer do not sit in an open place, in markets and fairs, where horses and cattle are sold, and continue there from ten of the clock in the morning, till sun-set.

If he do not keep a register-book, and therein set down the bargains brought before him, and have the parties and vouchers present which he knows.

If he take any fee or reward save that allowed, viz. a penny for one bargain entering.

If any person, coming in as a voucher, take upon him the knowledge of the seller, and do not in truth know him.

If the toll-gatherer refuse to deliver a copy of his entry, or take above two-pence for it.

Overseers of the poor.

If they refuse to execute their office, being appointed thereto by the justices of peace.

If they do not provide a common stock, and take care to keep the poor at work upon the common stock of the parish.

If they do not meet once a month particularly to confer about the performance of their duty.

If they do not raise a weekly taxation for the maintenance of the impotent poor.

If they suffer their parishioners to wander and beg out of their parish, or in their parish, without license.

Overseers of high-ways.

If they refuse to execute the office, being chosen thereto by the constable and neighbourhood.

If they do not, upon the next Sunday after Easter, appoint publickly in the church six days betwixt that and Midsummer, for the neighbours to meet for mending the highways in the parish.

If they do not attend at the days appointed to direct the works.

If they do not present to the next justice of the peace, or at the next sessions, the defaults of absent parishioners.

If they do not present to the two next justices of peace the defects of high-ways, and of not scouring the ditches, that should lead and avoid the water from standing in high-ways.

Touching artificers, labourers, masters, and servants.

If artificers, labourers, or servants conspire what wages to take, and not to work under those rates.

If artificers or labourers undertake work, and depart before it be finished.

If they do not continue from five of the clock in the morning till seven at night in the summer, and from seven till five in winter.

If labourers or servants take any more wages than the rates allowed by the justices.

If any servant assault master or mistress.

If a tradesman retain a journeyman for less time than a year.

If for every three apprentices they do not keep one journeyman; and for every apprentice above three, one journeyman more.

If they refuse to labour in hay-time or harvest.

If a servant depart from one parish to another, without a testimonial from his master.

If any master hire any such servants wanting such a testimonial.

If any servant depart within his term, or at the end of his term, without a quarter's warning, unless the cause be allowed before two justices of peace.

If any master put away his servant within his term, or at the end of his term, without a quarter's warning, unless the cause be allowed before two justices of peace.

Brasiers and Pewterers.

If any brasier or pewterer buy or exchange any metal belonging to his trade, but in open shop, or fair, or market.

If they sell their wares of metal not of the allay of London.

If they use any deceitful weights or false beams.

Cordwainers, viz. a tanner, currier, shoe-maker, and butcher, dealing with the hide.

Tanner.

If he set his fats in tan-hills.

If he over-lime his hides.

If he tan any leather in warm owze.

If he do not work the lime well out of the leather.

If he use any stuff but malt, meal, tapwort, hen-dung, culver-dung, ash-bark, and oak-bark.

If he use any deceitful mixture for raising his hides.

If he suffer his hides to be frozen with winter-frost, or to be parched with summer-sun, or to be dried by the fire.

If he tan any rotten hides.

If he do not renew his owze so often as need requires.

If he do not keep his soal-leather twelve months, and upper-leather nine months in the owze.

If he sell any tanned leather, which is insufficiently tanned.

If he sell any tanned leather out of a market.

If he sell any tanned leather, before it be searched and sealed.

If any tanner be a currier or a shoemaker, or use any other trade which cuts leather, or *e contra*.

Currier.

If he dwell out of a market town, or exercise his trade in a shoemaker's house.

If he curry any leather but such as is sufficiently tanned.

If he use any other stuff in currying outer-soal-leather, but good hard tallow, and no less thereof than the leather will receive.

If he gash or scald any hide, or shave any leather too thin.

If he refuse to curry leather brought to him with stuff to work it, or if he keep it in summer above eight days, and in winter above sixteen days.

If he be a tanner or shoemaker, while he is a currier.

Shoemaker.

If he do not make his wares of good leather, soal and upper-leather well-tanned, and well sewed with thread well waxed and twisted, and hard drawn with hand-leathers.

If he mix his wares, part neats-leather, part calf, horse, or bull-hide.

If he sell any wares upon Sundays.

Butcher.

If he gash, slaughter, or cut any hide in fleaing.

If he water any hide, save in June, July, or August.

If he sell any corrupt or rotten hides.

If he sell any hide but in open market.

If he use the trade of a tanner.

Tanned Leather.

If any buy tanned leather, red and unwrought, and do not make it into made wares.

If any but tanners buy rough hides.

If any buy tanned leather out of a market.

If any buy tanned leather before it be searched and sealed.

If any refuse and resist the searchers to make search.

If any ingross oak-bark.

Cloth-makers.

If any use raking of linnen-cloth, or use lime or other unadue mixture in whitening linnen-cloth.

Cooper.

If he make his ware of unseasoned wood.

If he do not make it of due assize, viz. The barrel thirty-six gallons of beer, and of ale or soap thirty-two.

The kilderkins after the same proportion.

The firkins after the same proportion.

If he do not set his mark upon it.

Tile-maker.

If he do not dig his earth before the first of November, and turn it over before the first of February, and turn it again before the first of March, and then try and tue it from stones.

If he make his tile of less assize than ten inches and an half long, and six inches and a quarter broad; and gutter-tile ten inches long, and ridge-tile fourteen inches long, and half an inch and a quarter thick.

And so I have done with the offences of this kind, which are against publick justice; and now I come to those which are against the publick plenty of the stores of food and provision for the people, and are therefore in these hard and dear times to be most carefully prevented, if it may be, atleast by such ways as the law directs.

Touching the plenty of the country, and the disorders by victuallers.

In general, whatsoever tends to inhanche the price of victuals for unlawful increasing particular men's profits by it, this is an offence against the plenty of it; and therefore,

If any do buy any sort of victuals as it is coming to a market or fair, either by water or land, it is fore-stalling.

If any buy victuals in a market, and sell it again within four miles, it is regrating.

If any buy any dead victuals, or corn growing upon the ground, with intent to sell it again, it is ingrossing.

If any victuallers conspire to sell their victuals at unreasonable prices.

If any victuallers sell any unwholesome victuals.

If any buy corn, having sufficient for his house-provision for a year, and do not the same day bring so much other corn to the market to be sold.

If any drover or other buy cattel, and sell them again alive, within five weeks.

If any person take upon him to be a badger of corn, not being lawfully licensed by four justices of peace.

If any buy butter or cheese in gross, and sell it again in gross, or by retail out of an open shop.

If any forbear to rear calves yearly, viz. one calf for every two kine, or every three-score sheep he keeps; or do not keep a milched cow for every three-score sheep.

If any transport sheep, corn, butter, or cheese beyond sea.

If any keep above two-thousand sheep at once.

If any destroy wild-fowls eggs, or take wild-fowl between the last of May and the last of August.

If any hawk in standing corn.

If any, not qualified, keep dogs, ferrets, nets, or engines, to take hares, conies, pheasants, or partridges.

If any trace hares in the snow.

If any take or kill pheasants or partridges with engines, nets, or snares, or by shooting in guns.

If any shoot hail-shot in guns.

If any do unlawfully hunt or kill deer, or conies, in a park or warren.

If any sell pheasants, partridges, or hares.

Alehouse-keepers.

If any alehouse-keeper keep an alehouse, not being licensed thereunto.

If they sell less than a quart a penny the best, and two quarts a penny of the worse sort.

If they suffer unlawful tippling or drinking, games, tables, cards, or dice in their houses.

If inn-keepers do not sell their hay and oats at reasonable prices.

If tavern-keepers suffer people to sit tippling in their houses.

If any person continue tippling and drinking in taverns, inns, or alehouses.

If any person be drunk.

Bakers.

If any baker sell his bread of less weight than the due assize, viz. proportionable to the price of corn in the market, as it is regulated by a printed assize-book, set out to that purpose.

If they do not set their proper mark upon their bread.

If they give above thirteen to the dozen.

If any but bakers bake horse-bread to sell.

Butchers.

If any butcher kill and sell calves under five weeks old, or any weaning under two years old.

If they sell any measled hogs, or beast that died of the murrain, or other corrupt or unwholesome meat,

Fish.

If any destroy the fry of fish, or fish with nets less than two inches and an half wide in the mash.

If any kill any salmon under sixteen inches long, or pickerils under ten inches long, or trouts under eight inches long, or barbels under twelve inches long.

If dried barrel fish (brought in by strangers) be not of due assize, viz. in barrels of herrings thirty-two gallons, in barrels of eels thirteen gallons, in a butt of salmon four-score and four gallons.

If any bring any cod or ling from beyond sea, in barrels to be sold, or otherwise than loose in bulk.

If any set a tax, or toll, or restraint upon fish brought into this nation to be sold.

If any cut out or destroy heads or dams of ponds, moats, or stews of fish, in any man's several fishings.

Malt-makers.

If any malt-maker do not make his malt of good and sweet barley, not mow-burnt or spired barley.

If they do not rub it, and dress it well, and fan half a peck of dust out of every quarter.

If it be less time than three weeks in the fat, floor, and drying.

Millers.

If any miller take excessive toll for grinding corn, viz. above a twentieth part, or twenty-fourth part, according to the strength of the water.

Wine.

If any bring in wine in foreign bottoms.

If any bring in wine in vessels, not of due assize, viz. the butt one hundred twenty-six gallons, hogshead sixty-three gallons, pipe one hundred twenty-six gallons, terce eighty-four gallons, tun two hundred fifty-two gallons.

If any sell wine, above the price proclaimed in chancery.

And thus you see how the publick plenty of the country is diminished for a few men's particular gains; and you see also how the abuses may be reformed, to a general advantage of all the people.

Lastly, Common nuisances are to be enquired after.

Touching common nuisances, or offences, done against the general easements of the people, as, against the health, beauty, and good complexion of the body politick, are these.

If any erect a cottage, and do not lay four acres of ground to it, to be occupied with it.

If any continue such unlawful cottage.

If any keep an inmate, or undersitter, in a cottage.

If any common bridge be out of repair.

If high-ways to market-towns be not enlarged and cleansed of wood, two hundred feet at least.

If any common highway be out of repair, or if any ditches be unscoured, or undressed, which should convey and avoid the water from standing in high-ways.

If the parishioners have not met at the day appointed, to mend the high-ways, as the law directs.

If any keep common gaming-houses, bowling-allies, or the like.

If any common vagabonds and beggars, or wandering rogues, or dangerous rogues do pass, or be suffered to pass, from place to place, or be relieved, in places where they come.

If any keep, or use, unlawful weights and measures, not according to the standard of the exchequer; or if weights and measures, of the standard assize, be not kept in every market town.

If any use any weights or measures, unsearched or unsealed.

If any profane the Lord's day, viz. by travelling that day, or by using sports, and unlawful exercises that day.

If any profanely swear or curse.

If any keep a stoned horse in any common ground, not being fourteen hands high.

And thus you see how the wisdom of the common laws of this nation, and of the parliaments, from time to time, hath provided for the security and ease of the people ; and hath furnished us with a salve for every sore ; and gives us rules and instructions, how to govern ourselves, that we may be helpful and useful to one another ; and from whence it is, that we may well conclude, ' If we keep the law, the law will keep us ; ' and that, ' if we place the law in the throne, the law will preserve and protect us, in safety and security.' Touching the offences, which are committed by disobedient and lawless persons : You that are culled out from all the parts of the country, and chosen to be the chiefagents, and first movers (as I may speak) in this work of justice, which is the subject of this day's service, and are the country's trustees for that purpose ; I do not question, but your publick spirits are such, and common love to your country such, (taking in even your own interests and particular profits and concernments) that you will be more ordinary careful to cleanse the country of these weeds, and darnel, and cockle, that grow up among the corn ; those wicked and unreasonable men, which are as pricks and goads, in the sides of others, and live idly, loosely, and wickedly, among the people, and are, as so many plague-sores, spread over the body of the country ; and the way, to cleanse the country of them, is to execute justice upon them ; for the execution of justice is the work of God himself, the end of the law, the command of the parliament, the magistrates honour, the offenders terror, and the expectation of all honest men : And therefore (as once it was spoken in another case) let it not seem a small thing to you, who are to begin this work of justice, that you are separated from the congregation, and brought near to the God of heaven, to do the service of the tabernacle, and to stand before the people, and to minister unto them. And, having said thus much, I leave what remains to your diligence. All our service begins in you ; it is your *ignoramus*, or *billa vera*, which opens and shuts, which shuts and no man opens.

THE
DISSENTING MINISTERS VINDICATION
OF THEMSELVES,

From the horrid and detestable murder of King Charles the First, of glorious memory. With their names subscribed, about the twentieth of January, 1648.

ISAIAH lxii. 1.

For Zion's sake I will not hold my peace, and for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest, until the righteousness thereof go forth as brightness, and the salvation thereof as a lamp that burneth.

PROVERBS xxiv. 21, 22.

My son, fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change.

For their calamity shall rise suddenly, and who knoweth the ruin of them both?

London, printed in the year MDCXLVIII. Quarto, containing six pages.

IT cannot be unknown how much we and other ministers of this city and kingdom; that faithfully adhered to the parliament, have injuriously smarted under the scourge of evil tongues and pens, ever since the first eruption of the unhappy differences and unnatural war between the King and parliament, for our obedience to the commands and orders of the honourable houses, in their contests with his majesty, and conflicts with his armies.

We are not ignorant of the over-busy intermeddlings of prelates and their party heretofore, in over-ruling civil affairs to the great endangering of the kingdoms, and of this in particular, when private interests, ambitious designs, revenge, or other sinister ends, engaged them beyond their sphere. Howbeit, it cannot reasonably (as we conceive) be denied, that ministers, as subjects, being bound to obey the laws, and to preserve the liberties of the kingdom, and having an interest in them, and the happiness of them, as well as others, may, and ought (without incurring the just censure due to busy-bodies and incendiaries) to appear, for preserving the laws and liberties of that commonwealth, whereof they are members, especially in our case, when it was declared by the parliament, that all was at stake, and in danger to be lost. No, nor, as ministers, ought they to hold their peace, in a time wherein the sins of rulers and magistrates, as well as others, have so far provoked God, as to kindle the fire of his wrath against his people. And yet, for this

alone, the faithful servants of God have, in all ages, through the malice of Satan and his instruments, been traduced as arch-incendiaries, when only their accusers are indeed guilty of both laying the train, and of putting fire to it, to blow up a kingdom.

And Ahab and his sycophants think none so fit to bear the odium of being the grand 'troubler of Israel, as Elijah.' Thus the popish device was, to charge the gun-powder treason (had it taken effect) upon the puritans; and, if you believe Tertullus, even a Paul is 'a pestilent fellow, a mover of sedition throughout the world, a ring-leader of a sect,' and what not, but what he is; yea, Christ himself (tho' a friend to monarchy, even of heathenish Rome) is proclaimed 'an enemy to Cæsar,' to open a way to his destruction, by their malice, who never cared for the interest of Cæsar.

Wherefore, although with us, who have had experience of like usage, 'it be a small thing to be thus judged of men,' when we regard only our own particular persons; for, 'if they call the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more those of his household?' Yet, when we consider how much it concerns the honour of our master, and the good of all, to preserve our ministerial function immaculate (our good names being in that relation as needful to others, as a good conscience to ourselves) we dare not but stand by and assert the integrity of our hearts, and the innocence of all our actions (in reference to the king and kingdom) for which we are so much calumniated and traduced.

This we are compelled to at this time, because there are many who very confidently (yet most unjustly) charge us to have been formerly instrumental towards the taking away the life of the King. And because also there are others, who, in their scurrilous pasquils and libels (as well as with their virulent tongues) present us to the world as a 'bloody seditious sect, and traitorous obstructors, of what all the godly people of the kingdom do earnestly desire for establishing of religion and peace,' in that we stick at the execution of the King, while yet we are (as they falsely affirm) content to have him convicted and condemned; all which we must and do from our hearts disclaim, before the whole world.

For, when we did first engage with the parliament (which we did not till called thereunto) we did with loyal hearts and affection towards the King, and his posterity. Not intending the least hurt to his person, but to stop his party from doing further hurt to the kingdom; not to bring his Majesty to justice (as some now speak) but to put him into a better capacity to do justice: 'To remove the wicked from before him, that his throne might be established in righteousness;' not to dethrone and destroy him, which, we much fear, is the ready way to the destruction of all his kingdoms.

That which put on any of us at first to appear for the parliament was, 'The propositions and orders of the Lords and Commons in parliament' (June 10, 1642) for bringing in of money and plate, &c. wherein they assured us, that whatsoever should be brought in thereupon, should not be at all employed upon any other occasion, than to maintain, 'the protestant religion, the King's authority, his person in his royal dignity, the free course of justice, the laws of the land, the peace of the king-

dom, and the privileges of parliament, against any force which shall oppose them.'

And in this we were daily confirmed and encouraged more and more, by their many subsequent declarations and protestations which we held ourselves bound to believe, knowing many of them to be godly and conscientious men, of publick spirits, zealously promoting the common good, and labouring to free this kingdom from tyranny and slavery, which some evil instruments about the King endeavoured to bring upon the nation.

As for the present actings at Westminster, since the time that so many of the members were by force secluded, divers imprisoned, and others thereupon withdrew from the House of Commons (and there not being that conjunction of the two houses as heretofore) we are wholly unsatisfied therein, because we conceive them to be so far from being warranted by sufficient authority, as that in our apprehensions they tend to an actual alteration, if not subversion, of that which the honourable House of Commons, in their declaration of April 17, 1646, have taught us to call, 'The fundamental constitution and government of this kingdom,' which they therein assure us, if we understand them, they would never alter.

Yea, we hold ourselves bound in duty to God, religion, the King, parliament, and kingdom, to profess before God, angels, and men, that we verily believe that which is so much feared to be now in agitation, 'The taking away the life of the King,' in the present way of tryal, is, not only not agreeable to any word of God, the principles of the protestant religion (never yet stained with the least drop of the blood of a King) or the fundamental constitution and government of this kingdom; but contrary to them, as also to the oath of allegiance, the protestation of May 5, 1641, and the 'solemn league and covenant; from all or any of which engagements, we know not any power on earth able to absolve us or others.'

In which last, we have sworn with hands lifted up to the most high God, 'That we shall with sincerity, reality, and constancy, in our several vocations, endeavour, with our estates and lives, mutually to preserve and defend the rights and privileges of the parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdoms, and to preserve and defend the King's majesty's person and authority, in the defence of the true religion, and liberties of the kingdoms; that the world may bear witnesses with our consciences of our loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his majesty's just power and greatness.

And we are yet farther tied by another article of the same covenant; 'Not to suffer ourselves, directly or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, persuasion, or terror, to be divided or withdrawn from this blessed union and conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary party, or to give ourselves to a detestable indifferency, or neutrality, in this cause which so much concerns the glory of God, the good of the kingdoms, and honour of the King; but shall, all the days of our lives, zealously and constantly continue therein against all opposition, and promote the same according to our power against all lets and impediments whatsoever.' And this we have not only taken ourselves, but most of us have, by command of the parliament, administered it to others, whom we

have thereby drawn in to be as deep as ourselves in this publick engagement.

Therefore, according to that our covenant, we do in the name of the great God, (to whom all must give a strict account) warn and exhort all who either more immediately belong to our respective charges, or any way depend on our ministry, or to whom we have administered the said covenant (that we may not by our silence suffer them to run upon that highly provoking sin of perjury) to keep close to the ways of God, and the rules of religion, the laws and their vows, in their constant maintaining the true reformed religion, the fundamental constitution and government of this kingdom (not suffering themselves to be seduced from it, by being drawn in to subscribe the late models, or 'Agreement of the people,' which directly tends to the utter subversion of the whole frame of the fundamental government of the land, and makes way for an universal toleration of all heresies and blasphemies, directly contrary to our covenant, if they can but get their abettors to cover them under a false guise of the Christian religion) as also in preserving the privileges of both houses of parliament, and the union between the two nations of England and Scotland; to mourn bitterly for their own sins, the sins of the city, army, parliament, and kingdom, and the woful miscarriages of the King himself (which we cannot but acknowledge to be many and very great) in his government, that have cost the three kingdoms so dear, and cast him down from his excellency into a horrid pit of misery, almost beyond example. And to pray that God would both give him effectual repentance, and sanctify that bitter cup of divine displeasure, that the divine providence hath put into his hand; as also that God would restrain the violence of men, 'that they may not dare to draw upon themselves, and the kingdom, the blood of their sovereign.'

And now, we have good reason to expect that they who brought us under such a bond, and thereby led us into the necessity of this present vindication and manifestation of our judgments, and discharge of our consciences, should defend us in it. However, we resolve rather to be of their number that tremble at his terrors who is a consuming fire, and will not fail to 'avenge the quarrel of his covenant,' upon all that condemn it, than to be found among those who 'despise the oath by breaking his covenant (after lifting up the hand)' although it had been made but in civil things only, and that with the worst of men.

C. Burges, D.D. Preacher of the Word, in Paul's, London.

Will. Gouge, D.D. Pastor of Black-friers.

Edmund Stanton, D.D. Pastor of Kingston.

Thomas Temple, D.D. Pastor of Battersey.

George Walker, Pastor of John Evangelist.

Edmund Calamy, Pastor of Aldermanbury.

Jeremiah Whitaker, Pastor of Magdalen's, Bermondsey.

Daniel Cawdrey, Minister of Martin's in the Fields.

William Spurstow, Minister of Hackney.

La. Scaman, Pastor of Allhallows, Broad-Street.

Simeon Ashe, Minister of Michael's, Basingshaw.

Thomas Case, Minister of Magdalen's, Milk-Street.

Nicholas Proffet, Minister at Fosters.
Thomas Thorowgood, Minister at Crayford.
Edward Corbet, Minister of Croyden.
Henry Roborough, Pastor of Leonard's, Eastcheap.
Arthur Jackson, Pastor of Michael's, Wood-street.
James Nalton, Pastor of Leonard's, Foster-lane.
Thomas Cawton, Pastor of Bartholomew's, Exchange.
Charles Offspring, Pastor of Antholin's.
Samuel Clark, Minister of Bennet's, Fink.
Jo. Wall, Minister of Michael's, Cornhill.
Fran. Roberts, Pastor of the Church at Austin's.
Matthew Haviland, Pastor of Trinity.
John Sheffield, Minister of Swithin's.
William Harrison, Minister of Grace-church.
William Jenkyn, Minister of Christ-church.
John Viner, Pastor of Botolph's, Aldgate.
Elidad Blackwell, Pastor of Andrew's, Undershaft.
John Crosse, Minister at Matthew's, Friday-street.
John Fuller, Minister at Botolph's, Bishopsgate.
William Taylor, Pastor of Stephen's, Coleman-street.
Peter Witham, Pastor of Alban's, Wood-street.
Fran. Peck, Pastor of Nicholas's, Acons.
Christopher Love, Pastor of Anne's, Aldersgate.
John Wallis, Minister of Martin's, Ironmonger-lane.
Thomas Watson, Pastor of Stephen's, Walbrook.
William Wickins, Pastor of Andrew's, Hubbard.
Thomas Manton, Minister of Stoke Newington.
Thomas Gouge, Pastor of Sepulchres.
William Blackmore, Pastor of Peter's, Cornhill.
Robert Mercer, Minister of Bride's.
Ralph Robinson, Pastor of Mary's, Woolnorth.
John Glascock, Minister at Undershaft.
Thomas Wheatley, Minister at Mary's Woolchurch.
Jonathan Lloyd, Pastor of James's, Garlick-hithe.
John Wells, Pastor of Olave's, Jewry.
Benjamin Needler, Pastor of Margaret's, Moses.
Nathaniel Staniforth, Minister of Mary's, Bothaw.
Stephen Watkins, Minister of Mary's, Overies.
Jacob Tice, Pastor of Botolph's, Billingsgate.
John Stileman, Minister at Rotherhithe.
Josiah Bull, Pastor of North Cray.
Jonathan Devereux, late Minister at Andrew's, Holbourn.
Paul Russell, Preacher at Hackney.
Joshua Kirby, Minister of the Word.
Arthur Barham, Pastor at Hellen's.

NEWS FROM PEMBROKE AND MONTGOMERY,

OR

OXFORD MANCHESTERED,

By Michael Oldsworth and his Lord, who swore he was Chancellor of Oxford. And proved it in a speech made to the new visitors, in their new convocation, April 11, 1648. As here it follows word for word, and oath for oath.

Printed at Montgomery, 1648. Quarto, containing eight pages.

Mr. Visitors,

I AM glad to see this day, I hope it will never end; for I am your chancellor. Some say I am not your chancellor, but dam me, they lye, for my brother was so before me, and none but rascals would rob me of my birth-right. They think Marquis of Hertford is chancellor of Oxford, because, forsooth, the university chose him. S'death, I sit here by ordinance of parliament, and judge ye, gentlemen, whether he or I look like a chancellor. I'll prove he is a party, for he himself is a scholar; he has Greek and Latin, but all the world knows I can scarce write or read; dam me, this writing and reading hath caused all this blood.

Some say, I love not the university, but, I say, they lye. I love her, I count her my mother, for I had four sons there. You know what a coil I had e're I could get hither; Selden did so vex us with his law and his reasons, we could get nothing pass; you saw I was fain to swear him down, and Mr. Rous, Gurdon, Mildmay, Wentworth, Prideaux, Scot, and other friends, voted bravely, else Selden had carried it. S'death, that fellow is but Burgess for Oxford, and I am chancellor, and yet he would have the parliament hear his law and reasons against their own chancellor. I thank God, and I thank you. I thank God I am come at last, and I thank you for giving me a gilded bible; you could not give me a better book, dam me I think so; I love the bible, though I seldom use it; I say I love it, and a man's affection is the best member about him; I can love it, though I cannot read it, as you Dr. Wilkinson love preaching, tho' you never preach. What? cannot a man be a doctor of divinity but he must preach? I hope you'll confess I have gotten you good places; if I had not stuck to you, how could you have thrown out Bayly, Sheldon, Fell, Potter, Oliver, Hammond, Morley, and the rest? and then to what end had you been visitors, if you got not their places? You know Hammond is my own godson, and they say he is a scholar; s'death, I love you, what care I for deep scholars? Mr. Cheynell, I thank you, you have been kind to me; you have broke your brains again for me, and I have given you another

head, for I made you head of St. John's, and for your sake have thrust out Bayly, his wife, and nine pretty children. Master Reynolds, I feared you would have left us, for you pretended to take no man's place from him, but, I thank God, you are of another mind, for you have both a man's place and a woman's place, you have all that belonged to Fell, his wife, and all his children. Mr. Wilkinson, you love me, and I am glad of it, they say, you hate your enemies to the bottomless pit; I have given you my own chaplain's prebend, and dam me, while he served me, he was an excellent scholar. Mr. Corbet, I love you too, I have made you orator of the university; it was my godson Hammond's place, I hope none will blame me for displacing my own godson; you are now my godson, for you are orator. I hope you'll speak for me, I cannot speak for myself; you have a tongue now, though you want eyes; what cannot a man be a visitor, though without eyes? Mr. Langley, I love you also, I have made you doctor of divinity; malignants say, it is impossible to make you a doctor, but, hang them, they lye, for you were created doctor, and nothing can create but God and a chancellor; nay, I have made you head of Pembroke college, I cannot make you governor, for a rogue, they call him Poyer, is governor of Pembroke, and, dam me, I think the king will make Poyer to be Earl of Pembroke. Master Harris, you are an old man, I have made you head of Trinity college, I love an old head; Dr. Kettle was an old head before, but he loved us not, I love an old head new made. Sir Nathaniel Brent, I know you love me, for you are judge of the prerogative court; the parliament gave it you, you are a good man, and that's a good place; they say you have no civil law, what is that to the purpose? you have an ordinance of parliament; a man may be a civilian by an ordinance of parliament, else why the devil have we sat seven years? my father said, that a parliament could do any thing but make a man a woman, and a woman a man. Mr. Rogers, you look as if you loved me, and I have made you a doctor; they call you Aaron, I hate them for it, for I hate Aaron, he was a priest, and I would have all priests and Jesuits hanged. Mr. Cornish, I love you, though your wife plays tricks with you; they say she galls abroad, because you are a sickly weak man, but I have given you Dr. Wall's place, for the weakest goes to the wall; you must give me leave to clinch, for those that have no wit must be content with clinches. Mr. Palmer, I have made you head of All-Souls, and have turned out Sheldon; I hope you love me, for you are a physician, and never any physician was head of All-Souls; they say their statutes do keep you out, hang their statutes, I'll keep you in; you are a member of the House of Commons, and a member of parliament may be head of any house. What? must the parliament be tied to oaths and statutes? I have, for your sake, clapped Sheldon in prison, was it not high time? dam me, he hath more brains than all we together, you saw to-day what tricks he put upon me: I could not speak to him but he made it nonsense, so as I was forced to cry him mercy four several times; but I have Sheldon'd him by the heels, and he deserves it. S'death, is he not clerk of the closet? I love no clerks of the closet, I am not one myself, dam me if I be. There is a young rogue, one Palmer, I hope, Mr. Palmer, he is not your name-

sake, this little knave looked at me as if he cared not two-pence for me; but I have Sheldon'd him too; and I'll justify it, for he is at least twelve years old, and the parliament hath imprisoned one at nine years old, I mean Inchiquin's son, a plague upon him, for now Inchiquin is turned Inchiking. Gentlemen, love one another, for there's twenty-thousand do hate you, they say you are all either dunces, knaves, or madmen; s'death, they will say so of me, if they durst. But do you serve God, and love your chancellor, you have all the good places the university can yield: you desired us to make you visitors, and you have made yourselves heads of colleges; I love you all, dam me I do. I command you, register, to write it down that I love them all; your name is French, and my name may be French, for I cannot spell English. God bless you all, and God bless me, and do as I do, for I fear God, and obey the parliament. I will live and die with you, and God confound me, if I leave the town these two days.

Copia vera
Michael Oldsworth.

THE CUCKOWS NEST AT WESTMINSTER :

OR,

The parliament between the two lady-birds, Queen Fairfax and Lady Cromwell, concerning negotiations of state, and their several interests in the kingdom; sadly bemoaning the fate of their deer and abhorred husbands.

Who buys a cuckow's nest, hatch'd in an air
That's not far distant from Westminster-fair?
The hedge-sparrow, that fed her t'other day,
Is, for her kindness, now become her prey;
O 'tis a precious bird, wer't in a cage,
'Twould please both king and people; cure this age
That surfeits with rebellion, and can have
Nō help to keep her from destruction's grave.
She cuckows treasons, strifes, causes great stir,
But must pack hence 'twixt this and Midsummer:
Though Goatham hedge her in with pikes and gun,
She shall not 'scape us, though she flies, or runs;
For all the birds with one consent agree,
To spring her for base disloyalty.

By Mercurius Melancholicus. Printed in cuckow-time in a hollow-tree, 1648.
Quarto, containing ten pages.

WHO is it amongst us that hath not heard these cuckows at Westminster? an ayrie of such ominous owl-birds, that the like was never before seen in this kingdom; that have kept a great cackling, and

been long and close sitters, but have hatched nothing but cockatrice eggs, vile treasons, addle ordinances, and the like, to insnare and enslave a free-born people, making of them no better than hedge-sparrows, to nurse up, with their wealth, the bastard issue of their pernicious plots against King, church, and kingdom; the common people, that willingly fed them, and lent them not only hands, but lives and estates, being now, for their great kindness, justly become a prey to the ravenous and gripping claws of these cannibal cuckows, the parliament and army, that are now devouring them, after they have pulled and polled them to the bare skins; are now feeding upon their flesh, and picking their very bones, killing, destroying, and robbing them; and, if this be not enough to provoke the people to curse these unnatural vipers, and to loath all future parliaments to the world's end, I have lost my senses; none will fear them, none will love them, none will obey them, all will hate them, all will despise them, all fight against them.

Let us now consider what manner of birds these be; and we shall find them not cuckows only, but other birds of prey, as vultures, harpies, puttocks, ostriches, owls, martins, daws, and such like ominous and unclean birds, that with their huge bodies, and baleful wings, have obscured our king, our peace, our happiness, and hid all joy and comfort from us; these are all birds of a feather, that sit in council, and conspire together against the eagle, the phenix, the turkey, the pea-hen, the turtle, the swan, the canary, and sweet-singing nightingale, who, being all too credulous to believe the feigned babblings of these state-decoys, are now covered and intangled in their nets, caught in their pit-falls, and all their goods and feathers pulled from them by lime-twig ordinances.

These birds of prey flock together at Westminster; and have, for almost eight years, roosted themselves there, even till they had defiled their very nests, and were forced to fly abroad till they were cleansed; and yet sit brooding and hatching their pernicious plots and treasons, cockatrice ordinances, bald buzzardly votes, contradicting orders, and changeling declarations, both against the laws of nature, reason, conscience, and religion; and have usurped all power and authority from, and over their lawful and undoubted sovereign, doing their utmost to deprive both him and his posterity of their hereditary rights and successions, denying to acknowledge him for their head, forbidding addresses to be made unto him, or messages to be received from him; by which they have changed and abandoned the national and fundamental laws of the land (the only ligaments and sinews of a kingdom) being an act, not only of the highest treason that can be, but a crime that divests them of all their privileges, unparliaments them, and makes them all guilty of the abhorred sin of perjury, in breaking protestations, oaths, and covenants, and liable to a just censure, and conviction of theft, treason, and rebellion; for which they can no otherwise satisfy the king, laws, or people, but by the tribute of their roundheads, too slight a recompence for such abhorred and traitorous crimes.

Therefore the people may now see, without spectacles, how grossly they have been deceived, and juggled out of their lives and estates. It is true, the parliament, at the first, convened by royal authority, was

a lawful, and, for aught I know, a conscientious parliament, and the whole body, (being aptly and compleatly united together in the members, without forceable dislocation, or false election) was, unquestionless, the highest judicature in this kingdom: but, since [Edgehill fight, this juncto (or pretended parliament, acting in open hostility, and fighting against their king) abandoning their head, are no more a parliament, but the body of a parliament, without a head, a monster, a very cuckow's nest; a combined medley of traitors and rebels, and far different from the nature of a parliament (by reason of their Luciferian pride, to be flung down to hell) and to be deserted by all loyal subjects, as disjointed, severed, and mangled in its members; as deficient as their then general, incapable of any just act, but wading on in blood (by an usurped, treasonous, tyrannical, and over-awing power, having no derivation from the king, but their own lusts) therefore no subject whatsoever hath any warrant, neither can they bind the conscience of any, to yield either active or passive obedience to any act or ordinance, because they illegally act, contrary to all precedents of former parliaments, and parliamentary power, and are no longer the visible representatives of the body politick, and so must necessarily be guilty of all the innocent bloodshed these six years in this kingdom, and still shedding in most counties in England. These rebels being so fleshed in blood and rapine, they are resolved to go thorough-stitch in their abhorred rebellion, though they ruin three kingdoms, by their inhuman butcheries, being rewarded with a large sum for shedding blood in the city, encouraged and rewarded for murdering the Surry Petitioners, the Kentish, and Essex men, for delivering, in a legal way, petitions for redress of their several grievances. What can any rational man think, but that they defer to murder their king, until such time as they have first murdered and destroyed all his loyal subjects?

That, when the army could not have an opportunity to plunder the city, as nothing so sure as they intended it, they were hired by Martin, Mildmay, Vane, and the rest of that nest, to pick a quarrel with the country, that they might plunder and undo them, when then they had missed of their aim in the city, as now they do in Essex, Kent, and all the kingdom over, killing, plundering, and triumphing over all they are able to conquer; so that between both parties, royalists and roundheads, as between the good and bad thief, the poor country must be crucified.

The chief fomentors that are regicides, and most active in our destruction in the upper house, are the lords Say, Pembroke, Manchester, Kent, Warwick, Denbigh, Stamford, Wharton, and Grey; these always cuckow forth one tune, 'No King, No King.' In the lower house, are a nest of as evil birds, as ever hatched at Tyburn, and these are Lenthall, Mildmay, Scot, Challoner, Martin, Weaver, Vane, Corbet, and Cromwell, that cannot endure to hear the King so much as named in the House. In the synod of time-serving presbyters, there are Marshall, Burgess, Strong, Sedgwick, Vines, Love, Whittaker, and Nye, that draw altogether in one yoke, against monarchy; these teach rebellion instead of divinity, more lyes than truth, more blasphemy than sound doctrine, and will have no king to reign over them, except he be of the royal progeny of Mrs. Parliament, or the child of Reformation.

In the army, there are another nest of birds, but not of the same feather, and these be the elect forsooth, the precious babes that are hail-fellow with God Almighty, see strange visions, and are possessed with unerring spirits, that whatsoever they do, though never so impudent and wicked, is lawful; and these are, Peters, Dell, Erbury, Knowles, Goodwin, Symson, &c. The first rank of these are oxen, and the latter asses, which the parliament yoke in their plough together, because they are forbidden it in the old law, and, by that means, avoid idolatry; but their drivers are more charitable than these beasts, for they but kill our bodies, and rob us of our goods, but these wolfish cattle slay our souls, take away our good names, judge us, and condemn us to hell. These are the charitable saints, that have the mark of their brother Cain in their foreheads; vagabonds that have no abiding-places, but are hurried with every wind from one uncertainty to another, and are constant in nothing but mischief. These are the running plague-sores that infect the whole nation, and cause swellings and risings in the body of the common-wealth. These are those that sow discord amongst brethren, and though, like Samson's foxes, they are tied tail to tail, yet they carry a fire-brand amongst them, that burns up both church and state in the merciless and consuming flames of an unnatural and bloody war. These are the disturbers of our Israel, and hinderers of our peace; old foxes, and wild boars, that root up our vineyards, feeding themselves fat on the ruin of others. These, instead of expelling out papacy, but one faction, have brought in five hundred damnable sects, and set them all to devour episcopacy, to bring in blessed liberty to pull down monarchy, and set up aristocracy; by which means they have advanced their hypocritical, diabolical, and pernicious treasons to this very day. Are not these cuckows worthy of a cage? surely they be. But I shall leave this nest of foul birds to the people's ordering, having told them where it is, only desiring all loyal people to secure their money from them, to provide arms for their own defence, and rather chuse to die like men, than live like slaves. But I will, instead of an epilogue, give you a dialogue to cure your melancholy.

Then hie Toss, black Tom is dead,
Come aloft Jack-a-dandy,
Sir Samuel Luke shall be general,
And that's as good as can be.

POSTSCRIPT.

Enter Queen Fairfax and Madam Cromwell.

M. Cromwell. CHEAR up, madam, he is not dead, he is reserved for another end; these wicked malignants reported as much of my Noll, but I hope it is otherwise; yet the profane writ an epitaph, as I think they call it, and abused him most abominably, as they will do me, or you, or any of the faithful saints, if we but thrive by our occupations in our husband's absence; if we but deck our bodies with the jewels gained from the wicked, they point at us, and say, those are plunder. But the righteous must undergo the scoffs of the wicked; but let them

scoff on, I thank my Maker, we lived before these holy wars were thought on, in the thriving profession of brewing, and could, of my vails of grain and yeast, wear my silk gown, and gold and silver lace too, as well as the proudest minx of them all. I am not ashamed of my profession, madam.

Qu. Fair. Pray, Mrs. Cromwell, tell not me of gowns or lace, nor no such toys! tell me of crowns, scepters, kingdoms, royal robes; and, if my Tom but recovers, and thrives in his enterprise, I will not say, pish, to be queen of England. I misdoubt nothing, if we can but keep the wicked from fetching Nebuchadnezzar home from grass in the Isle of Wight; well, well, my Tom is worth a thousand of him, and has a more kingly countenance; he has such an innocent face, and a harmless look, as it he were born to be emperor over the saints.

Mrs. Crom. And is not Noll Cromwell's wife as likely a woman to be Queen of England, as you? yes, I warrant you, is she; and that you shall know, if my husband were but once come out of Wales. It is he that has done the work, the conquest belongs to him; besides, your husband is counted a fool, and wants wit to reign; every boy scoffs at him: my Noll has a head-piece, a face of brass, full of majesty, and a nose will light the whole kingdom to walk after him; I say he will grace a crown, being naturally adorned with diamonds and rubies already; and, for myself, though I say it, I have a person as fit for a Queen as another.

Qu. Fair. Thou a Queen? Thou a Queen? uds'foot, minion, hold your clack from prating treason against me, or I will make Mrs. Parliament lay her ten commandments upon thee! Thou a Queen! a brewer's wife a Queen? That kingdom must needs be full of drunkards, when the king is a brewer! My Tom is nobly descended, and no base mechanick.

Mrs. Crom. Mechanick? Mechanick in thy face; thou art a whore to call me mechanick; I am no more a mechanick than thyself; marry come up, Mother Damnable, Joan Ugly; must you be Queen? Yes, you shall; Queen of Puddle-dock, or Billingsgate, that is fittest for thee: my Noll has won the kingdom, and he shall wear it, in despite of such a trollop as thou art: marry, come up here, Mrs. Wagtail?

Enter a Servant, running.

Serv. O, madam, cease your contention, and provide for your safeties; both your husbands are killed, and all their forces put to the sword; all the people crying like mad, long live King Charles!

Omn. We hope 'tis false; O whither shall we fly,
Lest vengeance overtake our treachery?

THE
ADVICE OF W. P.*

TO

Mr. SAMUEL HARTLIB,

For the advancement of some particular parts of learning.

London, printed anno dom. 1648. Quarto, containing thirty-four pages.

THERE is invented an instrument of small bulk and price, easily made, and very durable, whereby any man, even at the first sight and handling, may write two resembling copies of the same thing at once, as serviceably and as fast, allowing two lines upon each page for setting the instruments, as by the ordinary way : Of what nature, or in what character, or what matter soever, as paper, parchment, a book, &c. the said writing ought to be made upon.

The use hereof will be very great to lawyers and scriveners, for making of indentures and all kinds of counter-parts ; to merchants, intelligencers, registers, secretaries, clerks, &c. for copying of letters, accompts, invoices, entering of warrants, and other records ; to scholars for transcribing of rare manuscripts, and preserving originals from falsification, and other injuries of time. It lesseneth the labour of examination, serveth to discover forgeries and surreptitious copies, and to the transacting of all businesses of writing, as with ease and speed, so with much privacy also.

To his honoured friend, Master Samuel Hartlib.

SIR,

I HAVE had many flying thoughts concerning the advancement of real learning in general, but particularly of the education of youth, mathematics, mechanicks, physick, and concerning the history of art and nature, with some more serious ones concerning your own most excellent advices for an office of publick address. And, indeed, they were but flying thoughts, for, seeing what vast sums were requisite to carry on those designs, and how unwilling or unable men generally were to contribute towards them, I thought it but labour lost to fix my mind much upon them.

But it having pleased God unexpectedly to make me the inventor of the art of double writing, daily and hourly useful to all sorts of persons in all places of the world, and that to perpetuity, I conceived that if there were understanding enough in men to be sensible of their own good, and thankfulness or honesty enough to reward the contrivers of it, such means might be raised out of this art as might at least set the aforementioned designs on float, and make them ready to set sail towards the haven of perfection upon every opportunity of

* Afterwards Sir William Petty.

stronger gales. And thereupon I re-assumed my meditations, which I here give you, desiring you and your ingenious friends to remediate upon them and correct them, but withal to think of the best course how to improve my invention to such advantage, as may, if possible, make us capable of enjoying more than bare ideas of that happiness, which the atchievement of our designs promiseth. I shall desire you to shew them unto no more than needs you must, since they can please only those few that are real friends to the design of realities, not those who are tickled only with rhetorical prefaces, transitions, and epilogues, and charmed with fine allusions and metaphors (all which I do not condemn) wherewith, as I had no abilities to adorn my discourse, so I wanted all other requisites thereunto, having written it (as yourself must bear me witness) at your own opportunity in the midst of my cares and endeavours to perfect my invention; and, which is worse, in the midst of my hard and perhaps unprofitable labour, to prevent the ingratitude and backwardness of men to reward him, who shall earnestly labour to express himself

Yours, and your designs

Most affectionate servant,

W. P.

London, Jan. 8, 1647-8

TO give an exact definition, or nice division of learning, or of the advancement thereof, we shall not undertake (it being already so accurately done by the great Lord Verulam) intending only to shew where our own shoe pincheth us, or to point at some pieces of knowledge, the improvement whereof (as we at least conceive) would make much to the general good and comfort of all mankind; and, withal, to deliver our own opinion, by what means they may be raised some one degree nearer to perfection.

But, before we can meddle with this great work, we must first think of getting labourers, by appointing some general rendezvous, where all men, either able, or willing to take up arms against the many difficulties thereof, may find entertainment; that is to say, we must recommend the institution of an office of common address, according to the projection of Mr. Hartlib, that painful and great instrument of this design; whereby the wants and desires of all may be made known unto all; where men may know what is already done in the business of learning, what is at present in doing, and what is intended to be done; to the end that, by such a general communication of designs, and mutual assistance, the wits and endeavours of the world may no longer be as so many scattered coals, or firebrands, which for want of union are soon quenched, whereas, being but laid together, they would have yielded a comfortable light and heat. For, methinks, the present condition of men is like a field, where a battle hath been lately fought, where we may see many legs, and arms, and eyes lying here and there, which, for want of an union, and a soul to quicken and enliven them, are good for nothing, but to feed ravens, and infect the air: So we see many

wits and ingenuities lying scattered up and down the world; whereof some are now labouring to do what is already done, and puzzling themselves to re-invent what is already invented; others we see quite stuck fast in difficulties, for want of a few directions, which some other man, might he be met withal, both could and would most easily give them. Again, one man wants a small sum of money, to carry on some design that requires it; and there is, perhaps, another, who hath twice as much ready to bestow on the same design; but these two having no means ever to hear one of the other, the good work, intended and desired by both parties, doth utterly perish and come to nothing. But this we pass over slightly, though very fundamental to our business, because the master-builder thereof himself hath done it so solidly. Having by this means procured workmen, and what else is necessary to the work, that, which we would have them to labour in, is, How to find out such arts as are yet undiscovered; How to learn what is already known by more compendious and facile ways, and to apply it to more, and those more noble uses: How to work in men an higher esteem of learning, so as to give occasion, encouragement, and opportunity to more men to apply themselves to its advancement.

The next thing then to be done will be, first, to see what is well and sufficiently done already, exploding whatsoever is nice, contentious, and merely fantastical; all which must in some measure be suppressed, and brought into disgrace and contempt with all men.

2. This survey may be made by perusing all books, and taking notice of all mechanical inventions.

3. In this perusal, all the real or experimental learning may be sifted and collected out of the said books.

4. There must be appointed able readers of all such books, with certain and well-limited directions what to collect out of them.

5. Every book must be so read by two several persons a-part, to prevent mistakes and failings from the said directions.

6. The directions for reading must be such, that the readers, observing them, may exactly agree in their collections.

7. Out of all these books, one book, or great work, may be made, though consisting of many volumes.

8. The most artificial indices, tables, or other helps for the ready finding, remembering, and well understanding all things contained in these books, must be contrived and put in practice.

Having thus taken the height, or pitch, whereunto all arts and sciences whatsoever are already come, and observed where they now stick, the ablest men in every respective faculty must be set a-part to drive them on further, with sufficient maintenance and encouragement for the same. Whereunto it is requisite that two or three, one under another, be employed about each faculty, to the end that, some of them dying, or any otherwise failing, there may never want men acquainted with the whole design, and able to carry it on, with the help of others to be admitted under them; and that, at least, yearly accounts be taken of those men's endeavours, and rewards be proportioned to them accordingly.

And now we shall think of whetting our tools, and preparing sharp instruments for this hard work, by delivering our thoughts concerning education; which are:

1. That there be instituted *ergastula literaria*, literary work-houses, where children may be taught as well to do something towards their living, as to read and write.

That the business of education be not, as now committed to the worst and unworthiest of men, but that it be seriously studied and practised by the best and ablest persons.

That all children of above seven years old may be presented to this kind of education, none being to be excluded by reason of the poverty and inability of their parents; for hereby it hath come to pass, that many are now holding the plough, which might have been made fit to steer the state. Wherefore let such poor children be employed on works whereby they may earn their living, equal to their strength and understanding, and such as they may perform, as well as elder and abler persons, viz. attending engines, &c. and, if they cannot get their whole living, and their parents can contribute nothing at all to make it up, let them stay somewhat the longer in the work-house.

That, since few children have need of reading, before they know, or can be acquainted with the things they read of; or of writing, before their thoughts are worth the recording, or they are able to put them into any form (which we call inditing) much less of learning languages, when there are books enough for their present use in their own mother-tongue, our opinion is, that those things, being withal somewhat above their capacity (as being to be attained by judgment, which is weakest in children) be deferred a while, and others more needful for them (such as are in the order of nature before those afore-mentioned, and are attainable by the help of memory, which is either most strong, or unpre-occupied in children) be studied before them. We wish, therefore, that the educands be taught to observe and remember all sensible objects and actions, whether they be natural, or artificial, which the educators must, upon all occasions, expound unto them.

That they use such exercises, whether in work, or for recreation, as tend to the health, agility, and strength of their bodies.

That they be taught to read by much more compendious means than are in common use; which is a thing certainly very easy and feasible.

That they be not only taught to write according to our common way, but also to write swiftly and in real characters; as likewise the dexterous use of the instruments for writing many copies of the same thing at once.

That the artificial memory be thought upon; and, if the precepts thereof be not too far above children's capacities, we conceive it not improper for them to learn that also.

That in no case the art of drawing and designing be omitted, to what course of life soever those children are to be applied, since the use thereof, for expressing the conceptions of the mind, seems, at least to us, to be little inferior to that of writing, and, in many cases, performeth what by words is impossible.

That the elements of arithmetick and geometry be by all studied, being not only of great and frequent use in all human affair, but also

sure guides and helps to reason, and especial remedies for a volatile and unsteady mind.

That effectual courses be taken to try the abilities of the bodies and minds of children, the strength of their memory, inclination of their affections either to vice or virtue, and to which of them in particular; and, withal, to alter what is bad in them, and increase and improve what is good, applying all, whether good or bad, to the least inconveniency, and most advantage.

That such as shall have need to learn foreign languages (the use whereof would be much lessened, were the real and common characters brought into practice) may be taught by incomparably more easy ways, than are now usual.

That no ignoble, unnecessary, or condemned part of learning be taught in those houses of education; so that, if any man shall vainly fall upon them, he himself only may be blamed.

That such as have any natural ability and fitness to musick, be encouraged and instructed therein.

That all children, though of the highest rank, be taught some genteel manufacture in their minority; such as are,

Turning of curious figures.

Making mathematical instruments, dials, and how to use them in astronomical observations.

Making watches and other trochilick motions.

Limning and painting on glass, or in oil-colours.

Engraving, etching, carving, embossing, and moulding in sundry matters.

The lapidary's art of knowing, cutting, and setting jewels.

Grinding of glasses dioptrical and catoptrical.

Botanicks and gardening.

Making musical instruments.

Navarchy, and making models for buildings, and rigging for ships.

Architecture, and making models for houses.

The confectioner's, perfumer's, or dyer's arts.

Chymistry, refining metals, and counterfeiting jewels.

Anatomy, making skeletons, and excarnating bowels.

Making mariners' compasses, globes, and other magnetick devices.

And all for these reasons:

1. They shall be less subject to be cozened by artificers.
2. They will become more industrious in general.
3. They will certainly bring to pass most excellent works, being, as gentlemen, ambitious to excel ordinary workmen.
4. They, being able to make experiments themselves, may do it with less charge, and more care, than others will do it for them.
5. The *respublica artium* will be much advanced, when such, as are rich and able, are also willing to make luciferous experiments.
6. It may engage them to be Mecænates and patrons of arts.
7. It will keep them from worse occasions of spending their time and estates.

8. As it will be a great ornament in prosperity, so it will be a great refuge and stay in adversity and common calamity.

As for what remains of education, we cannot but hope, that those whom we have desired should make it their trade, will supply it, and render the idea thereof much more perfect.

We have already recommended the study of the elements of arithmetick and geometry to all men in general; but they being the best grounded parts of speculative knowledge, and of so vast use in all practical arts, we cannot but commend deeper enquiries into them. And although the way of advancing them, in particular, may be drawn from what we have already delivered, concerning the advancement of learning in general; yet, for the more explicit understanding of our meaning herein, we refer to Mr. Pell's most excellent idea thereof, written to Master Hartlib.

In the next place, for the advancement of all mechanical arts and manufactures, we wish that there were erected a *gymnasium mechanicum*, or a college of tradesmen (or, for more expedition, until such a place could be built, that the most convenient houses, for such a purpose, may be either bought or hired) wherein we would that one, at least, of every trade (but the prime most ingenious workman, the most desirous to improve his art) might be allowed therein a handsome dwelling rent-free, which, with the credit of being admitted into this society, and the quick sale, which certainly they would have of their commodities, when all men would repair thither, as to a market of rare and exquisite pieces of workmanship, would be a sufficient motive to attract the very ablest of mechanicks, and such as we have described, to desire a fellowship in this college.

From this institution we may clearly hope, when the excellent in all arts are not only neighbours, but intimate friends and brethren, united in a common desire and zeal to promote them, that all trades will miraculously prosper, and new inventions would be more frequent, than new fashions of cloaths and household-stuff. Here would be the best and most effectual opportunities and means, for writing a history of trades, in perfection and exactness; and what experiments and stuff would all those shops and operations afford to active and philosophical heads, out of which, to extract that interpretation of nature, whercof there is so little, and that so bad, as yet extant in the world?

Within the walls of this *gymnasium*, or college, should be a *musaeum academicum*, according to the most exact and perfect idea thereof; a complete *theatrum botanicum*, stalls and cages for all strange beasts and birds, with ponds and conservatories for all exotick fishes; here all animals, capable thereof, should be made fit for some kind of labour and employment, that they may as well be of use living as dead. Here should be a repository of all kinds of rarities, natural and artificial pieces of antiquity, models of all great and noble engines, with designs and platforms of gardens and buildings. The most artificial fountains and water-works, a library of select books, an astronomical observatory for celestial bodies and meteors, large pieces of ground for several experiments of agriculture, galleries of the rarest paintings and statues, with the fairest gobes, and geographical maps of the best descriptions, and, so far as is possible, we would have this place to be the epitome or abstract of the whole world: So that a man, conversant within those walls, would certainly prove a greater scholar than the walking libraries so called, al-

though he could neither write nor read. But if a child, before he learned to write or read, were made acquainted with all things, and actions, as he might be in this college, how easily would he understand all good books afterwards, and smell out the fopperies of bad ones? As for the situation, model, policy, and oeconomy, with the number of officers, and retainers to this college, and the privileges thereof, it is as yet time enough to delineate. Only we wish, that a society of men might be instituted as careful to advance arts, as the jesuits are to propagate their religion, for the government and managing of it.

But what relish will there be in all those dainties whereof we have spoken, if we want a palate to taste them, which certainly is health, the most desirable of all earthly blessings; and how can we, in any reason, expect health, when there are so many great difficulties in the curing of diseases, and no proportionable course taken to remove them? We shall therefore pursue the means of acquiring the publick good, and comfort of mankind a little further, and vent our conceits concerning a *nosocomium academicum*, or an hospital to cure the infirmities both of physician and patient.

We intended to have given the most perfect idea of this *nosocomium academicum*, and consequently to have treated of the situation and fabrick of the house, garden, library, chymical laboratory, anatomical theatre, apotheca, with all the instruments and furniture belonging to each of them, as also of the whole policy and oeconomy thereof. But since such a work could not be brought to pass without much charge (the very naming whereof doth deter men even from the most noble and necessary attempts) we are contented to portraiture only such a *nosocomium*, as may be made out of one of our old hospitals, without any new donations or creeping to benefactors, only with a little pains taken by the reforming hand of authority. For we do not doubt, but that we have so contrived the business, that there is no hospital, in its corrupt state, can be more thriftily managed than ours. For the number of our ministers are no greater than usual, and absolutely necessary; their pensions no larger than are allowed to those, who do not make the service of the hospital the sixth part of their employment and means of subsistence; and yet we give encouragement enough to able men to undertake it, without meddling with any other business, which we strictly forbid. For, as the salaries are but small, so the charge of the ministers are not great, they being all to be unmarried persons, their accommodation handsome, their employment, being a work of publick and honest charity, honourable, and to philosophical men, who only are to have a hand in this business, most pleasant and delightful. Besides, when their respective times are expired, their profit and esteem in the world cannot but be very great: for their way of breeding will both procure them practice amongst such as are able to reward them, and give them a dexterity and ability, to manage and go through a great deal thereof.

Moreover, the smallness of the salary, the long servitude amongst poor wretches, and restraint from marriages, the great pains and natural parts required to perform duties, will, I hope, prevent all intrusions of those, whose genius doth not incline them to take pleasure in this way of life.

Wherefore, being not at leisure to frame *Utopia's*, we shall only speak of the number and salary of ministers, the time of their service, with their qualifications in general, and duties in particular, which are to be employed in this *nosocomium academicum*.

The *nosocomium*, being fitted with all manner of necessities, shall be overseen by three or four curators, men of learning, honour, and worth, such as shall, out of charity, and goodwill to the publick, perform this trust, who are to be protectors and chancellors thereof, as also auditors of the steward's accounts.

Besides these, there shall be a mathematician for steward, a physician, surgeon, and apothecary, each well versed, both in the theory and practice, of their respective professions. A young physician, capable at least of the degree of doctor, who may be called the vice-physician, and another of about five or six years standing in the university, who may be called the student. There should be also a surgeon and an apothecary, who have served their apprenticeships in the said faculties, called the surgeon's and apothecary's mate, with two other young men, the one to serve the surgeon, and the other the apothecary, all understanding, at least, the Latin tongue, which may be called the apprentices. All these are to be chosen, at first, by the curators, but afterwards by the society itself, being such as they shall be certified are pious, ingenious, laborious, lovers of knowledge, and particularly of the faculty of physick, courteous, not covetous; and lastly, such amongst whom there may be an harmony of natures and studies, so as all fear of discords, envy, and emulation may be taken away. There ought also to be entertained as many honest, careful, ancient widows, to serve as nurses to the sick, as will be proportionable to their number, some whereof are to be ordinary, and some extraordinary, whereof the latter may be taken in, and dismissed again, as occasion of their help requires.

There should be allowed out of the revenues of the hospital to the aforementioned ministers, besides their diets, house-room, washing, firing, &c. and exemption from all taxes and employments in the commonwealth, the several sums following, viz.

To the steward	80	} £ per An.
To the physician	120	
To the vice-physician	50	
To the surgeon & apothec. each	60	
To the student	25	
To the surgeon & apothec. mate	20	
To each of the apprentices	10	
To each ordinary nurse	4	
To an extraordinary by the week 3 shillings.		

It should be granted by the state, that whosoever hath served his respective time in the *nosocomium*, and hath a certificate thereof from the society, shall be thereby licensed to practise his profession in any place or corporation whatsoever, notwithstanding any former law to the contrary.

The steward shall not be obliged to stay any longer, than from year to year. Each of the faculty of physick may serve five years in each degree thereof; each of the surgeons and apothecaries but four.

These circumstances being premised, we now come to the very essence of the whole business; that is, to the description of each of the aforesaid ministers, their particular duty and function, which are as follow, viz.

The steward shall be a man of approved honesty, able to give order for all reparations about the house, garden, &c. to agree and bargain with workmen, and all that shall serve in any commodities into the house; he is to receive and pay all monies, and submit the accounts thereof to the whole society, and they again to the curators. For which, and other like duties, he ought to be skilled in mathematicks; chiefly in arithmetick and keeping accounts; measuring of land, timber, board, architecture, frugal contrivances, and the like. But, as to the advancement of physick, we desire he may be skilled in the best rules of judicial astrology, which he may apply to calculate the events of diseases, and prognosticate of the weather; to the end that, by his judicious and careful experiments, the wheat may be separated from the chaff in that faculty likewise; and what is good therein may be applied to good uses, and the rest exploded. He shall keep a journal of all notable changes of weather, and fertility of seasons, taking notice what fruits, &c. have abounded, and what have failed; which have been good, and which bad, with the reasons thereof, whether the same were caused by mildews, blasts, unseasonable weather, caterpillars, or other vermin; he shall take notice of the several diseases, as staggers, murrain, rot, &c. which, in each year, have infested each species of animals, and what insects have most abounded; all which particulars, with the epidemical diseases befalling man, he may compare with the aspects of the celestial bodies, and so examine the precepts delivered unto us by the professors of that art.

The physician must be a philosopher, skilled at large in the *phenomena* of nature; must understand the Greek tongue, be well read in good authors, and seen in the practice of all the ministrant parts of physick, willing to instruct and forward all that are under him: his work shall be twice every day deliberately to visit and examine all the sick, and, after due consideration of their condition, to prescribe them convenient medicines; and shall dictate, in Latin, to the vice-physician attending him, the history of their several diseases, excluding impertinencies; he shall see all patients in outward griefs (to whom he administheth any inward remedies) opened and dressed every now-and-then, to the end that himself and the surgeon may both have the same intention and scope in their practice. He must take care that the surgeon and student keep the history of their cures likewise, and that the apothecary and student do the same in their pharmacy and botanicks. He shall oversee the dispensation of all compound, and preparation of all chymical medicaments, giving the apothecary directions for the making of new enquiries and experiments in his way; and likewise to the surgeon and the rest, in theirs, when he seeth them not otherwise employed. In brief, he shall have an influence upon all the rest, and all the rest

reciprocally upon him, so that he being made acquainted with all the histories taken in the hospital, laboratory, anatomical chamber, garden, &c. may give the reason of the most notable *phenomena* happening in either of them. All which he shall commit to writing, and, out of them, by the end of the term of his service, shall collect a system of physick, and the most approved medicinal aphorisms; taking notice by the way, where those of Hippocrates are deficient or true, and by how many several experiments he hath so found them. He shall either dissect, or overlook the dissection of bodies dying of diseases; and, lastly, shall take care that all luciferous experiments whatsoever may be carefully brought to him, and recorded for the benefit of posterity.

The vice-physician's proper charge is to see the history of the patient most exactly and constantly kept. He may now-and-then read some good author, but in all other things shall endeavour to assist, and be subordinate to the physician in all parts of his duty, still acting by his directions; but shall not prescribe any physick without the consent of the chief, nor in his absence, upon emergent occasions, without the advice of the master-surgeon. He should be always walking up and down from bed to bed, feeling the pulses, and looking on the urine and other excrements of the sick; that no considerable punctilio, in any circumstance whatsoever, escape his observation. For the completing of the history, he shall apply himself to the making of luciferous experiments, and to take notice of such as shall be made by others.

The student shall assist the surgeon and apothecary in making the history of their practices, to the end he may have always occasions to instruct himself in these ministrant parts of physick; to read such authors as the chief physician shall appoint him, and compare all his reading with the things themselves, whereof he readeth, as herbs, drugs, compound medicaments, anatomy, chirurgical instruments, bandages, operations, &c. all which we call the real elements of the art. He shall, by leave from the physician, in cases of need, put his hand to help the surgeon or apothecary, and sometimes watch by night with the nurses, that the perfection of the history may by no means be hazarded on their ignorance or carelessness. He may serve the physician as an amanuensis, especially in such things, the transcribing whereof may tend much to the advancement of his own knowledge.

Of the surgeons.

The master-surgeon shall dress every patient belonging to his care the first time himself, in the presence of him to whom he shall commit the said cure afterwards, and, as it were, read him a lecture thereupon. When the other surgeons under him are dressing, he shall, accompanied with the student, go from patient to patient, to give them directions *pro re nata*, in their proceedings on the cure, and dictate to the student the most pertinent passages happening from time to time, that he may keep a true and uninterrupted history of them. He shall make experiments, by dissecting sundry sorts of animals; shall teach his mates anatomy, expound good authors to them; shew them the manner of making bandages, and making all manner of operations, such as are the laryngotomia, cutting for the stone, hernia, dropsy, and applying

the trepan, both upon living brutes and dead carcases of men, to the end that, by practising upon these, the best places for making incision may be known, and all the dangerous parts in the way taken notice of; and upon the others, how to avoid the inconveniences of hæmorrhages, strugglings, and the like.

The mate shall dress all the more difficult griefs, apply cauteries, make fontanels, practise anatomy, and manual operations; make skeletons of the sundry rare animals which he shall have the opportunity to cut up; excarnate bowels, artificially dry the muscles, tan the ventricle, guts, &c. and do what else tendeth to the perfection of anatomy; he shall also, at leisure times, transcribe the history of their practice first and originally taken by the student.

The apprentice shall serve the master in spreading plaisters, letting blood in the arm, threading pease for issues, wetting instruments, scraping lint, and sowing together bandages, which he shall also learn to apply; he shall see dissections, read good surgery, and see the practice of operations made by his superiors. He shall also see the apothecaries make all such plaisters, unguents, balsams, &c. (learning to choose and know all the gums and other ingredients going into them) as are used in their practice.

Of the apothecary.

The master-apothecary, being a most exquisite botanist, shall take care of the garden, that store of all useful plants be kept therein, and also that such as are for beauty or rarity be not wanting. He shall give order for all experiments of grafting, transplanting, meliorating the tastes, smells, &c. of plants, accelerating of germination and maturation in them, conservation of exoticks so, as in time to make them domesticks, to try the effect of all artificial composts. He shall see that all herbs, roots, &c. be gathered in their due seasons, and that all the most proper courses be used for conserving them. He shall write of the sensible and evident qualities of all drugs, as of their smell, taste, ponderosity, rarity, friability, transparency, colour, hardness, &c. omitting such as are not discernible by sense, or depreensible by certain experiments, and declaring the several operations, chymical or pharmaceutical, by which these drugs are usually, or may be best prepared. He shall set down all the experiments solitary or in consort, that he meeteth with, in the mixing or preparing any of them; as that camphire will of itself evaporate; turpentine washed in water becometh white; euphorbium in the beating will cause excessive sneezing; that the seeds of *cucumis asininus* will of themselves leap out with great impetuosity one after another; that spirit of vitriol, mixed with syrup of violets, turneth into a fair crimson colour, and others of the like nature. He shall with the student keep an exact history of all rare and unusual accidents, happening in his operations; he shall take care that all medicaments be made according to art, or the physician's particular directions: he shall ever now and then visit the apotheca, to cast out thereof all decayed drugs and compositions; shall read pharmaceutical and chymical institutions to his inferiors, and teach the plants to any of the society that shall desire to learn them.

The apothecary's mate shall transcribe the prescriptions taken by the vice-physician, and see them carefully made up; shall attend the hospital, in administering to each patient his physick according to directions, applying epithemes, cucupha's, embrocha's, fomentations, frictions, unctions, giving glysters, applying leeches, &c. He shall transcribe the history compiled by the master-apothecary, and the student, and at leisure times, when he cannot study things, he may read good authors in his own art, without meddling either with physick or surgery.

The apprentice shall read some good pharmaceutical botanick and chymical institutions, shall be much conversant in the garden to see the curing of tender and exotick plants, where he shall observe the working of nature in their growing, flowering, &c. He shall see the herbs, roots, and seeds, gathered according to directions; he shall work in beating and picking drugs, and on all other operations belonging to the preparation of medicaments.

The nurses shall be always at hand in the hospital to help the sick, that, by reason of their absence, they may not be put to strain and offend themselves by often and loud crying and calling. They shall dress their diet, and give them in quality, quantity, time, and order, according to the physician's directions; they shall see their linnen conveniently changed, so as to prevent all annoyance to the sick. They shall in watching endeavour to observe all remarkable accidents happening in the night, as whether they raved or talked much in their sleep, snored, coughed, &c. All which they shall punctually report to the physician, shewing him the urines and other excrements, telling him the time and manner wherein they were voided, and in brief, they being the lowest members of the house, they shall be in all things obedient to their superiors.

It is hard so to assign to every minister his particular duty, as that the business, (which is the recovery of the patients, and the improvement of every man's knowledge in his proper way) cannot be done better than by this distribution: and it would be of ill consequence, if hereupon the apprentice, having done his own work, should refuse to help his fellow, being perchance at some time over-burthened; wherefore it is to be understood that this contrivance shall be no warrant to any man, not to help his fellow, in case of exigence, but chiefly to shew what we desire should be done amongst them all. For we hope that their common friendship and desire of helping the sick, and enabling themselves, will tie them enough to perform all these things in the most advantageous manner to these ends.

Having now after a fashion gone through the description of such societities and institutions, as we have thought most fit for the advancement of real learning, and among the rest, of the *Ergastulum Literarium* for the education of children, we now come to speak of such books, as, being well studied and expounded in those schools, would lay a very firm foundation of learning in the scholars.

We recommend therefore in the first place (besides those books of collection, by us formerly mentioned, and Master Pell's three mathematical treatises) the compiling of a work, whose title might justly be

Vellus Aureum sive Facultatum Lucriferaſarum Descriptio magna, wherein all the practiſed ways of getting a ſubſiſtence, and whereby men raiſe their fortunes, may be at large declared. And, among theſe, we wiſh that the hiſtory of arts or manufactures might firſt be undertaken as the moſt pleaſant and profitable of all the reſt, wherein ſhould be deſcribed the whole proceſs of manual operations and applications of one natural thing, (which we call the elements of artificials) to another, with the neceſſary inſtruments and machines, whereby every piece of work is elaborated, and made to be what it is; unto which work bare words being not ſufficient, all inſtruments and tools muſt be pictured, and colours added, when the deſcriptions cannot be made intelligible without them.

This hiſtory muſt not be made out of a farrago of imperfect relations made to the compiler, either by too rude or cozening workmen, but all things thereunto appertaining muſt be by himſelf obſerved and att-eſted by the moſt judicious and candid of each reſpective profeſſion, as well to make the work the more authentick (it being to be the baſis of many future inferences and philoſophations) as the more clearly and diſtinctly to inform the compiler himſelf, by whoſe judgment as the alembick, and induſtry as the fire, it is hoped that the quinteſſence and magiſteries of all preſent inventions may be extracted, and new ones produced in abundance.

Although it be intended to teach the making of all artificials, yet it is not to be underſtood, that when there hath been taught how to make a ſtool, or a nail of one faſhion, that the art of making a chair or a nail of another faſhion ſhould be long inſiſted on. But the compiler ſhould ſtrive to reduce the making of all artificials in each trade to a certain number and claſſes of operations, tools, and materials; neither need he to ſet the figures, or mention the names of all artificials that ever were made, but only of ſuch as are moſt known, and of common uſe amongſt men; he needeth not to deſcribe every punctilio in making all the afore-mentioned particulars, and yet leave no more defects, than may be ſupplied by every common underſtanding. For we queſtion whether (if he ſhould engage himſelf in ſuch an endless labour) a man by the bare light and inſtruction of the book could attain to a dexterous practice of trade, whereunto hath been required ſeven years *autopia*: but are confident that the help of this book will leſſen the former *tædium* by more than half. He ſhould not ſo abridge the work as not to diſtinguiſh between inſtruments of the ſame name, as between a loom, to weave kerſies, and another, wherein to weave ſilk ribbans or ſtockings.

He ſhould all along give the mechanical reaſon of every inſtrument, material, and operation, when the ſame is ſenſible and clear. He ſhould all along note his own defects in ſetting down theſe hiſtories, in caſe he had not at the time of writing thereof ſufficient information, and withal the deficiencies of the trades themſelves.

Now, whereas there be divers ways and methods of working moſt manufactures, he ſhould in each thing ſtick cloſe to the way of ſome one maſter, but note all the diverſities he knoweth, and give his opinion of the uſe and goodneſs of each.

Moreover the oeconomy, *sive ars augendæ rei familiaris*, in all professions, ought to be enquired into, viz. What seasons of the year are most proper to each work, which the best places and times to buy materials, and to put off the commodities when finished; how most thriftily to hire, entertain, and oversee servants and workmen: how to dispose of every excrement and refuse of materials, or of broken, worn, or otherwise unserviceable tools and utensils, with all cauteles, impostures, and other sleights, good or bad, whereby men use to over-reach one another.

There ought to be added to this work many and various indexes, besides the alphabetical ones, as namely one of all the artificials mentioned in the whole work.

Another of all the natural materials or elements of artificials, by what artificers used, from whence they come, where to be had, and what are the ordinary and middle prices of them.

Another of all the qualities or schemes of matter, as of all liquefiable things, viscid, friable, heavy, transparent, abstersive, or otherwise qualified, according to all the classes of 1, 2, and 3 qualities, to the end that materials for all intentions and experiments may be at hand and in sight.

Another of all operations mentioned in the whole work, as sawing, hewing, filing, boring, melting, dissolving, turning, beating, grinding, boiling, calcining, knitting, spinning, sowing, twisting, &c. To the end that they all may be at hand for the purposes aforesaid. Another of all tools and machines, as files, saws, chissels, sheers, sieves, looms, shuttles, wheels, wedges, knives, screws, &c. for the same purpose also.

The compiler ought to publish all his conjectures, how old inventions may be perfected and new ones produced, giving directions how to try the truth of them. So that by all those unto whose hands these books shall come, perchance, all the said suppositions may be tried, and the success reported to the compiler himself.

The compiler's first scope in inventions shall be, how to apply all materials that grow in abundance in this kingdom, and whereof but inconsiderable use and profits are as yet made, to more advantage to the common-wealth. And also how all impotents, whether only blind, or only lame, and all children of above seven years old might earn their bread, and not be so long burdensome to their parents and others.

There should be made a preface to the work to teach men how to make the most of experiments, and to record the successes of them whatsoever, whether according to hopes or no, all being equally lucrative, although not equally lucrative.

There ought to be much artifice used, that all the aforementioned indexes may handsomely refer one to another, that all things contained in the whole book may be most easily found, and most readily attend the seekers of new inventions.

The way to accomplish this work must be to enquire what to this purpose is already done, or in hand, in all places, and also by whom, so that communication of counsels and proceeding, may, (if possible) be had with those undertakers.

ALL books of this subject, already extant in print, must be collected and bought, not to transcribe them, but to examine them *per autopsiam*, and re-experiment the experiments contained in them, and withal to give hints of new enquiries.

The compiler must be content to devote his whole life to this employment; one who, as we said before, hath the fire of industry and the alembick of a curious and rational head, to extract the quintessence of whatsoever he seeth.

He shall be as young as sufficient abilities will admit, to the end that he may, with the concurrence of God's ordinary providence, either finish, or very far advance the work, while he liveth; and also that living long in that employment, he may heap up the larger stock of experiments, which, how much the greater it is in one man, affordeth so much the more hopes of new inventions.

The nature, manner, and means of writing the history of trades being so far expounded, before we proceed further therein, for the better encouragement of undertakers, we shall now represent such profits and commodities thereof, to the commonwealth, as we at present more nearly reflect upon. For to enumerate, or evaluate them all, will be much above our capacity.

1. All men whatsoever may hereby so look into all professions, as not to be too grossly cozened and abused in them.

2. The mysteries of trades being so laid open, as that the professors of them cannot make so unlawful and exorbitant advantages as heretofore, such as are cunning and ambitious will never rest until they have found new ones in their stead; so that the *respublica artium* will be so much the more advanced.

3. Scholars, and such as love to ratiocinate, will have more and better matter to exercise their wits upon, whereas they now puzzle and tire themselves, about mere words and chimerical notions.

4. They will reason with more alacrity, when they shall not only get honour by shewing their abilities, but profit likewise by the invention of fructiferous arts.

5. Sophistry shall not be in such esteem as heretofore, when even sense shall be able to unmask its vanity, and distinguish it from truth.

6. Men, seeing what arts are already invented, shall not need to puzzle themselves to re-invent the same again.

7. All men in general that have wherewithal will be venturing at our *vellus aureum*, by making of experiments: and whether thereby they thrive or no, the directions in the preface being followed, they shall nevertheless more and more discover nature.

8. Nay all nations, sensible of this *auri sacra fames*, will engage in this hopeful business; and then certainly many hands will make light work in the said business of discovering nature.

9. All ingenious men, and lovers of real knowledge, have a long time begged this work, wherefore it can be no small honour to him that shall satisfy them.

10. A vast increase of honourable, profitable, and pleasant inventions must needs spring from the work, when one man (as the compiler thereof) may, *uno intuitu*, see and comprehend all the labour and wit

of our ancestors, and be thereby able to supply the defects of one trade with the perfections of another.

11. We see, that all countries, where manufactures and trades flourish, as Holland, &c. become potent and rich : For how can it otherwise be ? When the revenues of the state shall be increased by new and more customs, all beggars, feeding upon the labours of other men, and even thieves and robbers (made for want of better employment) shall be set on work ; barren grounds made fruitful, wet dry, and dry wet ; when even hogs and more indocile beasts shall be taught to labour ; when all vile materials shall be turned to noble uses ; when one man, or horse, shall do as much as three, and every thing be improved to strange advantages.

12. There would not then be so many fustian and unworthy preachers in divinity, so many petty-foggers in the law, so many quack-salvers in physick, so many grammaticasters in country schools, and so many lazy serving-men in gentlemen's houses, when every man might learn to live otherwise in more plenty and honour ; for all men, desirous to take pains, might, by this book, survey all the ways of subsistence, and chuse out of them all one that best suits with his own genius and abilities.

13. Scholars, now disesteemed for their poverty (whatever other thing commends them), and unable, even for want of livelihood, to perfect any thing, even in their own way, would quickly help themselves by opening treasures with the key of luciferous inventions.

14. Boys, instead of reading hard Hebrew words in the bible (where they either trample on, or play with mysteries) or parrot-like repeating heteroclitous nouns and verbs, might read and hear the history of faculties expounded ; so that, before they be bound apprentices to any trade, they may foreknow the good and bad of it, what will and strength they have to it, and not spend seven years in repenting, and in swimming against the stream of their inclinations.

All apprentices, by this book, might learn the theory of their trades, before they are bound to a master, and consequently may be exempted from the *tedium* of a seven years bondage ; and, having spent but about three years with a master, may spend the other four in travelling, to learn breeding and the perfection of their trades.

As it would be more profitable to boys to spend ten or twelve years in the study of things, and of this book of faculties, than in a rabble of words ; so it would be more easy and pleasant to them, as more suitable to the natural propensions we observe in them. For we see children to delight in drums, pipes, fiddles, guns made of elder-sticks and bellows noses, piped keys, &c. for painting flags and ensigns with elder-berries and corn-poppy ; making ships with paper, and setting even nut-shells a swimming ; handling the tools of workmen, as soon as they turn their backs, and trying to work themselves ; fishing, fowling, hunting, setting springs and traps for birds and other animals ; making pictures in their writing-books ; making tops, gigs, and whirligigs ; quilting balls ; practising divers juggling tricks upon the cards, &c. with a million more besides. And, for the females, they will be making pyes with clay, making their babies clothes, and dressing them therewith ; they will spit leaves on sticks, as if they were roasting meat ; they will imi-

tate all the talk and actions, which they observe in their mother and her gossips, and punctually act the comedy, or tragedy (I know not whether to call it) of a woman's lying-in: By all which it is most evident, that children do most naturally delight in things, and are most capable of learning them, having quick senses to receive them, and unpre-occupied memories to retain them. As for other things, whereunto they are now-a-days set, they are altogether unfit, for want of judgment, which is but weak in them, and also for want of will; which is sufficiently seen both by what we have said before, by the difficulty in keeping them at schools, and the punishment they will endure, rather than be altogether debarred from this pleasure, which they take in things.

This work will be an help to eloquence, when men, by their great acquaintance with things, might find out similitudes, metaphors, allusions, and other graces of discourse in abundance.

To arithmeticians and geometricians, supplying them with matter, whereon to exercise those most excellent sciences; which some having with much pains once learned, do, for want hereof, forget again, or unprofitably apply about resolving needless questions, and making of new difficulties: The number of mixt mathematical arts would hereby be increased.

For we see that opticks are made up of pure mathematicks, the anatomy of the eye, and some physical principles, concerning the nature of light and vision, with some experiments of convex and concave glasses; astronomy is constituted again of them, and some celestial phenomena. Enginry again of them, and some propositions *de cochlea et vecte*. And so certainly, as the number of axioms concerning several subjects doth increase by this work, so the number of (their applications to pure mathematicks, *id est*) new mathematical arts will increase also.

Divines, having so large a book of God's works, added to that of his word, may, the more clearly from them both, deduce the wisdom, power, and goodness of the Almighty.

Physicians, observing the use of all drugs, and operations in the production of artificials, may, with success, transfer them to better uses in their art.

And lawyers, when they plead concerning trades and manufactures, would better know what to say on such occasions.

A young beginner may know by this book, how much stock is needful to set him up in his trade.

Gentlemen, falling sometimes accidentally into tradesmen and handicrafts company, would know how to make use of such occurrences to advantage.

Lastly, This history, with the comments thereupon, and the indexes, preface, and supplements thereunto belonging, would make us able, if it be at all possible, to demonstrate axioms in philosophy, the value and dignity whereof cannot be valued or computed.

The next book, which we recommend, is the history of nature free; for indeed the history of trades is also an history of nature, but of nature vexed and disturbed. What we mean by this history, may be known by the Lord Verulam's most excellent specimen thereof; and, as for the particulars that it should treat on, we refer to his exact and judicious catalogue of them, at the end of his advancement of learning.

An Advertisement to the favourable reader.

IN the foregoing discourse we have discovered the things, which concern the addresses for outward accommodation, which is but a momentary part of human felicity. The main and principal thing whereat in this office we do aim at, and which we intend, if God enable us to prosecute, is, the work of communication for all spiritual and intellectual advantages, towards the advancement of piety, virtue, and learning in all things divine and human, as they are subordinate unto the glory of God; for whose sake alone we cast ourselves upon these endeavours, and from whom we shall expect our encouragements.

A

FURTHER DISCOVERY

OF THE

OFFICE OF PUBLICK ADDRESS

FOR ACCOMMODATIONS.

London, printed in the year 1648. Quarto, containing thirty-four pages.

L. Montague's Essays, the IVth book, the XXIVth chapter.

Of a defect in our Policies.

MY late father, who had no help but from experience and his own nature, yet of an unspotted judgment, hath heretofore told me, that he much desired to bring in this custom, which is, that in all cities there should be a certain appointed place, to which whosoever should have need of any thing might come, and cause his business to be registered by some officer appointed for that purpose. As for example: If one have pearls to sell, he should say, I seek to sell some pearls; another, I seek to buy some pearls: Such a man would fain have company to travel to Paris: Such an one seeketh for an master, another a workman, some this, some that, every one as he needeth. And it seemeth that this means of interwarning one another, would bring no small commodity unto common commerce and society; for there are ever conditions that interseek one another, and, because they understand not one another, they leave men in great necessity. I understand, to the infamous reproach of our age, that, even in our sight, two most excellent men in knowledge have miserably perished for want of food and other necessities, Lilius Gregorius Giraldus in Italy, and Sebastianus Castalio in Germany. And I verily believe there are many thousands, who, had they known or understood their wants, would either have sent for them, and with large stipends have enter-

tained them, or would have conveyed them succour where ever they had been. The world is not so generally corrupted, but I know some that would earnestly wish, and, with hearty affections, desire the goods, which their fore-fathers have left them, might, so long as it shall please God they may enjoy them, be employed for the relief of rare, and supply of excellent men's necessities, and such as for any kind of worth and virtue are remarkable, many of which are daily seen to be pursued by poverty, even to the utmost extremity, and that would take such order for them as, had they not their ease and content, it might only be imputed to their want of reason, or lack of discretion.

BEFORE we fell into these last troubles, a brief discourse was presented unto the high and honourable houses of parliament concerning the means to accomplish the work of our reformation; tending to shew that, by an office of publick address in spiritual and temporal concerns, the glory of God and happiness of this nation may be highly advanced.

This discourse hath fully approved itself unto the judgment of all those that have seen it hitherto, and hopefully it would have wrought some effect upon those that manage the affairs of this State, if the danger of this last commotion had not employed all their strength and attention, to save us from sudden shipwreck. Nor is the sea yet quieted after so great a storm; but the fears and expectations of what will follow do keep the minds of most men in suspense, till they see a safe harbour, that is, what the way of our future settlement will be.

And truly this consideration might also suspend our thoughts and solicitations in this matter; if we would look only to the outward appearance of affairs, and make ourselves, as many do by their conjectures, fearful. For 'he that observeth the wind, shall not sow; and he that regardeth the clouds, shall not reap': But we have learned to cast our bread upon the waters, in hope that we may find it after many days; and we are willing to give a portion unto seven, and also to eight, because we know not what evil shall be upon the earth. So then, even that, which maketh others less careful of the publick, doth increase our care for it. For most men will not intend any publick aim till they can secure their own interests, and see a way to get advantage by that which they call the publick. But we shall never aim at this; our delight shall be, that all may be advantaged, and the publick interest of the commonwealth settled, although it should be to our cost and disadvantage: For we know the promise, that if we faint not, and become not weary in well-doing, we shall reap in due time the fruit of righteousness.

Therefore, on the grounds laid in the former discourse, we shall endeavour to proceed to offer some particulars; which, perhaps, will take more with most men, than that which we aim at principally. For our aim is mainly to lay the grounds of that reformation in this change of our affairs, which may reach the spirits of men to affect them with a

gospel-frame: But, if wetherein cannot come near them immediately, yet weshall endeavour to come as near as we may by the things whereof they are capable; because we are resolved rather to venture the losing of our labour, than to sit still, and not give ourselves this satisfaction that we have discharged a good conscience in performing our duty.

We shall declare then, with that simplicity which becometh a good conscience in the presence of God, that our desire is to serve all men freely in the publick interest so far as God doth enable us; and that by this design we aim at a special advantage to the gospel of Christ rather than at any thing else; and if we can but awake those that are in places of power and authority, to take notice of the means whereby all men's talents may become useful to each other in this commonwealth, that, for their own temporal ends, they would countenance and promote the same, we shall have our end at this time in this undertaking.

Therefore now we make our application as to all indifferently, that love the prosperity of Sion, and the welfare of this state; so more particularly to those whom God hath appointed to be our leaders in every good work, and encouragers of those that apply themselves thereunto; that, whether they lay the matter to heart or no, they may not be without a witness before God and the world, that this is a duty belonging to their charge; which, without any charge, trouble, or difficulty, may be most easily brought to pass, by a few words in the way of order, to authorise the undertaking of such an office, for the unspeakable benefit of all, and without the least imaginable inconveniency unto any.

And, that the thing itself may manifest the truth of this, we shall come to a more particular discovery of the office in matters of temporal accommodation; which unto the men of this world are sensible inducements towards all enterprises.

Let us then consider, what it is that maketh a commonwealth, and all those that are in it happy, as to the life of nature. The chief end of commonwealths is society, the end of society is mutual help, and the end and use of help is to enjoy from one another comforts; that is, every thing lawfully desirable or wanting to our contentation. Wheresoever then, in a commonwealth, such a constitution may be had, whereby the members thereof may be enabled to enjoy from each other all the helps which nature doth afford unto them for our mutual contentation, there the state, and all those that are in it, may be said to be as happy as this world can make them.

For no man can be more happy in nature, than to have all his lawful desires supplied so far as they are attainable. But in this commonwealth such a constitution may be had, and that easily, which will do this: Therefore this commonwealth, and all the members thereof, may be as happy as this world can make them, if their rulers will either assist them, or at least suffer them to become so.

Now this constitution whereof we speak is nothing else, but the designation of a certain place, whercunto it shall be free for every one to make his address upon all occasions, as well to offer unto others, as to receive from them, the commodities which are desirable, and the informations of things profitable to be taken notice of in a private or a publick way.

In this place an officer is to be appointed, who should have power to direct and order the work of the constitution. He should have certain men under him, so many as he should think fit to keep registers, and make extracts thereof, to give to such as should desire the same for their information.

These registers should be of all things which either may be any way offered by one man to any or to all, and desired by another from any or from all; or which otherwise may be of publick use, though not at all taken notice of by any to that end.

And the end, wherefore these registers are thus to be kept, is only, that therein may be settled a center of encounters to give information to all of all useful matters; for one of the great causes of our misery in this present life is this: that we are not only in the dark, not knowing what good things are extant in private, or publickly attainable for use, but we are in disorder and confusion, because, when we know what things are attainable, yet we have no way contrived how to encounter readily and certainly with them ourselves, when we have need of them, or, when we have them, to impart them to such as want them.

Now, to remedy both these evils, this office may be an instrument, by being made a common intelligencer for all, not only of things actually offered, or desired by some to be communicated, but also of things by himself and others observable, which may be an occasion to raise matter of communication for the information of all.

The multitude of affairs in populous places doth naturally run into a confusion, except some orderly way be found out to settle times and places, wherein those, that are to attend them, may meet together for the transaction thereof. If there were no exchanges, nor set hours thereof for merchants to meet and transact matters, what a disorder and obstruction would there be in all trading! and, if a man, that hath to do in the Exchange with five or six men, doth come to it when it is thronging full, and knoweth not the ordinary walks of those several men, nor any body that can tell him where their walks are, he may run up and down, here and there, and weary himself out of breath, and not meet with any of them, except by great chance he light upon them; but, if he doth know their constant walks and hours, when they come upon the Exchange, he may be able to meet with them in an instant. So it is with all other men, in respect of all other conveniencies, in great and populous cities, or kingdoms: they run up and down at random to seek for their accommodations, and, when they have wearied themselves a long time in vain, they sit down oft-times unsatisfied; but, if there were but a place of common resort appointed, like unto the Exchange, where they should be sure to receive information of all that which they would desire to know, they might, without any loss of time, come instantly to the enjoyment of their desires, so far as they are attainable.

This place, then, is that which we call the Office of Address. Here sufficient registers should be kept of all desirable matters of human accommodations, shewing where, with whom, and upon what conditions they may be had; and this would be, as it were, a national Ex-

change for all desirable commodities, to know the ready way of encountering with them, and transacting for them.

This, then, is the proper end and use of this office, to set every body in a way, by some direction and address, how to come speedily to have his lawful desires accomplished, of what kind soever they may be.

This constitution will be a means mightily to increase all trade and commerce amongst merchants and all sorts of people, but especially to relieve the necessities of the poor, for whose sake alone it doth deserve to be entertained, although there were no other conveniency in it. But, to shew that by the advantage of such an address, as is intended by this office to be set on foot, all trade will be mainly advanced, consider how, for want of it, occasions of trading and transacting of businesses are hindered between man and man, to their mutual disadvantage, and the detriment of the commonwealth. As for example: I am desirous to let out a parcel of ground and an house upon it to be rented; another is desirous to have some ground with an house upon it to farm; we, for want of knowing each other's desires, do not meet to treat upon the business, and cannot find our accommodations, perhaps, in a year or two, to our content. Here, then, the commerce, which we might have with each other, is stopped; the publick notary is not employed between us; the counsellor, whose advice is to be used in drawing the leases, is not employed; I want money, which I might trade withal another way, to my great profit, and the publick benefit; the farmer is idle, the house not inhabited, and out of repair; the ground either not at all, or not so well cultivated, as otherwise it would be; the inheritance doth go to decay; less fruit is reaped off the ground, less employment for labouring men, less works and manufactures of tradesmen and shopkeepers used; fewer customs and duties paid to the publick; and consequently, in every respect, both to myself, and others to whom I am associated, a disadvantage doth befall, because I cannot encounter with the conveniency, whereof I stand in need, nor the farmer with his accommodation; but, if we could have met with each other, and transacted our business to our mutual content, all these inconveniencies would have been prevented, both to us and the publick. It is undeniably true, that the multitude of people doth beget affairs, and the ready transaction of affairs in a state is the only means to make it flourish in the felicity of the inhabitants; and that nothing can advance such a ready transaction so much, as a common center of intelligence for all such matters, is quite out of doubt.

As for the benefit of the poor, and the relief of their necessities (which alone might move us to the prosecuting of this business) there is nothing imaginable that can be more beneficial unto them. For consider, amongst all the causes of human poverty, which are many, this main one; namely, that most men are poor for want of employment, and the cause why they want employment, is, either because they cannot find masters to employ them; or because their abilities and fitness to do service are not known to such as might employ them: or, lastly, because there is perhaps little work stirring in the common-wealth for them. All these causes will be clearly remedied by this constitution;

for here not only the master shall be able to encounter with a servant, or a servant with a master, fit for each other, when both have given up their names, and the tenor of their desires, with the places of their abode, to the registers of the office; but, by the collection and observation of all things profitable to be improved for the publick use, much matter of employment will be produced and found out, which now is not at all thought upon. When poor workmen or tradesmen come to a great city, such as London is, in hope of getting employment; if they fail of their expectation, or meet not with the friends upon whom they did rely, they betake themselves to begging, or sometimes to far worse courses, which brings them to a miserable end; but if, instead of their particular expectation and friends, they can betake themselves to one, that can give them address to that employment which in the commonwealth can be found for them; they not only may be preserved from beggary and misery, but become useful unto their neighbour.

Hitherto we have spoken of the office, and the usefulness thereof in respect of the end. Now we shall come to the matters whereof registers should be kept in the office for information and address, to satisfy all men's desires.

The desires of men are infinite, in respect of the circumstances; and therefore it is not to be expected that a particular enumeration thereof should be made. We must reflect upon the principal heads whereunto all may be referred, that when particulars are offered they may be brought into their proper places in the registers, where they may be found in due time for information and address of one towards another.

There be two kinds of registers or inventories of address: some are of things which are perpetually the same, and always existent in the society of mankind in general, and in a distinct commonwealth, kingdom, province, and city in particular; and others are not perpetual but changeable registers, containing all matters of daily occurrence between man and man to be imparted.

The matters, whereof the perpetual and unchangeable registers should give information to such as may enquire after the same, are chiefly these:

1. For such as would know concerning any thing extant in the world, what hath been said or written of it, the standing register should contain a catalogue of all catalogues of books, whereunto the inquisitor may be referred to seek out whether or no he can find any thing written of the matter whereof he doth make inquiry in any of those catalogues, and the office should have one or more copies of each of those catalogues, to which the register of catalogues should refer them to make their search.

2. For such as should make inquiry concerning this kingdom, to know the situation of any of the provinces, shires, counties, cities, towns, villages, castles, ports, and such like places; the office should have Speed's Description of this Kingdom, and Mercator, or others, to refer them thereunto.

3. For such as would desire to know, what publick officers and

employments, and what particular trades are of use in this state; the office should shew a register thereof.

4. For such as would know what families and persons of eminent note and quality are in the kingdom, for birth, or for place and employment, or for abilities and singular personal virtues; the office should shew who they are, and what their property is, and where to be met withal.

5. For such as desire to know the standing commodities of the kingdom; what they are in the whole, and what peculiar to every place? How they are transported from place to place? Where and when the markets thereof are kept? And how to get intelligence of the particular prices thereof? The office should have registers for information of all this.

6. For such as desire to know what commodities are imported from foreign parts constantly into this kingdom? Where, and at what times to be found? With information concerning the prices thereof; the office should be able to give notice hereof.

As for the matters of daily occurrence, which, by reason of circumstances, are changeably to be taken notice of, and differently to be proposed, as offered from one man to another, or desired by one from another, for mutual accommodation; the registers thereof must be divided into several books, and the books into chapters, to whose heads all matters of that kind should be referred.

The titles of these books should be at least these four: 1. One for the accommodation of the poor. 2. Another for the accommodation of trade, commerce, and bargains for profit. 3. A third for the accommodation of all actions, which proceed from all relations of persons to each other, in all estates and conditions of life. 4. A fourth for ingenuities, and matters of delight unto the mind, in all virtues and rare objects.

These four registers may be distinguished and intituled, from the properties of their subjects, thus: the first should be called the Register of Necessities, or of Charity: the second, of Usefulness, or of Profit: the third, of Performance, or of Duties: and the fourth, of Delights, or of Honour. And to these heads all human occurrences, wherein one man may be helpful to another, may be referred, if not very directly, yet in some way, which will be without difficulty understood, and fit to avoid confusion in the matters of the registers.

Now we shall come to each of these books in particular, to shew the matters of accommodation which shall be contained therein, for publick and private service.

1. *The Register for the Poor.*

THE heads of chapters, unto which all matters of accommodation for the poor may be referred, are these:

1. Counsels and advices to be given concerning the means, whereby the poor may be relieved, by being set at work, and employed, if they be strong; or, in case of sickness and want of employment, how to facilitate the provision of lodging, cloathing, food, and entertain-

ment for them: here, with the particular expedients which shall be suggested, a note of the names of those that do suggest them shall be registered, and, if they desire it, a certificate given unto them to attest what they have suggested.

2. The list of the names of the poor, *viz.* the number of those that are entertained, and how they are provided for already in several places. Secondly, the names of such, as have no provision made for them, shall be enrolled in the list of the poor to be entertained, when they come with a certificate of their condition to the commissioners for the poor, and have made their case known unto them: where a special respect is to be had to the poor that are shame-faced, and want confidence to put forth themselves to be objects of publick or private charity.

3. The list of names of benefactors to the poor, whether in publick or private, that the poor who are enrolled may receive address, and go unto them for relief, or employment, as the way of their charity shall fall out, to be bestowed by themselves, or those whom they shall appoint to distribute it; for the office of address shall not meddle with the receipts or distribution of any money in this kind; but only with the names of the givers and receivers thereof, to notify the one to the other.

4. The names of physicians, apothecaries, and surgeons, who shall offer themselves to visit the poor in their sickness, to bring them some remedies, or give them advice what to do in point of diet, or otherwise for their health.

5. A list of experiments and easy remedies of diseases, which any shall be willing to impart for the good of the publick, and speedy relief of the diseased and poor, chiefly by the discoveries of the admirable effects of simples; shall be enrolled with the names of those that impart the same unto the physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries, who shall offer themselves to give attendance upon the poor in their sickness.

6. Because all persons, though otherwise never so rich in possessions, if they be under any grievous sickness or affliction, and can find no relief for it, are to be counted poor, and are objects of charity, if they will not be known by name, to be in such a case; the *factum* or circumstantial description of their case may be sent unto the office; and a memorial adjoined of some place or body who is to receive the answer of advice to be procured upon it; and the officer of the office of address shall cause an advice to be given by the physicians, who shall offer themselves for the assistance of the poor, and it shall be written at the bottom of the *factum*, or the description of the case.

7. In case any would have, in matters of difficulty in law business, the impartial advice of eminent counsellors upon the case which by word of mouth they themselves are unwilling to declare; they may take the like course: or, if they would know the judgment of other advocates and counsellors not formerly interested in the matter, whether it doth agree with that which hath been given to them, by those whom they have made use of; they may, without expressing of their own, or others names, make use of the address which the office shall be able to give them in like manner.

8. And in case, either for want of judgment or experience, they know not how to set down their cases and *factums* circumstantially; the office will be able to give them address to such as shall do it for them, with all secrecy and faithfulness.

9. In case there be any who, by reason of poverty or other necessities and unavoidable hindrance, cannot pursue their rights and just interests in law; the office will be able to address them unto some, that shall undertake the pursuit of the business for them by right; or else make an amiable composition and transaction of the matter, for their best advantage, with their adversary on their behalf.

10. The list of poor scholars, who have made some beginning in learning, and with a little matter of assistance might be enabled to perfect their course, and become useful in their way to the publick, shall be kept by itself; that, when the names of such as shall offer to be helpful unto such shall be notified, they may be addressed unto them.

11. The list of strangers, who are going to their country, and are objects of charity here; as also of our own countrymen who, being strangers in distress elsewhere, or captives under the Turks, are objects of charity, and may by their friends here seek for help upon good certificates of their condition, and of the means of sending the relief which shall be procured unto them.

12. Because the publick state and society of a commonwealth is often times in a course of poverty, and want of many things, and is an object of great charity in several respects, a list shall be kept of all the memorials or offers, which may be made by any for the ease of inconveniencies befalling thereunto, or for the advantage and benefit, which may be procured thereunto in a publick way; and, the authors names and places of abode being known, they shall by the means of the officer of address be directed to such as will be most able to promote the execution thereof; and if they be absent a great way from London, or from the place of supreme government, where all proposals of that kind are to be considered, without putting themselves to the charges of a great journey at adventure, the matter may be prosecuted in their name by some in whose hands the officer of address may put it; and a deserved recompence may be by him procured unto the author of the advice and proposal, out of the benefit, which thence may accrue unto the publick.

II. *The Register of Commerce and Bargains.*

THE heads of chapters, whereunto matters of commerce may be referred in the way of trading, are distinguished into the kinds of commodities whereof bargains are made, and into the cases and ways of making bargains about these commodities.

The chapters of commodities.

First, The chieftest of all commodities, because it doth give a common valuation to all other things, is money; the office then shall give information and address:

1. What the species and sorts of coin extant here and elsewhere are in silver and gold? What their weight and valuation is?

2. What the course of exchange is amongst merchants for all places of trade, and how it doth change from time to time, towards Holland, France, Spain, Germany, &c.

Secondly, The most necessary of all commodities is food; to this head the office doth refer for information and address all particulars of meat and drink.

1. Of meats the list doth contain all vegetables serving for that use; as wheat, barley, rye, oats, pease, beans, rice, and all corn and grains, and pulse, and every thing of that kind, and all fruits and roots fit for food, to shew what the rates thereof are, and where they are to be had.

2. All living creatures in the earth, air, and waters, beasts, fowls, and fishes; the office shall give the address to the place, where they are to be bought, and shew the ordinary rates thereof in the several parts of the kingdom.

3. Of drinks, as wine, beer, ale, cyder, perry, mead, strong waters, and what else is of this kind, the office will let you know where to have your choice, and at the best rates.

4. *Item*, the list of the places and rates, at which men may diet themselves, either wholly, or by meals, as an ordinary.

Thirdly, Next to food is physick, and all drugs and wares which are used as ingredients thereunto, as spices and herbs; and all apothecaries wares, whether simples or compounds; and all grocers commodities, serving either for food or physick, the office shall let you know, where, and at what rates they are to be had.

Fourthly, Unto the preservation of life and health, doth belong also cloathing of all sorts of cloth and stuff; silks, and woollen, linnen, and cotton of each kind: the list of ordinary rates, and the place where they are to be found, is to be shewed.

Fifthly, Houses in the city or country to be lett or sold, and lodging chambers, furnished or unfurnished, with their rates, are to be shewed also.

Sixthly, The commodities of lands and inheritances, and leases of farms and mannors, which are to be bargained for in any kind, are to be brought to their proper places for information to such as would enquire after them.

Seventhly, All manner of moveables and household stuff, for the ease and convenience of life, are to be listed with the rates at which they are to be sold, for such as shall desire present accommodation.

Eighthly, Whole shops of goods or such commodities as are not to be found in shops, as coaches, litters, carts, with all their furniture, ships, boats, woods, and such like, which the owners would not put to sale, should be found in their proper places for the information of buyers.

Ninthly, Libraries, and booksellers shops, according to their several kinds: *item* shops of paper and parchment, and all wares of this kind, with their rates, are to be found under this head.

The chapters of the cases and ways of making bargains.

1. If any desire to let out money upon interest with security, or desire to receive it upon interest in giving security, the office shall be able to give address thereunto.

2. If any will deposit money for annuities, or estate in reversion, the office shall address to such as will receive it.

3. If any will borrow or lend money upon any other conditions whatsoever, as upon lands, houses, leases, rents, &c. the office shall give information and address thereunto.

4. If travellers desire to change money from one species to another, or to be furnished in all places where they shall come, the office shall be able to address them to their accommodation.

5. If any desire to transport himself or his commodities by land or water, from one place to another, the office shall shew him where horses, coaches, carts, waggons, boats, ships, and barks are to be had for all places, and what their hire is, or what the hundred weight, or the ton, and last, doth come to for transportation.

6. The rates of all customs, taxes, impositions, and duties to be paid for all commodities should be found in the office for information of such as desire to know the same.

7. If any desire to know upon what terms apprentices are to be admitted in all trades and manufactures, the office shall give them information.

8. If any should be willing to transplant himself or others from these parts into any of the Western or Southern islands; or desire any thing from thence to be brought hither, or carried from hence thither, the office should be able to shew him upon what terms his desire may be accomplished.

9. The proportion and disproportion of the several weights and measures, throughout the kingdom, the office should shew.

10. The rates of insurances of all manner of commodities; and

11. The weekly course of negotiation to be made, as the custom is at Amsterdam, for all commodities shall be known by the means of the office.

12. If any desire an association for trading, or a factory, the office shall address him unto it.

III. *The Register of Persons, and Actions, in all Offices and Relations.*

IF any one should desire to know men out of employment, who would gladly be set to work in their faculty; the office shall be able to make them known; therefore, unto this head of persons, the register shall refer in their proper places all such as shall offer themselves to be listed for any employment whatsoever, that, when enquiry is made after them, they may be found out. Here then a place must be: for,

1. Ministers that want employment, for lecturers and professors of all sciences, for such as offer themselves to be tutors to children: all sorts of schoolmasters in all languages, and all schoolmistresses, all masters of bodily exercises, as fencing, vaulting, dancing, &c.

2. Physicians and surgeons, and such as depend upon them to do any service in that kind.

3. Secretaries, advocates, counsellors at law, 'clerks, copiers of writings, scribes, solicitors of business, and all such as depend upon the courts of justice, as the Chancery, Common-Pleas, the King's Bench, &c.

4. Here also all such as are officers or servants in the families of the King, Queen, prince, or great noblemen, to know where they are to be found, or such as may be fit to do noblemen service, as stewards, riders of the great horse, and all such as may do service in the stables or the kitchen, cooks, butlers, confectioners, &c. waiting gentlemen; grooms of the chambers, or of the stables, porters, gardeners, coachmen, falconers, footmen.

5. Messengers for all places, who serve the publick as foot or horse-posts, to carry letters or other packets of small burden.

6. Here also such as are masters of any trades or manufactures, or journeymen and apprentices that seek masters, are to be registered, to give them the address fit for their conveniency, when any is to be had.

7. Husbandmen and seamen, pilots, and all that belong to the employments by water.

8. Soldiers of all degrees; drummers, trumpeters, pipers, &c.

2. As for the female kind, their memorials are to be brought into the office by some men whom they should employ to that effect; and the office shall have some grave and pious matrons to be employed about the direction of all addresses in that nature; to whom the cases of women (as well as the inspection of the affairs of the poor, as the accommodation of others in their lawful desires and offers) may be referred.

3. Matters of marriage, and all memorials for information in that kind are to be brought into this head; whether of children to be disposed of, or of free persons who have power to dispose of themselves.

4. If any be towards any journey and want company to travel withal and seek society, their memorials are to be registered under this head. And if any want instruction and intelligence of the distances of places, or of the ways and of the conveniences to be had in several places, of coaches, horses, waggons, &c. the office shall be able to furnish them with their information of all this; and how to be accommodated so far as the places do afford every kind of conveniency, and by this means travellers also will be more secured in their ways and better provided for.

5. Suits in law to commence or end them without trouble, to which effect such address shall be shewed, as may ease those that cannot attend their suits themselves (by reason of their distance from the places where the courts are kept) by the means of faithful agents and impartial transactors.

6. In case rents are to be received by any in places far distant from their residence, the office shall be able, by the correspondence which it shall keep in all places, to procure the payment thereof nearer at hand unto them; or in the place of their residence itself without trouble.

7. Such as shall desire the common intelligence of publick state affairs, or occurrences of matters of more special concernment at home, or abroad, shall find address how to come by it to their content.

8. Such as expect rewards for services done to the King or state, and know not where to pitch and what to desire, answerable to what is due unto them, a discovery of degrees may be found by the office to accommodate their just desires.

9. In case sentences or obligations be to be executed, the office shall be able to shew in all places of the kingdom some body, that may be employed to that effect.

10. Persons expert to attend the sick : also the places where sick persons may be accommodated for all manner of diseases better than at their own homes, with baths, and places to sweat in, or for good air and healthful walks, &c.

11. In case any matter is to be notified to a friend, whose abode is uncertain; as the marriage of any to be contracted, or the birth and death of any, or the arrival of any to the city, or the change of his own abode: or, suppose a paper, or writ, or obligation be lost by any which another hath found; which, to him that hath lost it, is of great importance, and is not safe to be published by a cryer for fear of giving notice thereof to an adverse party, in all such cases the office should serve as a common center of advertisement and intelligence.

12. The hours and times of all carriers and messengers departures to all places; and in case strangers should desire to address any thing by them, chiefly letters or small packets, a trunk or box should be in the office kept for every one of them, wherein it should be found at their return, to be carried with them.

13. Such as would quit any office or charge of benefit for some present profit, or other consideration, may here find address how to compass their desires, by giving the memorial thereof to the office, that it may be notified to all, that may incline to entertain any such motion.

14. Such as would inform the state of any thing to be taken notice of, whether they will have their names taken notice of or not, they may be sure by the means of this office to have it made known over all the kingdom, by the correspondency of one office to another in every principal city; for the design is to have a commissary of address placed in every great and eminent city, who shall correspond with him of London, and with whom the London officer shall correspond in all cases to receive and give notice of matters, and to address persons and things from one to another, and to commit the procurement of affairs to their trust, and to such as they may employ able to effect the same in their several quarters; so that from any place in all the kingdom a business may be dispatched to any place or person, by the procuration of the correspondent officers of address in several places.

15. Strangers who desire to visit a country, and have no acquaintance in any places, may be addressed from one commissary of address unto another, throughout the whole kingdom, and in every place provided for at the easiest rates, and by the way directed unto the safest abodes and lodgings without hazard of being robbed or killed, when

they shall not need to carry any sums of money about with them, but only certain bills or tickets from the officer of address to his correspondents, where he shall receive his accommodation according to his desire. By which means also they shall come to the acquaintance of all persons of note in all trades and employments, with whom they may have converse instantly without loss of time and needless expences.

16. If any hath a house to build, and would know the best master-builders, and where all the materials necessary thereunto are to be had, the office shall be able to give him information and address thereunto with the prices, &c.

IV. *The Register of Ingenuities, and Matters commendable for Wit, Worth, and Rarity.*

To the chapters of this register are to be referred the memorials of all things, wherein men put some excellency, whether it be settled in the soul, or body, or subordinate to the manifestation or purchase of that, wherein men study to be beneficial unto, or to appear before others, in any thing whatsoever.

1. Here then, if any hath a feat in any science, which is extraordinary; either a new discovery of a truth, or an experiment in physick, mathematicks, or mechanicks; or a method of delivering sciences or languages, not ordinarily known, and very profitable; or some intricate question and difficulty, which he would have resolved by the most experienced in any, or all arts: in any such case, if the matter be notified to the office, with the tenor of his desire concerning it; by the means of the office, he shall be able to receive satisfaction therein so far as it is attainable.

2. If any is desirous to know the ways by which all degrees of honour are obtained, or conferred in all states and conditions of men, with all the ceremonies and ritualities belonging thereunto, and the privileges, for which in all states they are sought after, the office shall be able to give information thereof.

3. If any would purchase rare books out of print, or manuscripts of any kind, or would impart that, which he hath purchased, unto others, freely, or upon equitable terms, by the means of the office, it may be speedily notified unto all what his desire is, and what the things are, which he either hath to be imparted to others, or would have imparted by others to himself.

4. The rarities of cabinets, as medals, statues, pictures, coins, grains, flowers, shells, roots, plants, and all things that come from far, which nature or art hath fully produced in imitation of nature: if any hath desires to be rid of them, or to gather some of them together that hath none; the office will be either way serviceable to compass men's ends in them.

5. Mathematical and astronomical instruments, and new inventions to discover the secrets and hidden things of nature, if they are to be notified to others, the office will do it.

6. The anatomies of creatures, or the living or dead strange crea-

tures, dogs, cats, apes, fowls of rare qualities, and such like, if they be offered to be seen or sold, by the office this may be notified.

7. Memorials of all things left by any for publick use, and for posterity; with the places where, and the persons to whom they are left.

8. Rare goldsmiths works, with all manner of jewels and precious rare stones, where are to be found, seen, or purchased, at equitable rates, or otherwise to be made use of for the satisfaction of curiosity, and observation of art, by the means of this office it may be known, &c.

Hitherto we have, with as much brevity as could be (for, if we would have been large, a volume might have been filled with them) ranked these heads of matters in some order, to shew, how, by the means of an office, wherein all things may be registered, which by any are either offered or desired for their accommodation, the society of mankind, in a well-ordered commonwealth, may be made flourishing, and as happy in the life of nature, as the satisfaction of their lawful desires can make them. For therein, as in one magazine or market-place, all things necessary, profitable, rare, and commendable, which are extant in several places, and scattered here and there, are brought together; and exposed to the view of every one that shall be willing to see them, that, according to his reach and capacity, they may be made serviceable unto him, and he thereby, in his degree and station, more useful unto the publick a hundred fold, than otherwise he can be, without the help of such an address. For it is very apparent to any that will take it into consideration, that, besides the private satisfaction of any one in his particular desires, which may be had by this means, so far as it is attainable in an orderly way, the publick aims also of those that are over the affairs of state, to reform and direct them towards the good of all, may be infinitely improved, if they know but how to make use of such an engine. He that can look upon the frame of a whole state, and see the constitution of all the parts thereof, and doth know what strength is in every part, or what the weakness thereof is, and whence it doth proceed, and can, as in a perfect model of a celestial globe, observe all the motions of the spheres thereof; or, as in a watch, see how all the wheels turn and work one upon another for such and such ends; he only can fundamentally know what may and ought to be designed, or can be affected in that state for the increase of the glory, and the settlement of the felicity thereof with power according to righteousness.

And it is very credible, that the statesman of our neighbour nation, who raised himself from the condition of an ordinary gentleman, to become the ruler of princes; and who, by the management of the strength of that state wherein he lived, hath broken the whole design of the House of Austria, in the affectation of the monarchy of Europe, and did make himself, and the kingdom which he did rule, the only considerable power of Christendom, whilst he lived in it: we say, it is very credible, that this man was inabled, from so mean beginnings, to bring so great designs to pass, chiefly by the dexterity of his prudence in making use of this engine, which never before was set a work in

any commonwealth, to reflect upon a whole state, till he did set it a-foot to that effect.

He, that is not blind, may easily perceive this, that it was not possible that his intelligence could be so universal in all things, as it was, and his designs so effectually carried on, in all places, as they were, without an exact insight of all circumstances, and a speedy and secret correspondence with all parts; and that, to have such an insight in all things, and maintain such a correspondence with all parts, nothing is so fit as such a way of address, erected in all the chief cities of every province of a kingdom, is altogether undeniable: therefore it may be lawfully concluded, that by this means chiefly he was enabled both to contrive and execute all his undertakings.

Hence also must be observed, that to have such an office, in one place, is not enough; but that there should be one in every principal place of resort, where there is the greatest concurrence of men for mutual society and negotiation in every province, that all the commodities or conveniences, which are offered or desired in any place, may be conveyed or made known unto all places unto which they are by any means communicable.

Now that such registers in those places, and chiefly in London, may be kept for all these, both private and publick advantages, nothing is wanting, but the countenance of authority, that the matter may be regularly and orderly carried on, because it is not enough to intend a good work, but the way of carrying it on must be good also; therefore the business is to be ordered by those that are in place of supreme command; that as the motion doth aim at the publick good of all, by the benefit and profit of every one in particular; so all respect may be shewed towards those that are over the whole body, that nothing may seem to be attempted to their prejudice. As for that which remaineth to be certified further in this business, it is not much; only this may be added, that these registers must be again and again subdivided, and especially that some must be kept secret, and some exposed to the common view of all. In the secret registers, the particularities of the memorials are to be kept; specifying things circumstantially, by the names and places of abode of them, that do offer or desire the same, with all the conditions, upon which they are offered and desired. And, in the open or common register, the same memorial is to be kept under a general intimation of the matter only; with a reference unto the particular and secret register, that such as shall see the general intimation, and shall desire the particular information thereof, may be accommodated therein by an extract thereof for their address, where to find their convenience; and for this extract some small and very inconsiderable duty, as a penny, or, at the most, two-pence, may be paid.

As for those that are to bring memorials unto the office, some patterns or forms are to be made, and shewed unto them hung up in the office, to teach such as are not acquainted with the way, how to draw up their memorandums, which they would bring in. Those then, that will make use of the office, shall be directed to come, with an exact memorial, of that whereof they desire either to give or receive advice, and upon what conditions. When therefore they shall come with their me-

morial, if they be poor, it shall be registered, or an extract shall be given them out of the register-book for nothing; but, if they are not poor, the duty is to be paid for the registering, or for the extract, which may be taken out of a memorial; and, when they have found the persons to whom the extract shall give them address, if the bargain, whereof the memorial doth give information, be concluded, or the effect of the memorial be otherwise made void; the register is to be discharged of it within twenty-four hours, and, for this discharge of the register, nothingshall be paid. Now the register should be discharged of the memorials which are made void, lest fruitless addresses be made to any concerning a matter already dispatched; and, lest those, that have received satisfaction which they desired by their memorials, be troubled with new visitors which the office may send unto them, if this be not done.

Lastly, By all that hath been said this is very evident, that this way of address will be the most useful and advantageous constitution for the supply of all men's wants, and the dispatch of all businesses, that can be thought upon, in this or any other commonwealth; and that this way may easily be set on foot is apparent from this, that to settle it nothing is wanting, but the designment of a place, in which the office should be kept, and an act of authority to be given to the solicitor of publick designs, whereby he should be ordered to prosecute this matter. This act, then, might run in such terms as these, or the like:

"Seeing the provision for the poor, to supply their necessities, and give them and others address unto some employments, is not only a work of Christian charity, but of great usefulness to a well-ordered commonwealth: It is therefore ordered and ordained, by both Houses of parliament, that N. N. shall be a superintendent-general for the good of the poor of this kingdom, to find out and propose the ways of their relief, and give to them, and all others, such addresses as shall be most expedient to supply their wants, and to procure to every one their satisfaction, in the accommodation of all their commendable or lawful desires. To which effect, the said N. N. is authorised hereby to appoint, first in London, and then in all other places of this kingdom, wheresoever he shall think it expedient, an office of encounter or address in such place or places, as by authority shall be designed to that use. In which places he shall have power to put under-officers, &c. who shall, according to his direction, be bound to keep books and registers, wherein it shall be free for every one to cause to be written and registered, by several and distinct chapters, every thing whereof address may be given concerning the said necessities and accommodations; and likewise it shall be free for every one to come to the said offices, to receive addresses by extracts out of the registers, upon condition that the rich shall pay for such an extract, or the registering of a memorial, but two-pence, or three-pence at the most; and that the poor shall have this done on their behalf for nothing; nor shall any be bound, or obliged to make use of this office, by giving, or taking out memorials, further than of their own accord they shall be willing."

ENGLAND'S
Proper and only way to an
ESTABLISHMENT IN HONOUR,
Freedom, Peace, and Happiness :

OR

THE NORMAN YOKE ONCE MORE UNCASSED;

And the necessity, justice, and present seasonableness of breaking it in pieces, demonstrated, in eight most plain and true propositions, with their proofs. By the author of Anti-Normanism, and of the Plain English to the neglecters of it.

Deo, Patriæ, Tibi.

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TO THE READER.

READER,

THOU hast here once more my endeavour for to draw this our nation from under the right, title, effects, and badges of the Norman (pretended) conquest over us, to which, by the iniquity of precedent times, and the ignorant negligence of the present, we remain still subject. Conquest, saith Dr. Hudson, in its best attire, is the most eminent of curses; but, sure, it is a curse far more eminent, to be so difficult to be persuaded to come out of that quality, especially, while undeniable justice, power, and opportunity add their invitations. If, what is here made manifest, shall meet with due and timely regard, and produce effects according, we may happily recover that incomparable freedom, honour, peace, and happiness, which we enjoyed under the glorious, and our last right English king, St. Edward; but, if such cold consideration shall attend it, as seems to have befallen what hath been before sent abroad upon the same errand, I shall esteem it great pity, and am much deceived, if either by our old, or some new conquerors, we be not taught with more than words, what belongs to such as have not capacity to be either ingenuous subjects, or dutiful slaves. Vale.

JO. HARE.

Proposition 1.

That the right and title of a (pretended) conquest over the English nation, by foreigners called Normans, hath been heretofore set up, and

is still upheld in this kingdom, and that all Englishmen, by the mouths of their parliaments and lawyers, have submitted and do still submit unto the same, and are governed in great part by Norman innovations, being foreign laws and customs introduced by the said Normans in despite of the English people, for marks and monuments of the said conquest.

Proof.

THAT the right and title of such a conquest is still on foot, and stands for the basis of this kingdom, I suppose needs no proof. That it is accordingly still submitted to, I have proved in my Plain English, page 3, 4, a sufficient part of which probation is this, viz. that, by the mouths abovesaid, we do acknowledge (how truly I shall shew in my fifth proposition) that the duke of Normandy absolutely purchased with his sword the crown of England and our allegiance, for otherwise he could not be as we name him our conqueror. Secondly, That accordingly we do submit to his heirs, placing him the said duke, specified with his said title of conqueror, for the root and *alpha* of our rightful kings; so that it is plain that the said conquest doth enjoy both our acknowledgment and professed allegiance: That the Norman innovations are retained, to the almost exiling of our own proper laws, is every where both * legible and visible: That they were introduced in manner and for the purpose abovesaid, and accordingly resented and reluctated against by the English people, while they understood themselves and their proprieties, may appear by their many exclamations made against them unto the (pretended) conqueror, by the acts of the Kentish men, and by the Londoners petition in King Stephen's time, which also occasioned those many regal oaths to be then and still taken, though not yet performed, for retracting these innovations and restoring the laws of King Edward; so far are the said innovations from being any part of our legitimate laws, though our wild lawyers so repute them, the proper birth or stamp whereof is to be of the people's choosing, as the coronation-oath testifies. And thus much for to shew that, while we dispute the duty of subjects, we profess the allegiance of captives; while we spurn at English proclamations, we submit to Norman laws; and that, notwithstanding all our great victories and triumphs, we do still remain, as much as ever, under the title and in the quality of a conquered nation; unto which what reasons we have to induce us, I shall shew in my ensuing propositions.

Proposition 2.

That the said title of conquest and Norman innovations (while they continue in force in this kingdom) are destructive to the honour, freedom, and all other unquestioned rights of this nation, and much more to the present legality and future validity of this parliament's proceedings.

* See Daniel's Hist. p. 43.

Proof.

A GREAT part of the injuriousness of this title and innovations, towards our nation, I cannot better set forth than in the words of learned Fortescue (cited by Mr. Prynne in his *Sovereign Power*, part 1. p. 37, 38.) though himself a Norman and arguing only against unlimited prerogative in the crown, which is but part of what is inseparably wrapped up in the title of conquest, who having declared it to be the undoubted right of Englishmen to have this two-fold privilege, viz. To be under laws of their own choosing, and princes which themselves admit (in which two consists a great part of their honour and the sum of their freedom as I have shewed in my *Plain English*, p. 1.) adds, that of the benefit of this their right they should be utterly defrauded, if they should be under a King that might spoil them of their goods, as our first pretended conqueror did, and as the heirs of his title by the law of all conquests still may, and yet should they be much more injured, if they should afterwards be governed by foreign and strange laws, and such peradventure as they deadly hated and abhorred, of which sort I have before shewed these innovations to be. And most of all, if by those laws their substance should be diminished, as it is by many of these innovations, particularly that of drawing the generality of law-suits to Westminster, for the safeguard whereof, as also of their honour and of their own bodies, they submitted themselves to his government; thus and more he; to which I may add, that this injuriousness were yet more aggravated, if our kings which were installed by our admission, and should thus patronise our honour, &c. should profess themselves to be of foreign blood, declare that they owe their right to the crown unto none but their sword, and write on our foreheads that we are their conquered and captive vassals, as our princes, while they retain the said title, do. In sum, the title and effects of this pretended conquest are a yoke of captivity, unto which while we continue our fond and needless submission, we renounce honour, freedom, and all absolute right to any thing but just shame and oppression, being thereby in the quality of professed captive bondslaves, unto the heirs of the duke of Normandy, and wearing the open livery of that profession. And, though we enjoy a mitigation of our slavery by charters, yet are those charters revokable at the King's pleasure, as * King Richard the Second well observed, while the kingdom continues grounded on the conquest; which I have sufficiently proved, in the preface to *Plain English*, from the tenour of *Magna Charta* itself (which declares the said charter to be an act of mere grace and favour, and grounded upon respect not so much of duty as of meritorious supererogation towards God, much less of duty, though benefit, to the nation) and from a † confession of parliament; and is also otherwise no less clearly evincible, for that it is a maxim, that all subjects of a conquest, especially while they profess themselves such, as we simply still do, are in the quality of tenants in villenage, subject and subservient, in their persons and estates, to the will, honour, and benefit of their conqueror and his heirs, according to the axiom in ‡ *Cæsar* (men-

* See Mr. Prynne's *S. P.* fol. 59, b.

† See M. Prynne's citation last mentioned.

‡ In lib. i. de *Bello Gallico*.

tioned in my Plain English, pag. 7.) *Jus est belli ut hi qui vicissent his quos vicissent quemadmodum vellent imperarent.* That the conquered are, by the laws of war, under the arbitrary rule and government of their conquerors; and according to the practice in the Turkish dominions, which are not more grounded on conquest than we yield ours to be; which captive and slavish quality, how unseemly it is for Englishmen to continue in, especially towards a Norman colony, and that, while they may with justice and facility come out of it, I have shewn in my Anti-Normanism: And as touching the consequent* illegality of this parliament's proceedings, until they either repeal this title, or else renounce the quality of Englishmen, if it seem not evident enough from the premisses, it may be seen in my Plain English, evinced and proved against all objections whatsoever; of which illegality, future invalidity is both the sister and daughter.

Proposition 3.

That the same are also derogatory to the King's right to the crown, to his honour, and to his just interest in the people's affections.

Proof.

FOR it is confessed on all sides, particularly by Master Marshall and Master Prynne, the prolocutors of the parliamentarians, and by Dr. Hudson, the grand royalist, that the title of conquest is † unjust, as being gained by murderous rapine; so that, while we ground the King's title on a conquest, we make him a predonical usurper, and defraud him of his just right, founded on St. Edward's legacy, joined with this nation's admission, besides his heirship to the English blood, as I have shewn in my Plain English, page the last, and in Anti-Norman, page 19. And, as for his honour and just interest in the people's affections, they consist in his being *pater patriæ*, as himself also lately intimated; but the title of the conquest holds him in the quality not only of a foreigner, but also of the capital enemy of his subjects, and so affords their minds more provocation unto hatred and revenge, than unto affection or allegiance, as I have plainly shewn in my preface to Plain English, and in Anti-Norm, pages 20, 21; and may be discerned from those suitable fruits of it, which I shall hereafter specify. Neither do the innovations (the effects and badges of the pretended conquest) want their share in the like effect, as being a just cause of the disrelishment and contempt of our laws, (so Normanised both in matter and form) by understanding men, and no doubt the ground of that general and inbred hatred which still dwells in our common people against both our laws and lawyers.

Proposition 4.

That the same have been the root and cause of all the civil wars (about temporal matters) that were ever in this kingdom betwixt King

* The example of the extorting of Magna Charta makes nothing to the contrary, for that was done (as Daniel's history testifies) by the nobility of those times, under the notion and quality of Normans and coheirs of the conquest, which quality, I suppose, our parliament will not, if they could, assume.

† Likewise by our own laws, obligations extorted by duress, as is fealty to conquest, are voidable.

and people, and are likewise, for the time to come, destructive to all well-grounded, firm, and lasting unity, peace, and concord in this realm, and consequently to the strength of the same.

Proof.

THE narrative is evident from history, the rest from reason; for how can there be union in affection betwixt those that are professed strangers and enemies one to another, as this title and innovations, the ensigns of hostility, render our Kings and people? Moreover the said title, by reason of the unlimited prerogative inseparably appendent, is apt to suggest seeds of tyranny to the crown, as it hath continually done, and consequently of insurrections to the subject, to the disturbance of the publick peace; which is confirmed by the said many civil wars we have had in this kingdom since these abuses were set on foot, whereas before we never had any; and weakness must needs wait upon that body, where there is such a disunion and antipathy betwix the head and members.

Proposition 5.

That the introduction of the said title and innovations was, and the retaining of them is, contrary to the fundamental constitution of this kingdom.

Proof.

FOR the Norman * duke was admitted as legatee of St. Edward, and upon his oath to preserve our laws and liberties, and not as a conqueror, nor yet for an innovator, as the most authentick historians testify; among whom honest Æmilius Veronensis, an impartial stranger, writing of this matter, saith expressly, *Non ipsi homines sed causa defuncti victa extinctaque*; That it was not the English nation, but the usurper Harold that was overcome, and as, in opposition to the innovations, I shall make more clear in the confirmation of my next proposition; inasmuch that the violent introduction of the said abuses was, and the pertinacious upholding of them, is an usurpant, perjurious, and perfidious robbing us of the title and quality of a free nation.

Proposition 6.

That the retaining of the same is contrary to the coronation oath of all our Kings, and to the oaths and duties of parliament and people.

Proof.

FOR it is the first and chief part of the proper and solemn oath of all our Kings at their coronation, as it was the first Norman's like oath, either at his coronation, or at least, † before his full admission and con-

* Not any history or record saith that he claimed the crown, before he had it, as conqueror of England, much less that he was acknowledged for such by the English, or submitted to under that title; therefore the assumption of that title afterwards was usurpatory.

See my Anti-Norm. p. 15, 19.

† See Mr. Fryane's citations of testimonies to this purpose, in his S. F. p. 51, 53, and my Anti-Norm. p. 15.

firmation by the English state, to preserve our laws and liberties established by St. Edward; which are inconsistent with the said title and innovations: neither can any man say, that, because the oath binds also to the confirmation of other King's grants, therefore these innovations are included; for grants imply a precedent asking, and how far these innovations were from ever being asked I have before shewn; and moreover, the confirmation is especially limited to the laws of King Edward, as being both the most desired and desirable. And, for parliament and people, they are bound both by their natural and official duties, and moreover by their late solemn covenant, unto the vindication of their natural rights and liberties, of which the said title and innovations are the greatest opposers, as I have before shewn.

Proposition 7.

That, until this title and innovations are abolished, there can be no honour, freedom, or happiness to this nation; that the inception of that enterprise is the most hopeful means for curing the present divisions; and that there is no colourable objection against the performing it.

Proof.

FOR, until the cause be taken away, the effect is not like to cease. I have before shewn how destructive these abuses are to our honour, rights, and unity; while they remain, we are in the quality of captive slaves, and our kings in the semblance of foreign and usurping lords: and, as these evils were the cause of the first fracture, and consequent antipathy in this kingdom, betwixt crown and subject, so there can be no solid closure between them, until they are repealed. These being removed, the whole nation, both King and people, will be restored into the quality of one natural body, which, as *Fortescue hath aptly observed out of Aristotle, hath a set form of duty and affection constituted betwixt the head and members. And, as touching this work's expediency toward re-uniting divided Englishmen, it is evident; for, if the common honour and happiness of the nation be the scope of their designs, they have no other highway to their end, but this. Also it may be learned from the common practice of distracted states, whose usual remedy is the assaulting of a common enemy; of which sort are these abuses, being a common usurpation, that hath a more general, hostile, and mischievous malignity against our nation in it, than any other adversary we have at this day, save that it wants strength and formidableness, for that there is no man amongst us hath any colourable cause to defend it. Moreover, until this be redressed, all else, that is done, is but as building of castles in the air, that have no firm foundation, but may be blown down with the king's arbitrary breath, as I have before proved. And, if any object the troublesomeness and difficulty of rooting out the innovations, I answer: that that particular may be consumed at leisure; that we have taken more pains about things of lower

* See Mr. Fryane's Citation of him, in his S. P. p. 36.

concernment; and that the restoration of our rights ought not to seem unto us more laborious, or difficult, than did to our enemies the introducing of the contrary.

Proposition 8.

That all Englishmen, that are active in maintaining the said title and innovations, are the most flagitious traitors, both to their King and country, that ever were.

Proof:

IT is apparent from the premisses, it being also evident, that, in comparison of such, Strafford in his worst appearance was a good patriot; and, as for the defaults of former times in this particular, they are not now pretendible for excuse; for that now Heaven holds forth power and opportunity far more liberally than ever heretofore, or, perhaps, than hereafter, for asserting of truth, and establishing of righteousness, in this kingdom.

THE BRITISH BELLMAN.

Printed in the year
Of the saints fear.

Anno Domini, 1648. Quarto, containing twenty-four pages.

ORDERED,

That a competent number of these books be forthwith printed, for the service of the King and kingdom, and be dispersed through all counties, cities, boroughs, and towns corporate, and all other market-towns whatsoever, within this realm of England, and dominion of Wales; and that all, who love their king and country, and hate rebellion and treason, do forthwith make all provision and speed that may be, to rise, and take by force, or otherwise, all garisons they can, in all parts of the kingdom, and summon in the country to them, for the speedier suppression of these abominable malicious rebels and traitors, this prevailing party in the parliament houses, and their army, who, by wicked craft and subtlety, have undone three flourishing kingdoms already, and yet would again engage us in another war with our brethren of Scotland. It is also desired, that our brethren of the association would keep their men in the field, and, when Cromwell is gone for Wales, fall upon the other part of the army, remaining in the country near us, with all the

power of horse and foot they can make, and we will endeavour, in the city, to second them to the utmost of our power; now is the time for us to free ourselves from slavery, and put an end unto taxations, we shall never have a settlement else.

O Yes, O yes, if any one can give me notice of four great ships, laden with money, lately at Gravesend, to be passed without search, by ordinance of parliament, and can help to take them, he shall be well paid for his pains, and have many thanks.

O yes, O yes, if there be any more fools or knaves, that will go soul and body to the devil, for an heretical, perfidious piece of a parliament, incendiaries, boutifeu's, Faux's of faction and sedition, with brazen faces, and seared consciences; having nothing but perjury and lyes in their mouths; falsehoods, treasons, and mis-religions in their hearts; daily murders, robberies, and oppressions in their actions; let them repair to the red-nosed rebel, thieftenant Oliver, or his black general Tom.

Who helps to dethrone the king, to change monarchical government, to subvert the protestant religion, and laws of our land, to cry down presbytery and crown, the kinglings, the buffoons, the mountebanks of Westminster?

Who saves the lordly Lurdanes, after seven years misrule, undoing of the kingdom, imprisoning, and abusing of the King, and suffering Haman to strike him, from taking leave of their allies at Tower-hill and Tyburn?

O yes, who sacrifices the city and country another seven years to their insatiable avarice?

Who helps them to pill and poll them by their ravenous implements, the committees and their substitutes, for more money to send beyond sea?

O yes, who buys bishops, malignants lands? Who buys Paul's steeple? Who buys the King's cast shoes and boots? Who buys his guards coats? Who buys sun and moon?

O yes, Who sends them thanks for their ordinance for forcing taxations for their four last bills and declaration against the King?

Who beats the boys from cats-pellet, and stool-ball? Who fights with Poyer, with the Lord Inchequin, with Colonel Jones of Dublin, and our brethren of Scotland? Who, and they shall have new snap-sacks in hand, blue bonnets, and capon tails, when the Scotch and Welch be conquered, promises enough for the present, and as much pay at last as those that have been turned off with nothing.

In the beginning of this hell-spewed sessions, we had as large promises of happy accrueements to this church and nation as subtle treason could in sly and specious language possibly suggest. We had them ushered in with a protestation in the first place; in which our religion, our laws, our King's honour, his parliaments privileges, our own liberties and properties were the common themes. We had them waited upon with an oath after, and a covenant, which nevertheless were only to be as the passages at which Jephtha's soldiers tried the lipping Ephraimites

in their Sibboleth : witness your answer of the twenty-sixth of May, 1646, unto our city remonstrance, in the latter end of page 2.

We had many pamphlets commended daily unto us, *The Integrity of a Parliament*, how that it could have no sinister end ; as if a multitude could be void of knaves to contrive, and of fools to concur in mischief. Many plots were discovered daily against our religion and our laws, in which ye Machiavels of Westminster, ye Malevolo's might have claimed the chiefest livery, as Beelzebub's nearest attendants in that kind ; but they must be fathered still upon our old justicers, and indeed they can do little, that cannot bely an enemy. Ye thought it best to cry whore first, that in them you might by little and little undermine our King and us ; and sacrifice our religion, our laws, our goods, our lives and liberties, yea, our very souls too, for ye have silenced almost all our able guides, and daily burn their escripts, unto your own boundless lusts, ambition, pride, covetousness, and pleasure. These were the originals, the springs of your after-acted villainies ; not that candour and zeal so often dissembled in your glossy declarations. It is now sufficiently manifest by your actions, the truest interpreters of men's intentions. How would you have us think you really intend as you pretended, when the courses you run conduce to the very contrary ends ? Whilst the King and his faithfuls retained their places of dominion, we enjoyed such golden days of peace and plenty, as we must never see again, so long as you harpyes, you sucking purse-leeches and your implements be our masters.

Were we not enough damnified with your soldiers, during the time of the war, but you must still burden us with them, now it is ended ? Did not taxations then light heavy enough upon us, but you must continue them still ? How could you consume more than twenty millions of money upon such slender armies in so few years ? The soldiers have had little, else, save bread and cheese, which have come from the country, over and above those vast sums ; Oh ! your coffers are not yet full enough ; some of your monkey-brats are not yet provided for ; but hye you hence, it is best, you urchins, you caterpillars of our commonwealth, to New England and the Spaw, after our gold you have sent away, lest on a sudden we send you to Styx without a penny in your mouths to pay your passage to your God Pluto. Our brethren of Scotland, and the Lord Inchequin, will find you more work than the boys in Moorfields and the Strand : your goodly glossings and rable-serving collnsions have been but like watermen upon the Thames, looking one way and rowing another ; and now you see your holy cause will not succeed by opposition, you come up, and would close, since money will not work upon our brethren of Scotland, with our city in the presbyterian government, in the restitution of the militia and Tower : but for the protestant religion, and our old rubrick, you still wave them.

I pray you let me ask your honesties a question ? Could Say and his confederates have their nocturnal meetings so frequently, and not have some treasonable designs, which the rest of the houses and ourselves might not be privy to ? We may see now the reason of your bill, to sit as long as you listed ; we trusted, such rare men were you in

leading our faith and belief so in a string, the ground thereof had been the redressing of the many grievances of the kingdom, and transaction of the Irish affairs, as was pretended; but it proves otherwise; that which, had you been honest, would have made this nation the happiest under Heaven, you have made the bane and ruin of all good people: you have demeaned yourselves meet, as an aged gentleman said of you, when he heard the King had signed you that bill: you would, said he, grow so ambitious that you would set all the kingdom on fire; and, when once you had got your fingers into its purse, you would become so insatiably covetous, that you would never seek the settlement of peace; whether this man guessed aright or no, let any one who hath his five senses judge.

We likewise call to mind your other bill for his Majesty's referring the choice of his privy-council unto you, coloured by your outcries against those his old faithfuls, and your dishonest proceedings against them; your framing scandalous petitions amongst yourselves, and sending them abroad for hands; a notable way to work upon exasperated minds, and to exasperate minds to work upon against them; but a way which may destroy any innocent man. While the shepherd had his dogs, you wolves could not raven his flocks; but since you supplanted them, what pranks you and your creatures, your substitutes have plaid, we have seen and felt; and you or they, or all of you, may one day answer for: we may say now, as no kingdom or state ever yet could, there is scarce one honest man in office amongst us; but no marvel: we know the proverb, Like master, like men.

Oh, but we wrong you, you are special patriots; it is you presbyterians may be no further trusted, you be the honesties, there is no nay, and take it as granted, though nothing more questioned, or so questionable. We thought your exclusion of bishops out of the upper house, and bedaubing them with the goodly habiliments of Arminianism and popery, had been for some other end than that for which you expelled the eleven members; to paucify the number of those you conceived would countervote you, that you might easily do what you lusted, and lead the left shallowings, *nolens volens*, in the trace of darkness; and that you might unquestioned, *adlimnire*, after fresh maidenheads, and neighbours beds. Ill courses cannot endure good discipline; for this very cause, had the prophets and fathers of old, nay, our blessed Saviour and his Apostles, lived here in England in these days, they had certainly been made new papists by this quintessence of villainy, this wicked piece of a parliament, and their hellish helpers. We thought your votes against pluralities had been for promotion of the gospel, not division of the clergy, and to make the wise-akers, the look-like geese, the naughty part of them (that will be any thing for preferment, *omnium horarum homines*) for you; neither did we, till now of late, imagine your possessing yourselves of his Majesty's shipping and Cinque Ports (so finely shadowed with the remembrance of the late spoiled Spanish fleet, and your desires of the kingdom's safety) had been the prologue to this treacherous tragedy you have since acted, much less ourselves should be the last scene thereof; yet herein we must needs acknowledge Heaven just in our punishment, for it was

we, presbyterians, that inabled you to your impious illegal courses of slaughter, plunder, and sequestration, contrary to the known laws of this realm, yourselves know it very well, against the King and his servants, who, I am now persuaded in my conscience, being farther discerning than ourselves, aimed at nothing, but bringing you to the trial of the law for your treasons, that we might enjoy the benefit of the laws of our land, and the protestant religion, as it stood established by our law. God forgive us our amisnesses.

I pray you, if a man might ask your high and mightinesses a question, what meant your displacing of the Earl of Essex, and your after poisoning him; (for it is certain you did so, many of us know it, deny it as much as you will) and your putting of your scoundrel army, and their mechanick captains, under the command of Fairfax and Cromwell, two atheistical independents? What meant your late force done upon our city, and the eleven members, your displacing and imprisoning our lord mayor and aldermen? For it was you that went away to the army that set on them, though now you say, you knew nothing of the last plot. Had those that were cavalierish plaid us such tricks of *leger-de-main*, we would have cast in their teeth—What not?

But you, our dear brethren, are men of another stamp, yet it is hard to say, whether barrel better herring. I hope you did it out of simplicity, with a good, charitable, pure intent, to promote and set forward the holy cause. You would fain say something for yourselves, but I know not what: you meant well; but the ape hath discovered himself to be so, by cracking of nuts. Thus doth malice, ambition, and indiscreet zeal, make many men lose their wits they know not where. Indeed, such tricks befit well your independent cause, not to be promoted, but by collusion; but your transported saucy spirits may haply, in the end, be taught to be more submiss, and sparing in abusing them, from whom you had your power. You would fain come off with us now, but stay a little, good Mr. Mufties; you thought it easy to enslave us English, to strangle in the birth our classical projects, our consistorial practices, and conventual designs of zealous brethren in the land; such illuminates you counted us; you sure thought our brains made of the pap of an apple, and our hearts of aspen-leaves: religion, which should be the rule, must be only a result of policy, a stalking-horse to catch fools, and be pretended only to serve Babylonian turns. But go you, serve Baal and Ashtaroth, if ye like it; we will no popular cantonings of dismembered scripture; none of your missives propheticall determinations in their heretical conventicles; we will not build our salvation upon the facing impudence of such light skirts, such hellish impostors; let the truth they teach, and your parliamentary proceeding, come to scanning, the Turkish Alcoran, and Cade's, and Ket's, and Piercy's, and Nevil's actions will be as warrantable, as suitable with the word of God, and law of this land. Though you have eclipsed the lamp of light, you must not think us as geese, which, when they are driven on by night, and a long staff held over them, will go without noise or reluctance, holding down their heads: we, protestants, are not so crest-fallen, as that we shall go on, as you independents would dispose us; if your gifted men, with their new learning, for old they have

none, can teach us more than yet we know, or you, with your new policy, can contrive us better laws than those we have, we will yield, and thank them for such instructions, you for such legislations. I beseech you, will your wisdoms, or common sense, or understanding, or what you will call it, approve of nothing in our common-prayer book, that you present us with an *inane nihil*, a new Directory of a noddy synod, or find you so many deficiencies in monarchical government, that you should seek to introduce an ochlocracy, a people sway? You know the King can do no wrong, and we know, that by him we had redress, which very few could obtain from you or your officers, of wrongs, why then sought you to depose him, and to change the regal government? O, it was to crown yourselves, and undo us. But hear ye, *sequitur superbos alter a tergo Deus*, if you believe there is one, pride will have a fall. Lo! even the very touching of the crown hath already crushed you, hath made the people every where forsake you, and all the wiles and flatteries in your bosoms will not regain them. Would you not give the Maker leave to dispose of his creature? Shall not he govern by what substitutes he pleases, but they must be supplanted by you? Behold, ye misborn elves of Lucifer, your impious actions; in this very thing ye join yourselves unto Apollyon, ye incamp against God that made you, and know assuredly, that, though ye may escape punishment in this life, ye must die, and rise, and come to judgment; but we hope our brethren of Scotland will shew you the suburbs of hell in this world. Our people see enough now your jugglings, and how you turn cat in the pan, and shift off things from yourselves to your army. Yet, while ye seemed to look and run two several ways, and now ye do so again, but, like Sampson's foxes, ye joined together in the tail. We observed, how that the army, when the kingdom murmured at the surprisal of the city, professed themselves your servants, and your carriage of those businesses, and that you, and the heads of your army, have since taken an oath, to live and die together; and that you shift off the imprisonment of our lord-mayor and aldermen from yourselves to Fairfax, and he to you again; but they must lie in prison howsoever, they must not be restored unto their places. I pray you, whose hands then will the militia and Tower be in, if they be restored, presbyterians or independents? Take notice, my fellow citizens, of this slur; if we should assist them in another war, we should again be baffled and muffled by them.

We remember that ordinance of yours, in or about August last, wherein you threaten imprisonment, plunder, and slaughter, by Fairfax and his army, unto those that shall refuse to pay any of your illegal, and, now that the war is ended, unnecessary impositions, by way of excise, loan, mizes, weekly and monthly assessments; though, to go after the rest of levies, the advancement of yourselves and implements, and your brats, not publick service of the kingdom. I pray you, may I ask your knaveships (neither better nor worse, but even so) how stands that ordinance with our liberties and properties, the two wonted sons of your former declarations? And you have, the other week, stopped the payment of debentures, and pensions, to those that have lost their limbs and husbands in your service, to let us see which way our

moties must go, and your soldiers what they shall have at last from you.

We guess the reason of your sending away the King to the Isle of Wight; the people's hearts were too much hazarded, when he was near; yourselves, and your taxations, could not be long enough lived; you feared petitions and impeachments, if he should get power to call you to his bar, and that your accounts should be reviewed: You have carried yourselves well in your places the while, have you not? Or thought you to tutor him, with a bit and a bob, into observance of you, as men do apes? When you had him there, and mued up in a stinking new-built room, under seven locks, and made him his own scullion, when his fire wanted repair, and Haman bestowed some buffets on him, and all appearance of succour kept from him, you thought he would, for his enlargement, do any thing; but know you, we take notice what it was you would have had him done, and of these your subtle ways to bring it to pass; that, which you solicited him for, was the signing of the four bills, which had been, if you could have forced it from him, the utter ruin of us all, and of our posterity after us; you would have brought us into a worse condition than Turkish slaves; you would have had more power from the King to abuse (now you have a rascal army in readiness to inforce) than himself, or any of his predecessors, had to use over this free-born nation. What Mordecai's would not have bowed to you? Or whoever should impeach you of evil, should have been straightway made more miserable than Job; the Sabæans, your committees, should fall upon his oxen, his cows, and sheep; your sequestrators should fall upon his rents, and the Chaldeans should fall upon his camels; your troops should fall upon his horses, and you yourselves would starve him in prison; you would find some publick use for his private estate. We thank you heartily for your good projects; Are these they you have been these seven years in hatching? If the King had signed you those bills, how should any man make his will, and bar you from being his executors? But we hope God, in his due time, will release us, and pay you the wages of your wicked ways; our King's suffering for us shall for the future teach us our duty better towards him: We know what offers of gracious acts he hath from time to time proposed; but, because they were conducing to our good, not your ambition and avarice, therefore you refused them, and say they were not fit for you to receive. We think yet upon your late declaration against him, when you had before-hand traduced him all over the countries, by your miscreant imps of the father of lyes, trooping independents, as guilty of his late father's death, and shut him up, not giving him leave to answer it, or so much as notice of it, but bidding Haman tell him you would try him for his life: This was an honest part in you, was it not? Yes, like as honest as your other dealings; you drew low upon the lees of malice, when you had nothing left but a recapitulation of former lyes and slanders; you shall have thanks for it, yes marry shall ye. Send again your petitions to Taunton-Deane, in Somersetshire, and Rumsford, in Essex, or somewhere else, happily somebody may thank you now; Will you take my counsel, and thank one another: So shall you not go without thanks. You rake-shames, hot-burning coals be your portions,

when you deal so basely and treacherously with your King; what justice may your fellow subjects, a little while your slaves, look for from you? But what may men expect from impudence and wickedness in the abstracts; from men (do I say men) from devils, from things worse than devils, so often guilty of perjury, murder, robbery, oppression, and treason? You cursed caitiffs, how suits this with the law of God or of the land, with your protestation and your covenant? You would seem to alledge many reasons for that declaration, but those, that moved you thereto, were much otherwise than those you lay down; they were the final accomplishment of your first intended treasons, the extirpation of monarchical government, the coronation of yourselves, and our slavery; which to bring about, now that you had lost yourselves in our opinions, you devised this recapitulation of your pristine forgeries, with which you had formerly befooled us all; confiding, it would put out of our memories the late seals of your leger-de-main dealings, and reprint in us those jealousies and disaffections towards our gracious sovereign, which in several they did before: But stay, since he chuseth rather to endure your disconsolate prison, than pass you such bills as may be ours and our children's ruin; you must (rake you hell for lyes, and skum the devils) never more look again to divide our hearts from him; you have discovered yourselves too far, to regain any interest in our affections; we would enjoy our religion and our laws, which we must not look to do, until we get you to the block and gallows. When we looked for a settlement of our King and kingdom, lo! you false your words, and break covenant with our brethren of Scotland; you provide arms and snap-snacks, and prepare for more wars. Never were rakehells, buffoons, rebels, vermin, so desperately set to undo their own native soil, and church in which they were baptized; but we know the reason, ye live too well, ye fare too full, ye can have your feasts, each day, of all the dainty cates our city-cookery can devise; ye grow too fat in bag and body, by fishing in troubled waters, to desire peace; neither regard ye the empty purses, and hungry bellies, that ye have made in the city, especially since your lurching it out of the presbyterians command. Ye may see if ye would, but ye will not, multitudes of thousands, who formerly had trading and work enough for subsistence, now sit hunger-starved in chimney-corners, without employment to get them bread. Ye know, that, since ye took the Tower and militia from us, and sent away our King, the city hath had no trading, and yet ye send not for him home; but ye can send for your taxations, as if our trade were good: Ye have made this famous city of London not only poor, but the very scorn and mock of all the world, by your force done upon it in August; and, as if ye had not then enough wronged our honour, ye must, the other day, triumph and lord it through our streets with a handful of your scummy army; and, in derision, as ye passed along, bid us go buy more swords for our apprentices. Had ye not meddled in the business, but made use of us, we could have ruled them without slaughter, and would; but, so ye may peer it, ye weigh not our dishonour, nor their blood.

I may seem a new Britannicus for thus phrasing you, but it was ever held lawful to call a spade a spade; it is good to uncase such impa,

that they may be known what they be; it is good to discover such panthers, lest, when you have allured more with the sweet scent, and party-colouredness of skin (I mean your calumnies against our friends, and your sugared declarations) you, as these beasts, prey upon them with bloody talions, as already you have done upon us. St. Paul gave not Elymas any gentle terms, nor did St. Peter speak butter and honey to Simon Magus; our Saviour himself, that man of meekness, called Herod a fox, and Judas a devil, when they deserved it. Since ye aim not at peace, but make it your whole endeavour, your special study, day and night, by all kind of iniquity, to keep faction and sedition on foot, and maintain opposition, even where it needs not, ye are to be curried in your kind, and rubbed as ye deserve; not to be smoothed or sleeked over, lest ye please yourselves too well in your impiety, and our oppression never have redress. Ye talked much in the beginning of your sessions, that ye would open obstructions of law, not stop the course of justice and equity; but hear a little your own falshood, and go chew the cud, as when ye receive letters from Scotland.

Give us leave to let our neighbours understand the suits late in chancery, betwixt one Wilkes, and one Dutton, of the neighbourhood of Nantwich in Cheshire, and two knaves, providers of your independent faction there, one Becket, and one Gellicorse: the business was thus: Wilkes and Dutton, good honest presbyterians, had much cattle and cheese taken from them in the time of the war, by Becket and Gellicorse, without any order from the council of war there; and the goods not converted to the use of the publick, as was pretended, but embezzled by the two providers; now, since that the courts were opened, Wilkes and Dutton repair to the chancery, for relief, the exchequer at Chester being not as then open, or not daring to meddle with any of yours, for fear of a snub; and Becket, for himself and Gellicorse, hasteth to Sir William Brereton, goodly Sir William Brereton, who forthwith makes relation of the matter unto you, his brethren, of the two houses; and you (all of you apprehensive enough, of what might betide yourselves, and your honest committees, as well as the providers, if such suits had audience, presently dispatch a private ordinance unto all the courts, then open in the kingdom, commanding that no lawyer should plead, nor judge determine in any such cause; whereupon, the plaintiffs were sent home with double loss, cast thus unjustly in charges, and many threats for desiring justice; and their solicitor forced to fly the court for looking after the business. Was this honest dealing? Was this an opening or obstructing of law? Tell now, and call yourselves knaves. Ye are brave men to steer a state, are ye not? The city and kingdom both have known enough of such like seizures; but we shall straight find a way to strip Æsop's magpy out of her plundered plumes.

You made out many ordinances, that your under officers should not wrong the publick, by vertue of any act, order, or ordinance of parliament, or without warrant; by taxing, levying, collecting, or receiving; by seizing, selling, disbursing, or disposing any monies, goods, debts, rents, or profits of friends or others, or by setting or letting to farm delinquents lands and tythes. But you never held them to the observation of such your rules, nor punish any frauds or misdemeanors in

any such kind, though justice were required, but would send away the plaintiffs, as you would have done the Warwickshire gentry, had they not been so many, and so earnest, as that you feared the revolt of that country, with threats bedaubing them with the notions of malignancy, and desires to divide you amongst themselves: For whereas there was a great subsidy granted about November, 1642, for the then present affairs of this kingdom, and of Ireland; the one moiety of the said subsidy paid, at least in most places, by the several counties, to commissioners, according as the same act appointed: nevertheless, there have since warrants issued forth, which are kept safe to be produced, if time once serve, for such accusations, signed with the proper hands of some of your members, amongst the other your committees, for the re-collecting of the said money paid before, and much more by colour of the said act: And whereas you made an ordinance, bearing date, October the sixteenth, 1644, for the supply of the British army in Ireland, ordering a weekly pay, to last for the space of a year, and the one moiety of the assessment to be in corn, at least in many places so, the other in money; the same ordinance was not put in execution, I could tell you where, according to the tenor thereof: But about July, 1645, warrants were sent out by some of your members, then in the countries and councils of war, for the raising of divers great sums of money, amounting to more than twice as much, as was limited by the said ordinance; and immediately, upon the former collections, new warrants sent abroad, for vast sums to be paid weekly, without any orders from you, and yet you neither can find any law for your taxations; and in default of payment, our goods and chattels by violence, as well to the person, as goods of the party, have been distrained, detained, and sold without speedy payment, according to the collectors demands, with a command to the high-sheriff, delegated by him to the under-sheriff, not to grant any replevin for our goods and chattels so violently taken away, contrary to the liberty of the subject, and the known laws and customs of this kingdom.

You talked of calling for accounts, and seemed to do so; but we are certain, that the revenues of delinquents estates would have defrayed all, or the greatest part of the charge of the war, without any so great hurthens to the country, as have been laid upon it, had they been faithfully and really disposed of, to the best advantage, and benefit of the publick; but you have all made up your accounts honestly, it must needs be so; and indeed where one thief must account before another, who thinks any great discoveries will be made? But let me tell you, and I will tell you truly, how accounts were made; you nominated committees for examination, men as much in fault as the accountants, who put their hands to all reckonings, as they were presented, without looking, if they were just and straight, or no; met thus you tried accounts; who may think that those broken fortun'd and beggarly knaves, of which sort of people, for the most part, your officers consisted, would compass such estates, as they have done in so short a time, and bring in just and true accounts? I trow not man: Nay, your own accounts, if they were examined, as they should be, would prove no juster than the others; else, how come you by all that

money, you have, from time to time, sent beyond sea? We remember, how vehemently you startled and exclaimed, when some of our city would have had an account of the proposition-plate.

You made an ordinance, that your sequestrators, and their under officers, the collectors and prizees, should occupy no sequestered farms; but the most of them did hold very good demesnes of two or three-hundred per annum, and paid not a penny rent to the use of the publick for them, neither wanted they their pay from other levies.

You likewise made an ordinance, that they should sell malignants goods, at the best rate, for the advantage of the publick; but they have been suffered to take what they pleased to themselves, and the rest they have sold to their favourites, many times, for less than half so much, as others would have given for them.

You made an ordinance, that they should take no bribes, and yet neither they, nor you, would ever do any courtesy, or act of distributive justice, without a bribe.

There were (in many cities and towns taken in) booties seized, worth better than two-hundred thousand pounds, in money and plate, and jewels, and household furniture; I could tell you where; and yet your committees, your appraisers, and men that sold them, have not been ashamed to say, they made but thirteen-thousand pounds of such vast booties, though it hath been publickly known they have had above nineteen-thousand pounds, in money and plate, out of one house, and fifteen thousand pounds-worth of one man's goods out of another. But truly, how they should put things to the best, I cannot see, running the way they did; for they would first proclaim a day of sale, to fetch in the country chapmen, and, when they were come, put the day off again, to weary them out of the towns with expence; and the non-fighting officers would take the best and most of the prey unto themselves, besides selling Robin Hood's pennyworths for bribes: This was the deportment of many of them. Ye should have summoned in the country, and the cavaliers, to have shewed what money, and goods, and provision was fetched from them from time to time, and by whom, and have compared their notes with your accountants; ye should have examined the musters of your men, and so ye might have found out receipts, and guessed what disbursements might have been; and this would soon have been done by many officers, and many divisions of the counties; and who, but such as are altogether void of honesty and shame, would carry themselves thus unrighteously, or bear with it? These things ye could not chuse but know (for those of you, that were abroad in the wars, were eye-witnesses of the same) and yet ye never minded to redress them.

After this manner have you ever looked to the publick welfare, and no otherwise: Besides, it was usual for your independent faction (though no fighters) at taking of towns, to get orders from committees (by scraping legs and crouching) for cavaliers houses, and then take goods and all for their own use, without payment of a penny for them to the publick. This is not unknown to many; and, as if you would leave no tricks unpractised, by which you might beguile and abuse the country, ye devised another trick to get more of their monies; your com-

mittes must lend you, but what? The monies they have gathered from the country by loans and mizes, and the country must pay eight per cent. interest for loan of the same. Thus do ye daily only consult how to delude and abuse the country; thus do ye continue your sitting for no other end, but that ye may suck up the fat of the kingdom; but ye shall see, now it hath found your knavery, it will shortly turn you over another leaf; it hath provided a trap to catch your foxes; Ye cried out upon the King for heavy taxes, which nevertheless, by your own computation, amounted but to seven-hundred thousand pounds per annum in the whole, throughout the city and kingdom; which was no great sum to build and maintain so many ships and soldiers, as his Majesty then had for the defence of his kingdoms; and ye quarrelled at the manner of his levying such monies, forsooth, because there was no statute-law for the same; as if the *pater patrie* might not, where the letter of the law falls too short, make use of his own and his council's discretion for his people's preservation. Oh! but, had he made you the collectors, that you might have licked your fingers, as ye have done since ye put yourselves into offices, all had been well enough; but, for the mass of money levied, if your proposition money, your fifths and twentieth parts, your continual loans and mizes, and your other innumerable taxations, your sequestrations of goods and lands, your plunder and pillage, your soldiers free-quarter, and provisions for your stores were, or could be cast up, they would be found valuable to buy twenty times seven-hundred thousand pounds per annum. Thus have your good state physicians medicined your diseases; yet we cannot deny you to be cunning doctors, ye have kept our purses so long in physick. And I pray you, had ye any precedent in the law to imprison men unconvicted of vice, and make them ransom themselves with great sums of money, as ye did (when ye sent the propositions through the country) those that refused to furnish you according to your demand? I trow not. Ye know it is a breach of the law, and an infringement of the Magna Charta, both which ye forswore wretches swore to maintain. Ye accuse the King of neglecting Ireland, and lo! since the war was ended here, what care have ye taken to relieve it? Ye have sent sometimes handfuls of men over, to be cut off as soon as they came there; ye might as good have hanged them here, before they had gone, as sent them thither by such inconsiderable companies. This is the great care ye take of those plantations, and of this people of England. O, but now you will mend in that point; ye are beating drums all over the countries for soldiers for Ireland, but the truth is, it is to recruit your army here; ye mean to send them into the west to fight (you will tell them, when they come there) with Irish rebels newly landed; ye have not men enough to spare hence; and, 'If we should (says Cromwell) draw our army off this city, it would follow us in the rear, and, being but such a handful, as we now are, they would cut us all off.' We are in a pitiful case now; to stay or go we know not; stay, and the Scots and the Lord Inchiquin come in upon us; go, and the city follows us. I smell a rat; the blazing comets are going out with a filthy stink; an ordinance of parliament to pass four great ships without search, laden with money, and now at Gravesend, or newly put to sea. Nay, but your soldiers a raising are for Ireland;

ye have a while ago made an ordinance for the levying of twenty-thousand pounds per month for their maintenance; so ye made out before in August, 1644, for the promotion of that service, but the cavaliers took sixty-thousand pounds of that money at Leicester: Dublin ye had not then: I pray you, was that the way to Cork and Kinsale, or Youghall? Ye blame the cavaliers of Cheshire for stopping some clothes bound for Ireland, and yet the apparel, given by those of the city for those soldiers use, was all (which was worth any thing) sold to the brokers in Long-lane; only a few rags, that would not make money here, were sent away. A man might here go far enough to put you out of your own practice; who, if we had not so much honesty, as to forbear calumniating your enemies, should have had so much discretion, as not to accuse another of that which, had ye had that good sign of a bad cause in you, blushing, might ashame you, being by recrimination retorted upon yourselves. We have heard much of your outcries against the whore of Babylon, and your charging, with much bitterness and vehemency, of her vices upon the see of Rome, and its disciples, whose footsteps ye trace in your seditious courses; but, if ye would look a little into the signification of the word, and into yourselves and your proceedings; what towers of Babel ye are erecting; what imaginations, what anarchy and confusion ye are setting up; what missionaries ye send abroad to broach all sorts of damned heresies, those locusts of the bottomless pit, your gifted men, as ye call them; your suppression of godly and learned divines and their writings; and your countenancing and licensing any thing that savours of the Stygian lake, ye would find something reflecting upon yourselves. The word Babel signifies confusion; and that, which is chiefly observable of a whore, is her prostitution of herself to all, her wiles, by which she inticeth her lovers, and wherewith inticed she retains them to her: Now, whether ye have not prostituted yourselves unto all, let England judge. In the beginning ye solicited, by five or six several letters, Sir Arthur Aston, a known papist, before his Majesty entertained him; and yet you cried out against the King for accepting his service. Ye sent five-hundred Jews (enemies unto the Christian faith) in your army to Newberry; there were an hundred of them slain upon the ground, known by the mark of circumsision; ye have pleased, and run on with the rude multitude, the frothy scum of the people, in their worst and wickedest humours. Ye have suffered them to deface the earthly beauty of God's earthly houses; to rend and tear in pieces our common-prayer-book, and the priest's surplice, a badge of innocency; to pull down crosses, the proper cognisance, by which the world might know to what master this kingdom did belong; and now at last ye invite men to deny the master too. Ye countenance atheists and hereticks, and frown on them that desire to quell them; nay, ye fight with them, and kill them. Ye have continually, during the whole time of the war (and since too, now ye might better have restrained them) suffered every rapescallion, that bore arms amongst you, to abuse and trample on, as he pleased, the freeholders of the country; to lord it over them; to beat and command them and their houses, where they quartered, or passed by. Rogues, that before mended pots and kettles, or begged with butter-milk cans about the country, must now call for rost,

and beat all the house, if it be not to be had: neither, when such grievances were made known unto you, did ye curb or check the sauciness of your soldiers herein, but rather deride the plaintiffs. How stood, think ye, such abuses with the freedoms of the English farmers, and with the national covenant and protestation? And, as a whore hath ever her sleights, by which she inveigles her lovers, so have ye had yours: as the Venetian courtesans, at their first coming to the city to serve their duke, send out a crier through the streets, to proclaim their beauties, and the price thereof; so ye, in the beginning of your sessions, sent abroad your declarations in the specious notions of liberty, property, and privilege; and the price, some proposition-money, or some place; and, even as whores, when they have drawn in silly shallowlings, will ever find some trick to retain them, till they have brought them to a morsel of bread, especially if they doubt their starting; so have you still drawn our apprehensions off your perfidious actions, and kept our brains busied and deluded with your diurnals and your ordinances, which you have ever studied for, and set forth to this very end, not that which you express in the front of them, the satisfaction and right information of the kingdom. When you had discovered your cloven feet in August, and saw the people's grumbings, you thought an ordinance for making up accounts would be a piece of satisfaction for the present; and you knew the vulgar's brains retain not long the phantasms of things: but what performance was of that, I have before in some part, as I could, shewed.

You have moved rumours likewise oftentimes, and tell us again so every day, of sending for the King, and settling the kingdom, only to keep the people in suspense; and, by vain hopes of you, to retard our endeavours for our own relief: by that you may still, by disarming towns, get more power to continue your tyranny, now growing towards an end. For you never intend it, you are such notorious abominable traitors, you have so much abused his Majesty, his late royal mother, and his royal spouse, his children, and us his people, that you dare not do it. How often, of late, have we heard, that Hampton-court hath been making ready, and that Cromwell hath been gone to fetch him this day, and that, and the other; and it nothing so.

Your diurnals buzzed us in the ears with much good news of many victories (lest we should have set from Dan to Bethel towards the temple) even the first year of the war, when our armies went to wreck every where; and we had soon found it, had not our brethren of Scotland come in to our assistance; yet you send them, you say, to prevent mis-information: but when they began to speak against you (as after your taking away the militia of this city of London, a thing I never heard nor read before, that any parliament had to do withal) they must be silenced till the people's thoughts were drawn aside. We have been often flattered in the country with easement of our taxes and free quarter, if we would pay one small weekly payment, and quarter but a little longer; and, lo! presently you have sent (I am sure to many places of the kingdom) for whole multitudes of vast sums, one in the neck of another, that we have almost nothing left. Thus have you, in your consultations, even from the beginning of your sessions,

even unto this very day, devised nothing but how to delude and beggar us all, and how to keep war on foot; else why accepted you not those many fair offers of a gracious King, but still, as you got more power, incroached both upon him and us? Why send you not for him home, but still delay us? It is not far to him. We will study a way henceforth to ease ourselves of such magistrates, such sheep-clad wolves. It is not your going back to the articles presented at Hampton-Court shall now make your atonement with us: you never took a way yet to make him a glorious King, or to reform, but deform religion; or to settle us under our ancient laws, or in our native liberties. Had you power, we know your minds; we give you no thanks for your pretending to settle presbytery, since you wanted power to hinder it; nor for your late ordinance against hereticks. Put on your considering caps somewhat closer to your cocks-combs, and see now if you can re-ingratiate yourselves with our city: see if it will thank you to transfer its militia and Tower (out of these in whose they now be) into other Independents hands, and yet you did not that till very now: see if you can engage your brethren in the city, and us in a new war, and we shall observe who be ready in the same: see if you can or dare force us presbyterians, or our apprentices, to accompany you, and they shall carry away your weapons, and join with our friends your enemies. You must no more look to force or muggle men with the name of a parliament, being but a prevailing party, and fill your coffers by deceit: we will believe you no further; nor Fairfax, though he goes again to hear the lord primate preach at the temple, or proclaim for King, or King and parliament. Carry you the King captived along with you which way ever you go; as strictly as you have watched him, he hath given the prince power to contract for him; we are got before-hand with you in that: counterfeit his seal, and make what proclamations you will hereafter in his name, none will believe you. We have been told the ends of your laying open Rochester: but, if our brethren of the association cannot get into a readiness to stop your passage, the power of three kingdoms shall shortly follow you.

We heard of your late designs against our city, before we took notice of them, and we hear your intentions are to proceed, and to draw up both horse and foot to atchieve the same. I saw some of their leaders here the other day, and their men not far off; it is not denying and seeming to over-run your said designs, that shall make us negligent of our own safety: if ye knew not thereof, why do ye (to obstruct discoveries) refer the examination to men accused, viz. Ireton? How can you daub over this? Or why (if you set not on Fairfax in August last against our city) did ye go from the houses to him? And why did ye not since vote him a traitor, as ye did the Lord Inchiquin? my brethren, look over diurnals, and ye shall see him ever acting in relation to the houses. Our brethren of Essex came but peaceably with a petition, and this prevailing party derides them gone, calling them Essex calves; but, thanks to fate, yet delays, that, if they can quiet them a while, they may after make them the spoil of the Independent army they declare against. Look to it, gentlemen, disperse not yourselves till ye see it disbanded, and the King settled.

Ye must ever have some cloke for your knavery. When your late design against our city grew ripe, your mayor (a very horse and a traitor to our city, as many others of the common-council and captains are) must quarrel with the boys at their recreations, that ye might get another colour to draw your army again upon the city, and do that which then ye durst not, get down our chains, that, when the time of your necessity came, ye might disarm us, command our purses, and force us and our servants, against our consciences, though now again ye are forced to pull in your horns: and bring ye up your country soldiers, as we hear ye have, we shall make you aking hearts e're ye obtain your wills. Ye are loth to leave us, but, since we know your good-will, we shall look to you as we can: we trust our brethren of the association will be ready to assist us. We have heard now of your private compliance with Irish natives, and your letters lately taken at sea, wherein ye promise liberty of conscience, and many immunities, if they will let you alone.

Thus have I given you a little sight of the Babylonian Bel-like idol, a brazen parliament, and of the collusion and veracity of the idol attendants, this prevailing party of both houses, who have so long deluded you with devices, and, like Bel's priests, wasted upon themselves and theirs, those vast contributions and levies which should have been expended on the publick service; and do desire, now time is like to serve for it, ye would endeavour your own freedom from the yoke of these men.

God save the King and kingdom.



CASE OF CONSCIENCE RESOLVED:

Concerning ministers meddling with state matters in their sermons: and how far they are obliged by the covenant to interpose in the affairs of civil government. By J. D. minister of the gospel. March 15, Imprimatur, Joseph Caryl.

London, printed by R. L. for R. W. 1649. Quarto, containing thirty pages

The good intention of this pamphlet, and the masterly way of reasoning with which it is composed, and, in particular, the too often necessity to declaim against that cacochemistry of the popular preachers, or court-flatterers, recommend it to the curious; and, as it is most scarce, a few of them only having escaped the injuries of time, after most of the impression had been seized and destroyed by the faction

which so lately had been guilty of preaching the King to death, I have recommended it to the press, as a good monitor, both in correction and instruction, to the preachers of God's word, that they may not prostitute their function or office, either for or against a court; and to the hearers, that they may not applaud, nor be deceived by those, whose sermons, instead of teaching them the way of godliness, are calculated to find out the high way to preferment for their teachers, who have changed their characters, by leaving the service of God, and becoming the servants of the state.

SIR,

YOU have desired to know of me the reasons why I make it a scruple of conscience, to do as others on all sides have done hitherto, viz. to intermeddle with matters of state in my sermons? I shall briefly let you know the grounds of my scruple concerning this matter, and, leaving them to your conscionable consideration, suggest some impartial thoughts, which, perhaps, may ease you of the scruples, which you have on the other hand; for which, you think it either unlawful for you, or unexpedient for your flock, to leave intermeddling in those matters.

Let us first agree what we mean by matters of state.

As for myself, I conceive, state-matters to be all manner of counsels, designs, endeavours, and actings, which are undertaken or prosecuted, by those that manage with power, or authority, publick affairs; relating to the outward possessions, rights, freedoms, privileges, prerogatives, and persons of men, as they are members of an outward commonwealth, or worldly kingdom. Concerning which matters, I think it not at all lawful for me to interpose my judgment in the pulpit, or to intermeddle towards the people, farther than the apostle hath commanded, Rom. xiii. 1,—8. and 1 Tim. ii. 2. and Tit. iii. 1. And the reasons, why I conceive it not lawful so to do, are these:

First, I know no law, either of God or man, obliging me to meddle with such matters, by interposing my judgment concerning them in the pulpit: and if no law either expressly commanding, or by a good inference warranting this intermeddling, can be shewed, I understand not how it can be counted lawful for any so to do.

Secondly, I find a law both of God and man, forbidding me to judge of matters, which belong not unto me, or which particularly concern other men.

The law of God is this: 'Be not busy in other men's affairs, 1 Pet. iv. 15. And what have I to do to judge them that are without? 1 Cor. v. 12. And who art thou that judgest another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth, Rom. xiv. 4. And judge not, that ye be not judged,' Matt. vii. 1. Now, when I reflect upon myself, in reference unto these laws, my conscience doth tell me, that I am not called to manage the affairs of state, but that they belong to other men; and, therefore, that I ought not to be busy in them, and trouble my head about them. And, if I judge the magistrate's employment (as a civil magistrate) to be without the church, I have scarce so much: sure I am, no more right than the apostle Paul had to judge of them. Now

he tells us, that he had nothing to do to judge them, but that the judgment of those, that are without the church, God hath reserved unto himself, 1 Cor. v. 13. therefore it doth not appertain to me to meddle with them. But if, as a Christian magistrate, I take him to be within the church; yet his employment, *quatenus**, a magistrate, is not mine, nor is he therein my servant, but Christ's; and then the other rule doth take place, Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? Now the magistrate is undoubtedly God's servant, Rom. xiii. 4. therefore I must let him stand or fall to his own master, in matters of outward government, which God hath intrusted him, and not me, withal. And, in case I do look upon him as a brother, and his actions or designs as the affairs of a private man, then still the former rules do hold; and Christ doth forbid me to judge him in publick, or to lay his faults open to any, till I have dealt with in private, and, by degrees, brought him to the judicature of those, who are his competent judges, Matt. xviii. 15, &c. It is not lawful, therefore, for me, in my private way, to condemn him, whether I look upon him as a brother, or not; and far less is it lawful to judge him in publick, and make myself an informer against him towards the multitude, who are not his competent judges.

Moreover, the law of God in the fifth commandment is, 'Honour thy father and mother, that thy days may be long in the land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee:' all divines have understood this, as well of the respect due unto the civil magistrate, as to natural parents. Now, to take upon us to judge and censure their actions, or to blast and blame their † proceedings in publick, before the multitude, directly or indirectly, is manifestly to dishonour them; and, if this is unlawful in a son to deal so with parents, it is also unlawful in a subject to deal so with his magistrates.

As for the laws of men in this matter, I shall not need to mention any: for, it is evident in all nations, that to controul the actions of the civil magistrate, and to traduce him in his proceedings, is a crime punishable in subjects, by those that have power, and are in authority over them, with death, imprisonment, fines, or banishment, according to the nature of the fact, and as the supreme authority doth judge fit.

Thirdly, the nature of the gospel, wherunto I am appointed a minister of Christ, is inconsistent with the care of those things wherewith I must intermeddle, if I should take upon me to judge of them. For the gospel is the testimony of Jesus, to reveal him to the world, and to invite all men from the cares and lusts of the world, to enter into his kingdom, and rest; which is a kingdom of truth, and not of this world, John xviii. 36, 37. whereof the kingdoms are but lyes and restless vanities. If then I account myself appointed to this employment by Christ, to mind the mysteries of his truth, and that wisdom which is of God, 1 Cor. ii. 7, 8. which none of the princes of this world know, or, as princes of this world, care for: I ought not to apply myself to intermeddle in their affairs; and, if I ought not to do this, I conceive, it is not lawful for me to judge of their affairs in publick, either to com-

* *As, or, so far as,*

† *On natural parents.*

mend or condemn them in the pulpit. For Christ being intreated, Luke xii. 13, to employ his authority, to cause one brother to divide the inheritance with the other, did refuse to do it, upon this ground, because God had not appointed him a judge, or a divider over men in temporal matters. The disciple is not above the master; and, if the master had no right to meddle in small matters, between man and man, what right have I to meddle in the greatest, between state and state, or rulers and subjects? When Christ called one of his disciples to him, and he desired leave, first, to go and bury his father, Christ bid him, let the dead bury their dead; but go thou, (saith he) and preach the kingdom of God, Matt. xiii. 21, 22. and Luke ix. 60. If then those, that are called to preach the kingdom of God, ought to free their minds from the cares, which, through natural affection, and a kind of civil duty, so nearly concern themselves and their kindred, how much more ought they to be disinterested in matters of state, which at all do not concern them?

The cares of a quite contrary nature cannot be at once rightly entertained in the same mind; they are like two opposite masters, whom none can serve at the same time acceptably, nor at different times faithfully; therefore, he that will be Christ's servant, and a faithful soldier in his warfare, must not be intangled in the affairs of this life, otherwise he will not be able to please him, who hath chosen him to be a soldier, 2 Tim. ii. 4. Now all the affairs of state concern only this life, and nothing else directly and principally.

Fourthly, The intermeddling with state-matters in sermons is contrary to the rule of preaching, and to the true aim, which ought to be maintained in the performance of that duty.

The rule of preaching is, If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God, 1 Pet. iv. 11. We are warranted to speak nothing (if we speak in God's name) but that which is undeniably his word. Nothing can beget faith, and build up the soul unto godliness, but the truth of God; if we speak other matters, which the wisdom of earthly men, or our own imaginations, or passions, dictate, we profane the ordinance of God, and destroy the faith of the hearers. What is the chaff to the wheat? saith the Lord, by the prophet Jeremiah, Jer. xxiii. 28. Our own words and dreams, about temporal concerns, are less worth than chaff, and the faith of professors cannot stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God. And because Jesus Christ is the wisdom of God, and the power of God, therefore, in our preaching, we should determine to know nothing amongst our hearers, but Jesus Christ and him crucified, 1 Cor. ii. 5.

The aim, to be maintained in preaching, is to persuade God only, and not men; and not to please men, or become their servants, but God's alone, Gal. i. 10. for he, that intendeth to please men, is no more the servant of Christ, 1 Cor. ii. 2. Now, when men set themselves to speak of state-matters in the pulpit, their aim is, either to please the magistrates, by commending them to the people, or to shew their dislike against their proceedings, by reproving the same, which doth tend to make the people displeased with their magistrates. Now, whether the design be the one, or the other, it is altogether unworthy

of the minister of the gospel; and a man cannot possibly mention the affairs of state in publick, but it must be either way, and, therefore, he ought neither way to do it.

And, whatsoever a man's aim may be in meddling thus with state-matters, as he doth no service to God in it, so he perverts the minds of the hearers, from the integrity and simplicity of the gospel, to reflect upon, and affect, with reference to worldly wisdom, the ways of a party: for all state-matters are continually carried by some plots in the hands of one party or other; and whosoever doth meddle with them, either to commend or discommend the proceedings, must be the servant of a party, and so forsakes the spiritual liberty, and impartiality, wherein they ought to stand, and whereunto he ought to bring the minds of his hearers, that they may be willing to serve all men in love, for their spiritual edification, without prejudice, for Christ's sake. The interests of states-men, and matters, change according to circumstances, by which those, that manage publick affairs, find their advantages. If the minister of the gospel will oblige himself to meddle with these matters, he will be constrained either to say and unsay the same things, if he follow state-principles, (which is to discredit the truth of the gospel) for, when men are swayed with carnal considerations, they must needs make the same thing in their preaching, yea, yea, and nay, nay, (as we have found many do of late) or, if he will be inflexible, and not change his note with the times, he will be engaged into occasions of strife and controversies with others, for worldly matters, as often as they change, which, how inconvenient it is for a minister of the gospel to do, and how prejudicial it is unto his profession, I leave you to judge.

The scandals, which are given against the gospel to those that are discerning, and perceive men's drifts in preaching for interests, are very heinous and hurtful to the truth, and to the ministry thereof, to discredit it: for, by this means, natural men* become atheists, for thereupon they count all religion nothing else but a cloke of hypocrisy. These practices stagger the weak also, who are led with blind zeal to be engaged into factions against their brethren, and to maintain divisions, which overthrow the church's peace and unity; and thereby subtle statesmen take advantages to lay snares before unwary ministers, who have more zeal than prudence, to entrap them, and make use of them for their own ends; and then, when they have made them their hacknies, and served their turns out of them, they turn them away with neglect and contempt at the journey's end, because they deserve no better.

Now, I, knowing these things to be the natural consequents of ministers intermeddling with state-matters, cannot think it lawful for me to come within the reach of these snares, and therefore must avoid the occasions thereof, and am willing to warn you of the same, whereof we see many examples before our eyes.

These are the chief heads of reasons, which have made me abstain from that way of preaching, which some have followed; and, as I

* Viz. Such as seek not God through Jesus Christ.

conceive, these grounds, which justify my way, to be unanswerable, so I never could find any solidity in those pretences, which are alledged for the contrary practice.

For that which is pretended from Ezech. iii. 17,—22, and xxxiii. 7, that ministers are made watchmen, to give warning to the wicked, to warn them from their wicked way, and to the righteous also, that they turn not from their righteousness, is not otherwise to be understood, but in clear cases, wherein God's commandment is manifestly transgressed, and to be directed immediately towards the persons themselves, who are transgressors, to make them sensible of the guilt and danger under which they stand. But, in doubtful cases, wherein there is no clear word from God's mouth, wherein the magistrate's actions may be misinterpreted; wherein he pretends to walk by a just rule; wherein his secret aim and intention, by a jealousy of state, is rather condemned than his fact; and wherein he is not expressly dealt withal himself to convict his conscience concerning the iniquity of his proceedings to rectify it, but is cried out upon before others, and censured before the multitude, who are not his competent judges (which is the practice of those that in the pulpits have meddled, and do meddle with state-matters) I say, in such cases, and in such a way of proceeding, no colour can be taken from the watch-office of Ezekiel to warrant it: for, look upon the charge which he doth receive, and the way how he is to discharge it, and you will see that your practice is nothing like it. The charge is, that the watchman should hear the word at God's mouth, and give the house of Israel warning from God, ver. 17. This imports an express commandment, and a clear transgression of the commandment in those that are to be warned, and a peculiar mission from God to give the warning. The way, how this warning is to be given to the wicked and the righteous, is by a particular address which the watchman was to make, as from God, unto themselves immediately. If the ministers, that meddle with state-matters, will observe these rules, far be it from me to condemn them; but, if their arguing against the proceedings of those that are in places of authority hath nothing in it approaching unto this way, then I must be dispensed with from following it, and I think it my duty to discover the irregularity of it, by testifying against it. If men will make themselves, through state jealousies, and evil surmises, against those that manage publick affairs, watchmen over their rulers, when they are divided among themselves for state interests, for the advantage of one party to blast and discredit another, and then pretend that they discharge the watch-office, which is committed unto them, I shall leave them to answer it to the chief shepherd of the flock; for it becometh not me to judge another man's servants, farther than by putting them in mind of the commands of their Master, which are undeniably his known will.

But from the contemplation of the watchman's office over the souls of the flock, and their obligation to give account thereof unto God, there is an objection and doubt, which may be raised, thus: "But what if I see my flock like to be led away (by the example of those that are in authority, or the instigation of those that have power) unto wicked and unjust courses, which are destructive to the true religion and the

safety of the state; shall I not warn them of the danger in this case?" I answer, yes; you are bound to forewarn them of the danger, which you think they are like to fall into, if the thing be evident, and clearly a transgression of God's will; I say, you are bound to forewarn, as well those that, by their authority and power, lead others out of the way, as those that are led by them. Thus, in cases of idolatry and oppression, the prophets did address themselves directly to the rulers of the people; they shewed them the undoubted commandment of God, and their undeniable practice opposite unto it; and, in a case, which evidently doth pervert the truth of religion, and endanger the safety of the state, the fact itself, and the unrighteousness thereof, is to be laid open before all, from the word of God, and all are to be warned of the dangerous consequences thereof; which may be done *in thesi*, leaving the *hypothesis* and particular application to every man's judgment, to discharge his conscience towards God therein. But now we have seen men, that accuse those, whom they would discredit before the multitude, not to meddle with the matter *in thesi*, but with the *hypothesis* of their own coining, upon conjectural appearances, charging faults suspiciously, and by way of insinuation, where, upon a strict examination, none were to be found. He, that insists upon the *hypothesis* of a matter, to charge somebody with the guilt thereof, doth evidently shew, that his aim is not so much to rectify the fault, as to make him odious, whom he chargeth with it; but he, that handleth the *thesis* of a matter, doth not aim to instruct and warn all men of their duty, that they may look to their ways. The court chaplains did flatter and court the King and the bishops, in their sermons heretofore, with reproaches and aspersions, which they did cast upon the puritans, to make them odious, rather that they might be persecuted, than reformed; and, since these troubles, it cannot be denied, but the popular preachers have paid them home in their own way, by courting the humours of the multitude, to incense them against the King and his prelates, that they also might be rather persecuted, than reformed: All which, on both sides, hath wrought nothing else but animosities and confusions, which have brought these distresses upon the nation, and mainly obstructed the ways of true reformation. But, if the watchmen on both sides* had handled matters *in thesi*, and dealt with those who were to be warned, to draw them from the error of their ways by the means of God's counsel rather than for human designs, we might have been preserved from the dangers, into which they have helped to bring us.

There is another pretence taken, to colour this practice, from the commandments which the apostle doth give to Timothy and Titus: Them, that sin, rebuke before all, 1 Tim. v. 20. Be instant in season, out of season, reprove, rebuke, exhort, &c. 2 Tim. iv. 2. and, Rebuke them sharply, &c. Titus i. 13. and such like.

But I conceive, that all these directions are given to pastors, only in reference to those that are immediately under their pastoral charge, in clear cases, wherein they are to deal with the parties themselves immediately; it is, therefore, a great mistake to apply them unto other persons,

* The preachers for and against the court.

who are not under their pastoral charge, and in cases which are mysteries of state, and not obvious to the cognisance of every one, and which are handled, not before the parties themselves, but before others, who are not capable to judge thereof, as the common multitude is. If we look to that which Christ did, in this way of reproof, towards the scribes and pharisees, Mat. xxiii. we shall see, how these reproofs ought to be managed. First, It may be observed, that Christ came not to this sharpness with them till towards the latter end of his ministry, after that he had, in all probability, dealt oft-times with them in a milder way, to make them sensible of their duty; for it is said of him, that he did not break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax; that he did not strive, nor cause his voice to be heard in the streets, Mat. xii. 19, 20. Whence we must conclude, that he never, at first, dealt with any man sharply, but gently always; but, when he found these scribes and pharisees incorrigible, then, lest the people might be seduced by their practices, he doth give them a necessary warning, to preserve them from being perverted by the example of their leaders, and reproves the open faults of their leaders, in clear cases, convincingly before them. Secondly, he doth give it in such a way which is without all exception; for he doth not intend to discredit them in their places, or blast their authority towards the people, but establisheth it, commanding the people to hearken to them, as they sit in Moses's seat, vers. 2, 3. Then he reproves them, not behind their backs, to the people, but to their faces, in the presence of the people. And lastly, he insists upon particular matters of fact, which were undeniable; wherein he not only discovers their hypocrisy, to convince them of it, but shews them the duty which ought to be done, and warns them of the judgment, which is to come upon them, if they neglect it. Now, if the ministers, that meddle with state-affairs in the pulpit, would observe this way and method, their practice would be free from all exceptions; for, if they can deal with those that manage publick affairs, to rectify that which they find opposite to christianity, and amiss in them, first, by way of counsel in private; and if, afterward, finding that private admonitions profit not, but that they persevere in a course of state-hypocrisy, to endanger the salvation of others, whom they may seduce, by their example, from the sincerity of the holy profession: If (I say) in such a case, without prejudice to their just authority, they can deal roundly and openly with them, to convince them of the perverseness of their way, and to reclaim them from the errors thereof, this would not only be warrantable, but commendable. But, how far this is intended by any, I leave to you to judge, and to the conscience of those that handle state-matters in their sermons, to determine between God and themselves.

As for that which some say, that men must not be lukewarm neutrals, but zealous in the cause of God, and for the publick good, I answer, It is so: But we must also take heed, that we mistake not the cause of God, and that we make not our own partial aims, and private interests, that which we call God's cause. Let God's cause be stated, as it relates to the gospel of Christ; let it be handled in *thesi et antithesi*, as it reflects upon the conscience of all men, by the manifestation of the truth; and let no personal reproaches, insinuations, reflexions, and par-

ticular worldly matters, to asperse any body, be mixed with it; and let it be held forth with all spiritual fervency from the word, and so let it be recommended to God's blessing upon the hearts of the hearers; but let us not call our own contrivements God's cause, nor human passions, raised upon jealousies or discontents, zeal. Do we not see evidently, that no party doth count any thing a publick good, but that which is for its own way? And that all its zeal and strength is spent, not so much to build up, to settle, or advance any righteous constitution in common, as to set up itself over the adverse party, and to cast down every thing which is not for its own interest? This is evidently all the seal of these times, viz. to strive for power over others, and then to act by meer will, according to power, against all that are found, or suspected to be opposites. And, if not to be active in this way of partiality, or puffed up for the interest of one against another, to have the rule, be counted to be a lukewarm neutralist, I shall confess myself to be one of these; and yet, I hope, I shall never be found a neutralist before God in his cause, nor lukewarm towards the way of truth and peace, which is without partiality and without hypocrisy.

But above all this there is yet one scruple more, which doth stick with you, which is, the tenor of the national covenant; whereby you conceive you are solemnly obliged before God to advance the publick ways of reformation, mentioned therein, as well towards the church, as towards the state. Now you say (and say well) that, in case the tenor of it be made void, to bring a guilt upon the nation, that you are bound in conscience to free yourself from that guilt, and, as a minister of God, to warn others of that danger; and, consequently, to meddle with state-matters, so far as this comes to.

To this I say, that, if you do this, as a minister of the gospel ought to do, and not as a minister of state-affairs, you do that which is your duty. It is far from me to desire you, or any man, to be slack in observing your vows, and performing your oath unto God; I shall rather, as bound in the same promise, strengthen your heart and hands in it; and to that effect, I shall tell you, how I find myself engaged in the covenant. I took the covenant, as obliging myself unto God to perform the tenor thereof, and not unto men. I took it to prosecute the lawful ways of advancing religion and righteousness, and reformation and peace, in church and commonwealth; and not to become serviceable to any one party against another. And, lastly, I took it to advance these aims in this place, with a special reference and subordination to the main rules and fundamental aims of my profession in christianity, and not otherways; and, lest those, who desired me to join with them in prosecuting the tenor of the covenant, might seem to impose their sense upon me in taking it, or might, in time to come, pretend to have me obliged, as it were, by implicit faith, to follow their courses in observing it; I sent unto them, before I took it, my sense of the articles thereof in writing, containing a declaration of the way, which I thought myself bound to follow, in keeping the same; which you shall see, whenever you please; and according to this engagement, although all men should neglect and disannul the covenant, yet

* This immediately follows, by the title of, *The Vow which J. D. hath made, &c.*

by me it never shall be forsaken, by God's grace, but maintained and followed, so long as I shall have abilities so to do.

If, then, I should answer your scruple concerning your engagement, upon this account of meddling with state-matters, in case the covenant should be made void, I must refer you to the words of the covenant itself, to let you see how far it doth oblige you to follow this way. The first, third, fifth, and sixth articles do limit your endeavours to your power, place, calling, vocation, and interest: If I conceive, then, my proper place, calling, vocation, and interest to be, in the pulpit, none other but to speak the oracles of God, and to meddle with nothing else directly, but with the knowledge of Jesus Christ and him crucified, as in the covenant of grace he is offered unto us, by repentance and faith in his name; and to mention nothing indirectly, but what is evidently opposite unto the tenor of some profitable truth belonging unto that matter. If (I say) this is so, then I may soon determine the bounds of my intermeddling, how far they should reach, and where to stop; for I am bound by my own promise not to meddle, further than a servant of Christ in the gospel ought to do; so that I should make myself a transgressor of the covenant, if I should interpose my judgment, in the pulpit, further than either makes to lead my hearers unto Christ, and to the observation of the covenant of grace, which the father hath made with us in him; or otherwise than is suitable to the rules of edification towards all, without offence and partiality towards any. If then I should step beyond this line, and take upon me, through some insight into state-designs, to play the statish towards the people, to sway their inclinations to some earthly byass, for certain ends, which Christ hath not bid me prosecute in his husbandry, I know not how I should be able to answer it unto my own conscience in his presence: For my spirit would tell me, that to play the huckster with the truth, to corrupt the word of God, and not to handle it in sincerity and as of God, is not the part of a faithful servant of Christ; therefore, as I would not have any to judge of me, I shall never take upon me to judge of any man's secret intentions in handling the word, and mixing heterogeneous matters of publick concernment with his sermon. Every one shall answer to his own master that which he hath done; and the day, which burneth as fire, and is near at hand, shall try his work, whether it be of combustible matter, or not. I have enough to do to look to my own feet, to walk in an even path; and I desire that all my brethren, who are engaged in the covenant, may be careful to examine their own hearts and ways, according to the rules heretofore mentioned. And, if they consider conscientiously the property of their calling and place, and find that, to discharge their duty in it, they must tell statesmen their duty, in private or in publick, as well as others, and that with some reference to publick matters of state, let them do it in God's name freely, but let the manner of doing it be such as becometh the gospel of Christ, and the stewards of the mysteries of God; that is, let all be done in love, let nothing be offered without a clear discovery of God's will from the word. And, when worldly circumstances and matters of fact are mentioned, let no passion, no envy, no vain-glory appear, nor any thing be done with a murmuring and disputing affection; but let the spirit of meekness and compassion govern

the whole carriage of the business, towards the restoring of those that are overtaken in a fault, rather than to shame them, or give others any occasion to insult over them. With these cautions, if the covenant doth bring any special engagement upon any man's conscience to take notice of state-matters, further than otherwise is incident to the ministerial function in an ordinary way, I suppose he may walk safely towards God, and without offence towards men, in matters of greatest scrupulosity.

But for a further clearing of scruples, which may be incident in this kind, I shall put a case, which, in evil times before the witnesses be killed, faithful ministers, in their warfare against the beast, may, and will be put unto. Let us then suppose, that it shall be made a crime worthy of death, to speak against any human constitutions, which authority shall set up in God's worship, altho' never so contrary to the express word of God, as in the bishops times some were made offenders for a word, and a pretence, taken from any small thing, which seemed to contradict authority, was enough to out a man from his place whom they called a popular preacher; not so much because the thing deserved outing, but because any occasion would serve to silence a powerful and faithful minister. In such a case, the question is, how far a conscientious minister is bound to appear in opposition to the sanctions of authority?

To this I shall answer, first, that, in such a case, where God's word is clearly opposite to the sanction of man in matters of his own worship, no man may with a good conscience be indifferent, connive, or seem to give way unto the establishment thereof willingly, for this would be a lukewarmness in God's service.

Secondly, No man can give an exact rule to another, what, on such occasions, as may fall out in reference to his flock, or against his adversaries, he should do, to quit himself, and not betray the truth, or the souls of his flock, unto the power of seduction, because circumstances are infinite; therefore men are to study general rules, and must in particulars be left unto the directions of God's spirit, who doth oftentimes call forth his servants to the battle upon smaller occasions, to fight as effectually as upon greater ones; and, in some men, the human imprudencies of their spiritual zeal may be as useful, in God's way of ordering the same, as the greatest prudence of others.

Thirdly, Altho' a faithful minister may neither connive nor shew any compliance with that which he knows to be clearly opposite to the will of God, but must be zealously affected and bent to stand out against it, in the sphere of his calling; yet he is not obliged, either at all times to set himself openly against it; or to appear in such a way of contradiction unto it, which may give the adversaries of the gospel some advantages, which they lie in wait to take against him, from the manner of his opposition or contradiction. Therefore it is lawful at all times, and in such cases very expedient, to use prudence, and by some spiritual stratagems to defeat the enemies of their advantages; which may be done sometimes by declining a direct and open contradiction of that which is the act of authority; and by using another way of opposing the same, which may be as effectual, and yet not liable to any exception.

For there are two ways of handling all matters of doctrine and practice, the one is positive, the other negative. The negative is to refute and contradict that which another doth assert or practise, condemning it as an error or a fault. The positive is to confirm and declare our own opinion as a truth; and, if this be done effectually, in a matter wherein our assertion doth by a clear consequence make void the error, or overthrow the practise of our adversary, it is no less profitable to bear witness to the truth, than a direct reproving of vice by an express condemnation thereof. By this method then, a faithful minister may prudently decline a snare laid to entrap him, if he should presume to be so stout, as to contradict that which is expressly established; and yet may zealously and effectually discharge his conscience, and preserve his flock from error, by a positive delivery of the truth, which, being entertained from God's word, will be liable to no exception, and yet destroy the error, and discover the fault of those that abuse their authority in all men's minds, and altho' the consequence be not expressly made, or the thing to be condemned once named.

Thus then, in matters of state, which authority may perhaps set on foot directly, in opposition to the kingdom of Christ, to make men guilty, that shall openly contradict it, zealous men may decline an open contradiction; and, by asserting strongly that matter of religion or worship, which is opposite in its nature to that matter of state, which authority would settle, quit their conscience fully; and, without naming the thing, which may not be professedly condemned, yet overthrow it in all men's minds. He that did assert strongly from the word of God, that the Lord's day is to be kept holy to God in spiritual duties, to enter into his rest, and mind him alone without any other thoughts; and that all professors are bound in conscience to intend this, as they desire to partake of his holiness, and that the neglect of this duty is a forfeiture of that holiness, which God in his covenant, by the ordinance of that day doth offer to us: He, I say, that did strongly make out this, to be a truth which cannot be controuled, did fully condemn and refute the Book of Sports on the Lord's day, which was set up by authority*, although he never did once name it; and so, in all other cases, something may be done of like nature, when adversaries lie in wait to find occasions of making men offenders, if they dare seem to be directly opposites to that which bears the name of authority. Also the *thesis* of a matter may be so fully handled, that the *hypothesis* need not to be once named, but all men will be able to make the application thereof by themselves. The defensive postures in fencing are easier and safer than the offensive; and he that is well skilled therein, that his adversary, by assaulting him, gain nothing else but weariness to himself, and the spending his strength in vain, will, in the end, have an easy conquest of him. And, to cure diseases there are two ways, either by the strengthening of the vital spirits in the natural constitution of every one, or by the purging out of evil humours; if nature can be so well fortified by cordials or fomentations, as to cast out that which is noxious by itself, it is far better and safer than to use purgations, which always bring some trouble, and

* Of King James I. and afterwards by King Charles I.

weaken the spirits for a time. Thus it is also with the best of reproofs and censures upon the minds of natural men. *Verbum sapienti satis est.* The Lord direct us wisely to walk in the light, and, by the power of it, to dispel the power of darkness, that we may shine without blame in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation. Let us pray for the spirit of promise, which will direct us in all truth, and the God of truth and peace be with you: In him I shall rest

Your assured friend in Christ,

J. D.

The vow which J. D hath made, and the covenant which he doth enter into with God, in reference to the national covenant of the kingdoms. Sent to London from the Hague, the 21st of December, 1643.

THE tie of my conscience to the profession of the gospel, whereby I am made a subject of Jesus Christ, the King of Kings, partaker of the privileges of the kingdom of heaven, and a free citizen of the spiritual Jerusalem, doth bind me to bear witness unto the truth, to join myself unto the professors thereof, and to subscribe my name unto the Lord, to serve under his banner, for the preservation and enlargement of his church, till he receive all the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession. Therefore, according to the nature of the ministerial function, wherein God hath set me, and the vows which I have formerly made, to express my faithfulness towards him, and my blameless dealing free from partiality towards all men, and chiefly towards those of the household of faith: I conceive myself obliged to answer the call which is given me, whereby I am required to contribute help towards the publick edification of the church, whereof I am a member.

I declare then in the presence of Almighty God, who shall judge the quick and the dead, at the day of his glorious appearing, that I have no euds in this undertaking, but these:

First, To satisfy my conscience in the duties which I owe to Christ in his kingdom among all, and chiefly evangelical Christians, and more particularly amongst those of my national church.

Secondly, To shew my fidelity unto my lawful sovereign, to the kingdoms, and to the peace of both in the profession of the gospel. And,

Thirdly, To endeavour the edification of all my evangelical brethren at home and abroad, who are distressed for want of mutual love, and peaceable affections, and distracted by reason of uncharitable jealousies, passionate injuries, and injurious mistakes. Therefore my aim, in this enterprise, is, and shall be, without all mixture of human respects, to procure, so far as God shall enable me in the way of my spiritual calling, a remedy to these evils; and, to this effect, having renewed my covenant with Almighty God, and the vows by which I am solemnly obliged to the rules of my profession; I have answerably to the same lifted up my hand to heaven, and sworn to the most high God, as followeth.

First, That in the ministry of the new covenant of everlasting life and peace, which God hath graciously erected with mankind in Jesus Christ, and, according to the analogy of Christian faith, clearly taught, and the rules of Christian duties, expressly commanded in holy scripture; and, by the undoubted principles of sincere dealing, manifestly revealed in the conscience of every one, and useful for edification, and avoiding of offence in the communion of saints: I shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour to preserve every where, but more especially in the church of Scotland, and to advance towards perfection, in the church of England and Ireland, the reformed religion, in the free and publick profession and practice of the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government thereof, according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches; and shall, by the means aforesaid, furthermore endeavour, as I shall find opportunity, to bring the churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity that may be evangelically obtained in religion, confession of faith, form of church-government, directory for worship and catechisings, that they, and their posterity, may as brethren, live in unity of the spirit, through the bond of peace, in faith, and love amongst themselves, and correspond amiably with foreign protestants, that the God of peace, love, and unity, may delight to dwell in the midst of them.

That, by the means aforesaid, I' shall in like manner, without worldly respects, and respecting of persons, endeavour the rooting out of all plants, which the heavenly Father hath not planted, and more particularly that I shall labour to extirpate all human usurped power over the church of God, and the consciences of men, tending to lead them in a lordly, tyrannical way to depend upon the will of man, by a blind credulity, and forced obedience in matters of faith, and religious practice, whether it be called now popery or prelacy, by the titles of archbishops, bishops, their courts, chancellors, commissaries, deans, and chapters, archdeacons, and such like ecclesiastical officers depending upon that hierarchy, or by what name soever it may or shall be called hereafter. And that, in like manner, I shall labour to extirpate all superstition, and all heresies condemned by the primitive general councils of the true ancient church; all schism, chiefly amongst evangelical protestants, who have cast off the papal yoke; all prophaneity, and whatsoever shall be found contrary to sound doctrine, and the power of godliness, lest I partake of other men's sins, and be in danger to receive of their plagues, that the Lord may be one, and his name one, not only in the three kingdoms, but in all the kingdoms of the earth.

Thirdly, That I shall by the means aforesaid, in the same sincerity, reality, and constancy, according to my calling, endeavour, with my estate and life, to preserve the rights and privileges of the parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdoms, which are fundamental and necessary for the conservation of the publick state; and that I shall also preserve and defend, with my estate and life, the King's Majesty's person and authority, to which I am bound by the oath of allegiance, as to the head of the publick state, in the preservation and defence of the true

religion and liberties of the kingdoms, that the world may bear witness with my conscience of my loyalty, and that I have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his Majesty's just power and greatness.

Fourthly, That I shall, with all faithfulness, endeavour the discovery of all such as have been, or shall be incendiaries, malignants, or evil instruments, by hindering the reformation of religion, dividing the King from his people, or one of the kingdoms from another, or making any factions or parties among the people, contrary to the tenor of the national league or covenant, that they may be drawn from the error of their ways, and brought to repentance, or otherwise to publick tryal, and receive condign punishment, as the degree of their offence shall require or deserve, or supreme judicatories of both kingdoms respectively, or others having power from them to that effect, shall judge convenient.

Fifthly, And whereas the happiness of a blessed peace and union between the kingdoms, denied in former times to our progenitors, is, by the good providence of God, granted to us, and hath been lately concluded and settled by both parliaments, I shall, according to my place and interest, endeavour that the kingdoms may remain conjoined in a firm peace and union to all posterity, and that justice may be done upon the wilful opposers thereof, in manner expressed in the precedent articles.

Sixthly, I shall, also, according to my place and calling, in the common cause of religion, liberty, and peace of the kingdoms, assist and defend all those that enter into the national league and covenant, in the maintaining and pursuing thereof, and shall not suffer myself, directly or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, persuasion, or terror, to be withdrawn and divided from this blessed union and conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or to give myself to a detestable indifferency, or neutrality, in this cause, which so much concerns the glory of God the good of the kingdoms, the honour of the King, and the welfare of all evangelical churches, which I shall labour to bring to a good correspondency, and brotherly affection with the churches of the kingdoms, and one with another; and so, all the days of my life, shall zealously and constantly continue, against all opposition, in this endeavour of publick edification, peace, and reconciliation of protestants, not leaving off to promote more particularly the national cause according to my power, against all lets and impediments whatsoever; and what I am not able to suppress or overcome by myself, I shall reveal and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed. All which I shall do as in the sight of God.

Sevently, And, lest, in the use of the forsaide means for the prosecuting of these endeavours, as well towards those of my nation, as towards other evangelical churches, I might either unadvisedly give, or others might colourably take offence and scandals at me, from whence inconveniencies in this work, as tares in a good field, may grow up, and choak the fruits thereof, for want of circumspection and care, to determine the way and manner of proceeding, by necessary rules tending to edification; therefore, I shall faithfully endeavour to shape my course in all things conformable to the life of Jesus Christ, the captain

of this warfare, whose footsteps I am bound to follow, and whose life is the rule of righteousness; and, to speak more particularly of this, I shall order the ways of my proceedings by these rules:

I. I shall walk in the light, doing all things openly; and being desirous to come to the light, and approve my ways to the conscience of every one, I shall reject all hidden things of darkness, and the tricks of worldly wisdom.

II. I shall not meddle out of my spiritual calling, with matters of state, nor suffer my ministerial gifts to serve politicians for worldly ends.

III. My way shall be wholly evangelical, that is to say, fitted to prepare the minds of men to entertain the glad tidings of the gospel. And, to this effect,

I shall seek out and propose the counsels and means of peace by the truth, bearing witness thereunto, as it shall be revealed to me, and exhorting and persuading indifferently all to receive it.

I shall not strive, nor cry, nor lift up my voice in the streets: that is to say, I shall not entertain the contentious custom of bitter railings, and confused disputings, by odious censuring and condemning of others, to lay open their faults; but rather study by loving admonitions to redress them.

I shall not break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax; that is to say, I shall bear with the weak and support the feeble, not pleasing myself, but, condescending to things of low degree, befitting the capacity of the simple and ignorant, I will labour to heal the breaches of their spirit, and carry their burthens, till God send forth judgment unto victory.

If I be wronged, I shall not intend revenge, or requite evil for evil, or give way to evil surmises, or make sinister reports of my evil will known, but rather shall cover their faults, so far as may be without detriment to the publick cause, and the necessary clearing of my own innocency.

In a word, I shall do nothing to another, which I would not have done, in the like case, unto myself; and what I would have done by others to myself, I shall first do it unto them.

Lastly, I shall always be ready to go without the camp, to bear the reproach, and partake of the cross of Jesus Christ.

And, because, not only the kingdoms, but all protestant churches and evangelical states, and every one that liveth therein, are guilty of many sins and provocations against God and his son Jesus Christ, as is too manifest by the present distresses and dangers, the fruits thereof befalling to all, as well at home as abroad; therefore, I propose and declare before God my unfeigned desire to be humbled for my sins, and for the sins of my brethren in these kingdoms, and in the churches at home and abroad; especially that we have not all valued, as we ought, the inestimable benefit of the gospel; that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof, and that we have not endeavoured to receive Christ in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our lives, which are the cause of other sins and transgressions so much abounding among all. And my true and unfeigned purpose, desire, and endeavour, is for my-

self, and for all others under my power and charge, both in publick and in private, in all duties I owe to God and man, to amend my life and theirs, and to go before others in the example of a real reformation, that the Lord may turn away his wrath and heavy indignation from all his people, and establish the churches and the kingdoms in truth and peace.

And this covenant and vow I make in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same unblameably, as I shall answer at the great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed. Most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen me and all those that enter into the like resolution by his Holy Spirit for this end, and to bless all our desires and proceedings of this kind, with such success as may be deliverance and safety to his people, and encouragement to other Christian churches, groaning under, or in danger of the yoke of Antichristian tyranny, to join in the same or like association and covenant, to the glory of God, the enlargement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the peace and tranquillity of all Christian kingdoms and commonwealths. *Amen.*

I have said and subscribe myself,

J. D.

THE CORRUPTION

AND

DEFICIENCY OF THE LAWS OF ENGLAND,

SOBERLY DISCOVERED:

OR, LIBERTY WORKING UP TO ITS JUST HEIGHT.

Wherein is set down,

- I. The standard, or measure of all just laws; which is threefold.
 1. Their original and rise, viz. The free choice, or election of the people.
 2. Their rule and square, viz. Principle; of justice, righteousness, and truth.
 3. Their use and end, viz. The liberty and safety of the people.
- II. The laws of England weighed in this three-fold balance, and found too light.
 1. In their original, force, power, conquest, or constraint.
 2. In their rule, corrupt will, or principles of unrighteousness and wrong.
 3. In their end, the grievance, trouble, and bondage of the people.

III. The necessity of the reformation of the laws of England ; together with the excellency (and yet difficulty) of this work.

IV. The corrupt interest of lawyers in this commonwealth.

BY JOHN WARR.

Leges Angliæ plenæ sunt tricarum, ambiguitatum, sibique contrariæ; fuerunt siquidem excogitatæ, atque sancitæ à Normannia, quibus nulla gens magis litigiosa, atque in controversiis machinandi ac proferendis fallacior reperiri potest.

PHILIP. HONOR.

Englished thus: The laws of England are full of tricks, doubts, and contrary to themselves; for they were invented and established by the Normans, which were of all nations the most quarrelsome, and most fallacious in contriving of controversies and suits.

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CHAP I.

Containing the just measure of all good laws, in their original, rule, and end: together with a reflexion (by way of Antithesis) upon unjust laws.

THOSE laws, which do carry any thing of freedom in their bowels, do owe their original to the people's choice: and have been wrested from the rulers and princes of the world, by importunity of intreaty, or by force of arms; for the great men of the world, being invested with the power thereof, cannot be imagined to eclipse themselves or their own pomp, unless by the violent interposition of the people's spirits, who are most sensible of their own burdens, and most forward in seeking relief. So that exorbitancy and injustice, on the part of rulers, was the rise of laws in behalf of the people; which consideration will afford us this general maxim, That the pure and genuine intent of laws was to bridle princes. not the people, and to keep rulers within the bounds of just and righteous government; from whence, as from a fountain, the rivulet of subjection and obedience, on the people's part, did reciprocally flow forth, partly to gratify, and partly to encourage good and virtuous governors: so that laws have but a secondary reflexion on the people, glancing only at them, but looking with a full eye upon princes. Agreeable to this is that of Cicero, Lib. ii. de Offic. whose words are to this effect: "*Cùm premeretur olim multitudo ab iis qui majores opes habebant, statim confugiebat ad unum aliquem virtute præstantem, &c. Jus enim semper quæsitum est æquabile, neq; enim aliter esset jus; id si ab uno bono & justo viro consequerentur, eo erant contenti; cùm id minus contingeret, leges sunt inventæ.*" &c. (i. e.) When the people did obtain redress of their wrongs from some just and good man, they were satisfied therewith; but, when they failed thereof, they found out laws, &c, &c.

From which assertion we may deduce a two-fold corollary.

1. That at the foundation of governments justice was in men, before it came to be in laws; for the only rule of government, to good princes, was their own will; and people were content to pay them their subjection upon the security of their bare words: so here in England, in the days of King Alfred, the administration of justice was immediately in the crown, and required the personal attendance of the King.

2. But this course did soon bankrupt the world, and drive men to a necessity of taking bond from their princes, and setting limits to their power; hence it came to pass, that justice was transmitted from men to laws, that both prince and people might read their duties, offences, and punishments before them.

And yet such hath been the interest of princes in the world, that the sting of the law hath been plucked out as to them, and the weight of it fallen upon the people; which hath been more grievous, because out of its place, the element of the law being beneficial, not cumbersome within its own sphere. Hence it is, that laws (like swords) come to be used against those which made them; and, being put upon the rack of self and worldly interest, are forced to speak what they never meant, and to accuse their best friends, the people. Thus the law becomes any thing or nothing, at the courtesy of great men, and is bended by them like a twig: Yea, how easy is it for such men to break those customs which will not bow, and to erect traditions, of a more complying temper, to the wills of those, whose end they serve. So that law comes to be lost in will and lust; yea, lust by the adoption of greatness is enacted law. Hence it comes to pass, that laws upon laws do bridle the people; and run counter to their end; yea, the farther we go, the more out of the way. This is the original of unjust laws.

No marvel that freedom hath no voice here, for an usurper reigns; and freedom is proscribed like an exile, living only in the understandings of some few men, and not daring to appear upon the theatre of the world.

But yet the minds of men are the great wheels of things; thence come changes and alterations in the world; teeming freedom exerts and puts forth itself; the unjust world would suppress its appearance, many fall in this conflict, but freedom will at last prevail, and give law to all things.

So that here is the proper fountain of good and righteous laws, a spirit of understanding big with freedom, and having a single respect to people's rights; judgment goes before to create a capacity, and freedom follows after to fill it up. And thus law comes to be the bank of freedom, which is not said to straighten, but to conduct the stream. A people, thus watered, are in a thriving posture; and the rather, because the foundation is well laid, and the law reduced to its original state, which is the protection of the poor against the mighty.

If it were possible for a people to chuse such laws as were prejudicial to themselves, this were to forsake their own interest: Here (you will say) is free choice; but bring such laws to the rule, and there is a failure there; the rule of righteous laws are clear and righteous principles, according to the several appearances of truth within us, for reason is the

measure of all just laws, though the size differ according to the various apprehensions of people, or tempers of commonwealths; so that choice, abstracted or considered in itself, is no undeniable badge of a just law, but as it is mixed with other ingredients, as, on the contrary, force and power are not therefore condemned, because they have hands to strike, but because they have no eyes to see, i. e. they are not usually balanced with understanding and right reason in making or executing of laws, the sword having commonly more of the beast in it, than the man.

Otherwise, to be imposed upon by the art of truth, is to be caught by a warrantable guile, and to be kept by force from injuring one's self or others, hath more of courtesy than severeness therein; and in this case reason will cast the scales, and ascribe more to a seeing force, than a blind choice; the righteousness or unrighteousness of things depends not upon the circumstances of our embracing or rejecting them, but upon the true nature of the things themselves: Let righteousness and truth be given out to the nation, we shall not much quarrel at the manner of conveyance, whether this way, or that way, by the beast, or by the man, by the vine, or by the bramble.

There is a two-fold rule of corrupt laws.

1. Principles of self and worldly greatness in the rulers of the world, who, standing upon the mountain of force and power, see nothing but their own land round about them, and make it their design to subdue laws as well as persons, and inforce both to do homage to their wills.

2. Obsequiousness, flattery, or compliancy of spirit to the foresaid principles, is the womb of all degenerate laws in inferior ministers. It is hard, indeed, not to swim with the stream, and some men had rather give up their right than contend, especially upon apparent disadvantage; it is true, these things are temptations to men, and it is one thing to be deflowred, but to give up one's self to uncleanness is another. It is better to be ravished of our freedoms, corrupt times have a force upon us, than to give them up as a free-will offering to the lusts of great men, especially if we ourselves have a share with them in the same design.

Easiness of spirit is a wanton frame, and so far from resisting, that it courts an assault; yea, such persons are prodigal of other men's stock, and give that away for the bare asking, which will cost much labour to regain. Obsequious and servile spirits are the worst guardians of the people's rights.

Upon the advantage of such spirits, the interest of rulers hath been brightened in the world, and strictly guarded by severest laws; and truly, when the door of an interest flies open at a knock, no marvel that princes enter in.

And, being once admitted into the bosom of the law, their first work is to secure themselves; and here what servility and flattery are not able to effect, that force and power shall: And in order hereto a guard of laws is impressed to serve and defend prerogative power, and to secure against the assaults of freedom; so that, in this case, freedom is not able to stir without a load of prejudice in the minds of men, and (as a ground thereof) a visible guilt, as to the letter of the law.

But how can such laws be good, which swerve from their end? The end of just laws is the safety and freedom of a people.

As for safety, just laws are bucklers of defence; when the mouth of violence is muzzled by a law, the innocent feed and sleep securely; when the wolfish nature is destroyed, there shall then be no need of law; as long as that is in being, the curb of the law keeps it in restraint, that the great may not oppress or injure the small.

As for safety, laws are the manacles of princes, and the guards of private men. So far as laws advance the people's freedoms, so far are they just, for, as the power of the prince is the measure of unrighteous laws, so just laws are weighed in the balance of freedom. Where the first of these take place, the people are wholly slaves; where the second, they are wholly free; but most commonwealths are in a middle posture, as having their laws grounded partly upon the interest of the prince, and partly upon the account of the people, yet so as that prerogative hath the greatest influence, and is the chiefest ingredient in the mixture of law, as in the laws of England will by and by appear.

CHAP. II.

The failures of our English laws, in their original, rule, and end.

THE influence of force and power, in the sanction of our English laws, appears by this, that several alterations have been made of our laws, either in whole, or in part, upon every conquest. And, if at any time the conqueror hath continued any of the ancient laws, it hath been only to please and ingratiate himself into the people, for so generous thieves give back some part of their money to travellers, to abate their zeal in pursuit.

Upon this ground I conceive it is, why Fortescue and some others do affirm*, that, notwithstanding the several conquests of this realm, yet the same laws have still continued. His words are these: 'Regnum Angliæ primò per Britones inhabitatum est, deinde per Romanos regulatum, iterumq; per Britones, ac deinde per Saxones possessum, qui nomen ejus ex Britannia in Angliam mutaverunt; extunc per Danos idem regnum parumper dominatum est, et iterum per Saxones, sed finaliter per Normanos, quorum propago regnum illud obtinet in præsentì, et in omnibus nationum harum et regum earum temporibus, regnum illud, iisdem quibus jam regitur consuetudinibus continuè regulatum est.' That is, 'The kingdom of England was first inhabited by the Britons, afterwards it was governed by the Romans; and again by the Britons, and after that by the Saxons; who changed its name from Britain to England. In process of time the Danes ruled here, and again the Saxons, and last of all the Normans, whose posterity governeth the kingdom at this day; and, in all the times of these several nations, and of their Kings, this realm was still ruled by the same customs, that it is now governed withal' Thus far Fortescue in the reign of Henry the Sixth. Which opinion of his can be no otherwise explained, besides what we have already said, than that succeeding conquerors did still retain those parts of former laws, which made for their own interest; otherwise it is altogether inconsistent with reason, that the Saxons, who banished the inhabitants, and changed the name, should yet retain the laws of this island. Conquerors seldom submit to the law of the conquered (where conquests are

* Fortesc. Cap. 17.

compleat, as the Saxons was) but, on the contrary, especially when they bare such a mortal feud to their persons: Which argument (if it were alone) were sufficient to demonstrate, that the Britons and their laws were banished together; and to discover the weakness of the contrary opinion, unless you take the comment, together with the text, and make that explanation of it which we have done.

And yet this is no honour at all to the laws of England, that they are such pure servants to corrupt interests, that they can keep their places under contrary masters; just and equal laws will rather endure perpetual imprisonment, or undergo the severest death than take up arms on the other side (yea princes cannot trust such laws). An hoary head (in a law) is no crown, unless it be found in the way of righteousness. Prov. xvi. 31.

By this it appears, that the notion of fundamental law is no such idol as men make it: For, what, I pray you, is fundamental law, but such customs as are of the eldest date, and longest continuance? Now, freedom being the proper rule of custom, it is more fit that unjust customs should be reduced, that they may continue no longer, than that they should keep up their arms, because they have continued so long. The more fundamental a law is, the more difficult, not the less necessary, to be reformed. But to return.

Upon every conquest, our very laws have been found transgressors, and, without any judicial process, have undergone the penalty of abrogation; not but that our laws needed to be reformed, but the only reason in the conqueror was his own will, without respect to the people's rights; and, in this case, the riders are changed, but the burdens continued; for mere force is a most partial thing, and ought never to pass in a jury upon the freedoms of the people; and yet thus it hath been in our English nation, as, by examining the original of it, may appear; and, in bringing down its pedigree to this present time, we shall easily perceive, that the British laws were altered by the Romans, the Roman law by the Saxons, the Saxon law by the Danes, the Danish law by King Edward the Confessor, King Edward's laws by William the Conqueror, which, being somewhat moderated and altered by succeeding Kings, is the present common law in force amongst us, as will by and by appear.

The history of this nation is transmitted down to us upon reasonable credit for seventeen-hundred years last past; but whence the Britons drew their original (who inhabited this island before the Roman conquest) is as uncertainly related by historians, as what their laws and constitutions were; and truly, after so long a series of times, it is better to be silent, than to bear false witness.

But certain it is, that the Britons were under some kind of government, both martial and civil, when the Romans entered this island, as having perhaps borrowed some laws from the Greeks, the refiners of human spirits, and the ancientest inventers of laws. And this may seem more than conjectural, if the opinion of some may take place, that the Phœnicians, or Greeks, first sailed into Britain, and mingled customs and languages together. For it cannot be denied, that the etymon of many British words seems to be Greekish, as (if it were material to this purpose) might be clearly shewn.

But it is sufficient for us to know, that whatever the laws of the Britons were, upon the conquest of Cæsar, they were reviewed and altered, and the Roman law substituted in its room, by Veapasian, Papinian, and others, who were in person here; yea divers of the British nobles were educated at Rome, on purpose to inure them to their laws.

The civil law, remaining in Scotland, is said to have been planted there by the Romans, who conquered a part thereof. And this nation was likewise subject to the same law, till the subversion of this state by the Saxons, who made so barbarous a conquest of the nation, and so razed out the foundation of former laws, that there are less footsteps of the civil law in this, than in France, Spain, or any other province under the Roman power.

So that, whilst the Saxons ruled here, they were governed by their own laws, which differed much from the British law; some of these Saxon laws were afterwards digested into form, and are yet extant in their original tongue, and translated into Latin.

The next alteration of our English laws was by the Danes, who repealed and nulled the Saxon law, and established their own in its stead. Hence it is, that the laws of England do bear great affinity with the customs of Denmark, in descents of inheritance, tryals of right, and several other ways. It is probable, that originally inheritances were divided in this kingdom amongst all the sons by gavel kind, which custom seems to have been instituted by Cæsar, both amongst us and the Germans (and as yet remains in Kent, not wrested from them by the conqueror); but the Danes, being ambitious to conform us to the pattern of their own country, did doubtless alter this custom, and allot the inheritance to the eldest son; for that was the course in Denmark, as Walsingham reports in his *Upodigma Neustrie: Pater cunctos filios adultos à se pellebat, præter unum quem heredem sui jure relinquebat*, i. e. 'Fathers did expose and put forth all their sons, besides one whom they made heir of their estates.'

So likewise, in tryals of right by twelve men, our customs agree with the Danish, and in many other particulars, which were introduced by the Danes, disused at their expulsion, and revived again by William the Conqueror.

For, after the massacre of the Danes in this island, King Edward the Confessor did again alter their laws; and, though he extracted many particulars out of the Danish laws, yet he grafted them upon a new stock, and compiled a body of laws, since known by his name, under the protection of which the people then lived; so that here was another alteration of our English laws.

And, as the Danish law was altered by King Edward, so were King Edward's laws disused by the conqueror, and some of the Danish customs again revived. And, to clear this, we must consider, that the Danes and Normans were both of a stock, and situated in Denmark, but called Normans from their northern situation, from whence they sailed into France, and settled their customs in that part of it, which they called Normandy by their own name, and from thence into Britain. And here comes the great alteration of our English laws by William the Conqueror, who selecting some passages out of the Saxon, and some

out of the Danish law, and, in both, having greatest respect to his own interest, made by the rule of his government; but his own will was an exception to this rule, as often as he pleased.

For the alterations, which the conqueror brought in, were very great; as the clothing his laws with the Norman tongue, the appointment of terms at Westminster; whereas, before, the people had justice in their own countries, there being several courts in every county; and the supreme court in the county was called *generale placitum*, for the determining of those controversies which the parish, or the hundred court, could not decide; the ordaining of sheriffs and other court officers in every county, to keep people in subjection to the crown, and, upon any attempt for redress of injustice, life and land was forfeited to the King*. Thus were the possessions of the inhabitants distributed amongst his followers, yet still upon their good behaviour, for they must hold it of the crown, and, in case of disobedience, the propriety did revert: And, in order hereunto, certain rents yearly were to be paid to the King. Thus, as the lords and rulers held of the King, so did inferior persons hold of the lords: Hence come landlord, tenant, holds, tenures, &c. which are slavish ties and badges upon men, grounded originally on conquest and power.

Yea, the laws of the conqueror were so burthensome to the people, that succeeding Kings were forced to abate their price, and to give back some freedom to the people. Hence it came to pass, that Henry the First did mitigate the laws of his father the conqueror, and restored those of King Edward; hence likewise came the confirmation of *Magna Charta* and *Charta Forestæ*, by which latter, the power of the King was abridged, in enlarging of forests; whereas the conqueror is said to have demolished a vast number of buildings, to erect and enlarge new forests by Salisbury, which must needs be a grievance to the people. These freedoms were granted to the people, not out of any love to them, but extorted from princes by fury of war, or incessantness of address; and, in this case, princes, making a virtue of necessity, have given away that, which was none of their own, and they could not well keep, in hope to regain it at other times; so that what of freedom we have, by the law, is the price of much hazard and blood. Grant, that the people seem to have had a shadow of freedom in chusing of laws, as consenting to them by their representatives, or proxies, both before and since the conquest (for even the Saxon Kings held their conventions or parliaments) yet whosoever shall consider how arbitrary such meetings were, and how much at the devotion of the prince, both to summon and dissolve, and withal how the spirit of freedom was observed and kept under, and likewise how most of the members of such assemblies were lords, dukes, earls, pensioners to the prince, and the royal interest, will easily conclude, that there hath been a failure in our English laws, as to matter of election or free choice, there having been always a rod held over the chusers, and a negative voice, with a power of dissolution, having always nipped freedom in the bud.

The rule of our English laws is as faulty as the rise. The rule of our laws may be referred to a two-fold interest.

* Hollinshed.

1. The interest of the King, which was the great bias and rule of the law; and other interests but tributary to this: Hence it is, all our laws run in the name of the King, and are carried on in an orb above the sphere of the people; hence is that saying of Philip Honor. *Cum à Gulielmo conquistore, quod perinde est ac tyrannus, institutæ sint leges Angliæ, admirandum non est quodd solam principis utilitatem respiciant, subditorum verò bonum desertum esse videatur.* i. e. 'Since the laws of England were instituted by William the Conqueror, or tyrant, it is no wonder that they respect only the prerogative of the King, and neglect the freedom of the people.'

2. The interest of the people, which, like a worm, when trod upon, did turn again, and in smaller iota's and diminutive parcels, wound in itself into the texture of the law, yet so as that the royal interest was above it, and did frequently suppress it at its pleasure. The freedom, which we have by the law, owns its original to this interest of the people, which, as it was formerly little known to the world, so was it misrepresented by princes, and loaden with reproaches, to make it odious; yea, liberty, the result thereof, was obtained but by parcels, so that we have rather a taste than a draught of freedom.

If then the rise and rule of our law be so much out of tune, no marvel that we have no good musick in the end, but bondage, instead of freedom, and instead of safety, danger. For the law of England is so full of uncertainty, nicety, ambiguity, and delay, that the poor people are insnared, not remedied thereby: The formality of our English laws is that to an oppressed man, which school-divinity is to a wounded spirit; when the conscience of a sinner is pierced with remorse, it is not the nicety of the casuist, which is able to heal it, but the solid experience of the grounded Christian.

It is so with the law, when the poor and oppressed want right, they meet with law; which, as it is managed, is their greatest wrong; so that law itself becomes a sin, and an experimented grievance in this nation. Who knows not that the web of the law intangles the small flies, and dismisseth the great; so that a mite of equity is worth a whole bundle of law: Yea, many times the very law is the badge of our oppression, its proper intent being to enslave the people; so that the inhabitants of this nation are lost in the law, such and so many are the references, orders, and appeals, that it were better for us to sit down by the loss, than to seek for relief; for law is a chargeable physician, and he, which hath a great family to maintain, may well take large fees.

For the officers, or menial servants of the law, are so numerous, that the price of right is too high for a poor man; yea, many of them, procuring their places by sinister ways, must make themselves savers by the vails of their office; yea, it were well if they rested here, and did not raise the market of their fees, for they, that buy at a great rate, must needs sell dear.

But the poor and oppressed pay for all. Hence it is, that such men grow rich upon the ruins of others, and whilst law and lawyer are advanced, equity and truth are under hatches, and the people subject to a legal tyranny, which of all bondages is one of the greatest.

Mere force is its own argument, and hath nothing to plead for it, but itself; but, when oppression comes under the notion of law, it is most insnaring; for sober-minded men will part with some right to keep the rest, and are willing to bear to the utmost; but perpetual burdens will break their backs (as the strongest jade tires at last) especially when there is no hope of relief.

CHAP. III.

Of the necessity of the Reformation of the laws of England, together with the excellency (and yet difficulty) of the work.

THE more general a good is, the more divine and God-like. Grant, that prerogative laws are good for princes, and advantageous to their interest, yet the shrubs are more in number than the cedars in the forest of the world; and laws of freedom, in behalf of the people, are more useful, because directed to a more general good. Communities are rather to be respected, than the private interests of men.

Good patriots study the people, as favourites do the prince; and it is altogether impossible, that the people should be free, without a reformation of the law, the source and root of freedom. An equal and speedy distribution of right ought to be the abstract and epitome of all laws; and if so,

Why are there so many delays, turnings, and windings in the laws of England?

Why is our law a meander of intricacies, where a man must have contrary winds before he can arrive at his desired port?

Why are so many men destroyed for want of a formality and punctilio in law? And who would not blush, to behold seemingly grave and learned sages to prefer a letter, syllable, or word, before the weight and merit of a cause?

Why do the issue of most law-suits depend upon precedents, rather than the rule, especially the rule of reason?

Why are men's lives forfeited by the law upon light and trivial grounds?

Why do some laws exceed the offence? And, on the contrary, other offences are of greater demerit than the penalty of the law?

Why is the law still kept in an unknown tongue*, and the nicety of it rather countenanced than corrected?

Why are not courts rejourned into every county, that the people may have right at their own doors, and such tedious journeyings † may be prevented?

Why, under pretence of equity, and a court of conscience, are our wrongs doubled and trebled upon us, the Court of Chancery being as extortionous ‡, or more than any other court? Yea, it is a considerable *quære*, whether the Court of Chancery were not first erected merely to elude the letter of the law, which, though defective, yet had some certainty; and, under a pretence of conscience,

* This has been reformed in this our gracious King's reign.

† To Westminster from all parts of England.

‡ In these days; but it has undergone many and good reforms since this author's time.

THE CORRUPTION OF THE

to remove all causes upon mere will, swayed by corrupt interest. In former ages have taken advantage to mix some wheat with the tares, and to insert some mites of freedom into our laws; why should we neglect, upon greater advantages, to double our files, and to produce the perfect image of freedom; which is therefore neglected, because not known.

Now, therefore, can we answer the call of God, or the cries of the people, who search for freedom as for an hid treasure? Yea, how can we be registered, even in the catalogue of heathens, who made less show, but had more substance, and were excellent justiciaries, as to the people's rights: so Solon, Lycurgus, &c. Such moral appearances in the minds of men are of sufficient energy for the ordering of commonwealths, and it were to be wished, that those states, which are called Christian, were but as just as heathens in their laws, and such strict promoters of common right.

Pure religion is to visit the fatherless, and the most glorious fast to abstain from strife, and smiting with the fist of wickedness; in a word, to relieve the oppressed, will be a just guerdon and reward for our pains and travel in the reformation of the law.

And yet this work is very hard, there being so many concerned therein, and most being busied to advance and secure themselves, than to mend the publick; yea, our physicians being themselves parties, and engaged in their interests, which freedom condemns, will hardly be brought to serve themselves, unless upon much conviction and assistance from above; and yet this we must hope for, that the reformation of the times may begin in the breasts of our reformers, for such men are likely to be the hopeful fire of freedom, who have the image of it engraven in their own minds.

CHAP. IV.

Of the corrupt interest of lawyers in the commonwealth of England.

Of interests, some are grounded upon weakness, and some upon corruption. The most lawful interests are sown in weakness, and have their rise and growth there: apostle, prophet, evangelist, were only for the perfecting of the saints; physicians are of the like interest to the body; marriage is but an help and comfort in a dead state, for in the resurrection they neither marry, nor are given in marriage.

Interests grounded upon weakness may be used, as long as our weakness doth continue, and no longer; for the whole need not a physician, &c. such interests are good, profitable, useful; and in their own nature self-denying, i. e. contented to sit down, and give way to that strength and glory to which they serve.

But the interest of lawyers, in this common-wealth, seems to be grounded rather upon corruption, than weakness, as, by surveying is original, may appear. The rise and potency of lawyers, in this kingdom, may be ascribed to a two-fold ground.

1. The unknownness of the law, being in a strange tongue; whereas, when the law was in a known language, as before the Conquest, a man might be his own advocate. But the hiddenness of the law, together

with the fallacies and doubts thereof, render us in a posture unable to extricate ourselves; but we must have recourse to the shrine of the lawyer, whose oracle is in such request, because it pretends to resolve doubts.

2. The quarterly terms at Westminster; whereas, when justice was administered in every county, this interest could not possibly grow to an height, but every man could mind and attend his own cause, without such journeying to and fro, and such chargeable attendance, as at Westminster-Hall. For, first, in the country, the law was plain, and controversies decided by neighbours of the Hundred, who could be soon informed in the state of the matter, and were very ready to administer justice, as making it their own case: but, as for common lawyers, they carry only the idea of right and wrong in their heads, and are so far from being touched with the sense of those wrongs, against which they seem to argue, that they go on merely in a formality of words. I speak not this out of emulation, or envy, against any man's person, but singly in behalf of the people, against the corruption of the interest itself.

After the Conquest, when courts and terms were established at Westminster (for how could the darling of prerogative thrive, unless always under the King's eye?) Men were not at leisure to take so much pains for their own, but sometimes they themselves, sometimes their friends, in their behalf, came up in Term-time to London, to plead their causes, and to procure justice. As yet, the interest of lawyers was a puny thing, for one friend would undertake to plead his cause for another; and he which was more versed in the tricks of the law, than his neighbour, would undertake a journey to London, at the request of those who had business to do, perhaps his charges borne on the way, and some small reward for his pains; there were then no stately mansions for lawyers, but such agents (whether parents, friends, or neighbours to the parties) lodged like other travellers, in inns, as country attorneys still do. Hence it came to pass, that, when the interest of lawyers came to be advanced in Edward the Third's time, their mansions or colleges were still called Inns, but, with an addition of honour, Inns of Court.

The proceed of lawyers interest is as followeth: when such agents, as we have spoken of, who were employed by their neighbours at London, and by this means coming to be versed in the niceties of the law, found it sweeter than the plough, and controversies beginning to increase, they took up their quarters here, till such time as they were formed into an orderly body, and distinct interest, as now they are.

There is ground enough to conclude, even from the letter of the statute law, that men's parents, friends, or neighbours did plead for them, without the help of any other lawyer^a.

After the lawyers were formed into a society, and had hired the Temple of the Knights Templers, for the place of their abode, their interest was not presently advanced, but by the contentions of the people, after

^a anno 28. Edward. *Primi* 1300, cap. 11. But it may not be understood hereby, that any persons shall be prohibited to have counsel of pleaders, or of learned men in the law, for his son, or of his parents and next friends.

a long series of time; so that the interest of lawyers (in the height which now it is) comes from the same root, as pride and idleness, i. e. from fulness of bread, or prosperity, the mother of strife. Not but that just and equal administrators of laws are very necessary in a commonwealth; but when once that, which was at first but a title, comes to be framed into an interest, then it sets up itself, and grows great upon the ruins of others, and through the corruption of the people.

I take this to be a main difference between lawful and corrupt interests. Just interests are the servants of all, and are of an humble spirit, as being content to have their light put out by the brightness of that glory which they are supplemental to. But corrupt interests fear a change, and use all wiles to establish themselves, that so their fall may be great, and their ruin as chargeable to the world as it can; for such interests care for none but themselves.

The readiest way to inform such men is, to do it within us, for most men have the common barretor within them, i. e. principles of contention and wrong; and thus the law becomes the engine of strife, the instrument of lust, the mother of debates, and lawyers are as make-bates, between a man and his neighbour.

When Sir Walter Raleigh was upon his tryal, the lawyers, that were of council for the King, were very violent against him; whereupon Sir Walter, turning to the jury, used these words: 'Gentlemen, I pray you consider, that these men, meaning the lawyers, do usually defend very bad causes every day in the courts, against men of their own profession, as able as themselves, what then will they not do against me,' &c.? Which speech of his may be too truly affirmed of many lawyers, who are any thing or nothing for gain, and, measuring causes by their own interest, care not how long right be deferred, and suits prolonged. There was a suit in Gloucestershire, between two families, which lasted since the reign of Edward the Fourth, till of late composed*, which certainly must be ascribed either to the ambiguity of the law, or the subtlety of the lawyers, neither of which are any great honour to the English nation.

How much better were it to spend the acuteness of the mind in the real and substantial ways of good, and benefit to ourselves and others? And not to unbowel ourselves into a mere web, a frothy and contentious way of law, which the oppressed man stands in no more need of, than the tender-hearted Christian of Thomas Aquinas to resolve him in his doubts.

If there be such a thing as right in the world, let us have it *sine fuco*. Why is it delayed, or denied, or varnished over with guilty words? Why comes it not forth in its own dress? Why doth it not put off law, and put on reason, the mother of all just laws? Why is it not ashamed of its long and mercenary train? Why can we not ask it, and receive it ourselves, but must have it handed to us by others? In a word, why may not a man plead his own case? Or his friends and acquaintance, as formerly, plead for him?

Memorable is that passage in King James's speech in the Star-Cham-

* Camden Brit. in Gloucest.

ber, "In countries, says he, where the formality of law hath no place, as in Denmark, all their state is governed only by a written law, there is no advocate or proctor admitted to plead, only the parties themselves plead their own cause, and then a man stands up, and pleads the law, and there is an end; for the very law-book itself is their only judge: happy were all kingdoms, if they could be so; but here curious wits, various conceits, different actions, and variety of examples breed questions in law." Thus far he. And if this kingdom doth resemble Denmark, in so many other customs, why may it not be assimilated to it in this also? especially considering, that the world travels with freedom, and some real compensation is desired by the people, for all their sufferings, losses, and blood.

To clear the channel of the law, is an honourable work for a senate, who should be preservers of the people's rights.



A

NARRATIVE

Of the Proceedings of a

GREAT COUNCIL OF JEWS,

Assembled in the Plain of Ageda in Hungary, about thirty leagues distant from Buda, to examine the Scriptures concerning Christ, on the twelfth of October, 1650. By Samuel Brest, there present.

Also, a relation of some other observations in his travels beyond the seas; and particularly in Egypt, Macedonia, Dalmatia, Calabria, Apuleia, Sicily, Assyria, Sclavonia, France, Spain, and Portugal; the Islands of Cyprus, Candia, Patmos, and Delphos; the cities of Carthage, Corinth, Troy, Constantinople, Venice, Naples, Leghorn, Florence, Milan, Rome, Bottonia, Mantua, Genoa, Paris, &c.

[From a Quarto edition, printed at London, for Richard Moon, at the Seven Stars in St. Paul's Church-Yard, near the great North-Door, 1655.]



The contents of this pamphlet are very extraordinary; some of them of the last importance to the Christian commonweal, and all of them matter of great curiosity, and scarce to be met with in any other English historian. As for the author, take his own account of himself as follows:

There was nothing I more desired, than to travel beyond the seas, and to know the various manners of the nations of the world; for which, through God's providence, I had an opportunity offered me, to my great satisfaction, being chirurgeon of an English ship in the Streights, where, for a cure that I did for Orlando de Spina, of Gallipoli, an eminent man in those parts, I was by him preferred to be captain of a ship of Malta, which was set out by the said Orlando, and committed to my command against the Turks in the Arches, in assistance to the Venetians; in the which service I spent about nine months, till the tempestuous season of the year forced me to return into harbour again. And, in this time of employment, I made five fights at sea, and two at land; being chosen, by lot, to invade the Turk's country, with a certain company of soldiers collected out of our fleet, to do some execution upon the borders of the enemy, and to get some provision for our relief; in all which fights, tho' very perilous, God gave me the victory. The whole time I spent beyond the seas, before and after this employment, was almost four years, not staying long in any one place. But first I travelled to all the sea-towns of note for merchandising, to know the trade of the places, and the conveniency of their harbours, that I might be able to do some profitable service in merchant affairs. Also I travelled into several countries, and the most eminent cities and towns therein, viz. Egypt, Macedonia, Dalmatia, Calabria, Apuleia, Sicily, Assyria, Sclavonia, and some parts of Spain and Portugal; to the Islands of Cyprus, Candia, Patmos, and Delphos; to Carthage, Corinth, Troy, and Constantinople; besides many other towns and places; but my longest abode was in Italy, and therein at Venice, Naples, Leghorn, Florence, Milan, Rome, Bottonia, Mantua, Genoa, &c. And at last, looking homeward, I came into France, taking a brief view of many eminent places in that kingdom. And at Paris I found many of my countrymen, of which, though some be persons of great quality, yet, God knoweth, they are in a low condition. And, now, I shall give a brief account of some of my observations, during the time of my abode beyond the seas.

AT Paris, our countrymen live peaceably, and enjoy our religion without disturbance. There is a place allowed them, with necessary accommodations for the exercise of religion. Dr. Steward did often preach to them; and, for their form of worship, it is the same that was formerly in England, with the Book of Common-Prayer, and the rites therein used; and also they continue the innovations that were practised by many of our clergy; as, bowing at the name of Jesus towards the altar, &c. which, I know, giveth offence to the good French protestants, who, to me, did often condemn those innovations for Romish superstitions; doubtless, they would do our church and our religion more credit there, if they did use less ceremony. As for the Frnch papists, truly they are more civil to them than was expected; for the opinion of the world, where I have been, is but mean of that

nation. And, I believe, the Italians may be their Cousin-Germans, for both of them are false and faithless enough. And this consideration (God having taken away Orlando, my noble friend, who did always much countenance me) did lessen my affection to continue in that service; for my soldiers were all Italians, except a few Greeks; and I never saw much cause to be confident in their fidelity; but it was chiefly for fear of him, that they were so tractable to me.

As for religion, in most parts where I have been, it is generally the same with the church of Rome; but for the Grecians, for amongst them I was, they are neither pure protestants nor pure papists; I mean, neither only protestants, nor only papists, but their religion is a mixture of both; for, though they hold some fundamentals with us, yet they follow many of the Romish superstitions; and, according to my observation, they follow more the religion of Rome, than the protestant church, and they are much poisoned with heresies.

But of all nations, according to my observation, none are more zealous for the religion of Rome than the Spaniards; who, I think, for this, are more Romanists than the Romans themselves; for, with them, there is an Inquisition, and in Rome I never heard of the same dangerous snare*; there I had as much freedom, as I could desire; and more courtesy than I could expect, without any temptation to apostatise from my religion.

As for the occurrences that I met with, they were many, but these four were the most considerable:

First, The strangling of the great Turk, by the Janizaries, at which time there was great fear and trouble in Constantinople; but they enthroned his son, and this brought about a peaceable settlement; and with him there were cut off divers basha's heads; all whose heads, excepting the great Turk's, lay three days in chargers before the palace-gate for the publick view of the people, which, they say, is the custom for the noblemen that are beheaded.

The next thing is, the flowing of the river Nile in Egypt, the manner whereof is this: it beginneth to flow about the fifteenth of June, every year; the people know the time thereof, and expect it accordingly; and this is after their harvest, which is usually ended about the beginning of May. As for rain, there seldom falleth any in Egypt. During the time the river is up, all the country appeareth like islands. Their towns are seated upon hills, and their lower grounds are all covered with waters; and the inhabitants use small boats to pass from place to place about their affairs; and, because they know the yearly flowing of the Nile, they provide for the safety of their cattle till the waters are wasted away again. There are also certain pillars of stone set up, with divers marks upon them, by which they know the degrees of the rising, and the usual height that the waters do ascend unto; and, if the waters do ascend above the highest mark, they do expect some strange consequence thereof. But the greatest wonder, is the present cessation of the plague upon the flowing of this river. There died some thousands of the plague, the day before the flowing of the Nile,

* There is an Inquisition at Rome, but not so rigorous.

in Grand Cairo, as they certified me; and, a day or two after, not one person died of the infection. This I observed, that the land is full of unhealthy fogs, mists, and vapours, which cause the disease; and it seems the waters of the Nile do purify it again.

In the kingdom of Grand Cairo, alias, Pharaoh's town, is the city, and it is greater than any elsewhere I did behold; but Memphis is the nearer city; and being there, I went to see the land of Goshen, where the Israelites did inhabit: this is a very pleasant and fruitful land for pasture, such as I have no where seen the like. At this time also, I had an opportunity to see the Red-Sea, and the place where (as they informed me) the Israelites did enter their journey through the same; there also they shewed me the great mountains that inclosed them, when Pharaoh pursued them with his great army; and the hills where the two armies lay in sight of one another; and there I found the true reason why it is called the Red-Sea; not because the water is red naturally, but because the sand is red; and this was clear to me, by plain demonstration; for I put some of the water into a clean vessel, and there I did see it had the same colour of other water; but the sand is reddish, and giveth the same colour to the water.

I shall omit many other things concerning Egypt; only this, it is under the Turk's dominion, and the natives are his miserable slaves.

Thirdly, you may expect some news from Rome, where also I was, and did behold their great solemnity, it being then the *Anno Sancto*, as they there call it, that is, the Year of Jubilee.

There I beheld the Pope in his glory, and how in great state he was carried about the city; the streets were thronged with the people; and, as he passed by, they made them even to ring with acclamations and rejoicings; he was carried by some eminent men, having a rich canopy over him. He made his crosses in the air with his fingers, and threw his blessings amongst them. And truly these delusions were so prevailing with the people, that (poor souls) they seemed to me to rejoice, as if Christ himself had been come to Rome, and brought them down the felicities of heaven.

At one time I beheld, in Naples (perhaps it will seem strange, but it is true) about eight-thousand pilgrims going to Rome, for their absolution; all which the Vice-Roy of Naples maintained three days at his own charge; and, on the fourth day, they did present themselves before him at his palace in pilgrim weeds, viz. with leaden pictures of saints in their hats, and leather collars about their necks, which fell down half way over their arms, and their staves in their hands; and thus they marched away from Naples, in the posture of an army towards Rome, and so farewell Rome: *Vidi, satis est videre*; i. e. I have seen it, and that is enough.

I omit to recite many other occurrences, which by conference I shall willingly communicate to my friends; they being too many to commit to writing: only now

The fourth remarkable thing remaineth to present you withal; and that is,

The proceedings of a great council of Jews assembled in the plain of

Ageda in Hungary, about thirty leagues distant from Buda, to examine the Scriptures concerning Christ, on the twelfth of October, 1650.

It hath been much desired by many honest Christians, that this narrative of the Jews council should be published, which I did intend only to communicate to private friends. The chief argument, by which they have persuaded me to do it, is, because they do conceive it to be a preparative, and hopeful sign of the Jews conversion; and, that it will be glad tidings to the church of Christ; and therefore I have yielded to satisfy their desires therein. And thus it was:

At the place above-named, there assembled about three-hundred rabbies, called together from several parts of the world, to examine the Scriptures concerning Christ; and, it seems, this place was thought more convenient for this council, in regard that part of the country was not much inhabited, because of the continual wars between the Turk and the King of Hungary; where (as I was informed) they had fought two bloody battles; yet both princes, notwithstanding their own differences, did give leave to the Jews to hold their council there. And, for their accommodation there, the Jews did make divers tents for their repose, and had plenty of provisions brought them from other parts of the country, during the time of their sitting there. There was also one large tent, built only for the council to sit in, made almost four-square; the north and the south parts of it being not altogether so large as the east and west parts thereof. It had but one door, and that opened to the east; and, in the middle thereof, stood a little table and a stool for the propounder to sit on, with his face towards the door of the tent. The said propounder was of the tribe of Levi, and was named Zacharias; and within this tent round about were placed divers forms for the consulters to sit on. It was also inclosed with a rail, that stood a distance from it, to prevent entrance to all strangers, and to all such Jews as could not prove themselves to be Jews by record, or could not dispute in the Hebrew tongue, which many had forgotten, who lived in such countries, where they are not allowed their synagogues, as in France, Spain, and those parts of Italy that do belong to the King of Spain, viz. the kingdom of Naples, with the province of Calabria, and Apuleia; the kingdom of Sicily, and Sardinia; in which places, if a Jew be found, and he deny the popish religion, he is in danger to be condemned, and executed for it; and yet profit and benefit allureth them to dwell in those countries, notwithstanding their fears and dangers; and themselves are willing to forget and so neglect to teach their children their native* language, rather than they will lose their opportunity of profit; and some have burnt the ancient records of their tribe and family, that they might not be discovered by searching, or otherwise. And for this defect, that they could not prove their tribe or family, they were not permitted to come within the rail, but were commanded to remain without, with the strangers that remained there, to see the issue of their proceeding, which were above three thousand persons; and they were for the most part of them Germans, Almain, Dal-

* Original.

matians, and Hungarians, with some Greeks, but few Italians, and not one Englishman that I could hear of besides myself.

I was informed, that the King of Hungary, not favouring the reformed religion, did give no encouragement to any protestant churches, to send any divines thither; but he did allow, that some assistants should be sent from Rome: and their coming thither did prove a great unhappiness to this hopeful council.

When the assembly did first meet, they spent some time in their mutual salutations; and, as their manner is, they kissed one the other's cheek, expressing much joy for their happy meeting; and all things being provided for their accommodation, they considered of the Jews that were to be admitted members of this council; and they were only allowed to be members, which could by record prove themselves to be native Jews*; and, for defect herein, I observed above three-hundred refused; though, doubtless, they were true-born Jews, yet they could not by record prove themselves so to be; and for this they were not admitted to be members of the council; but they did abide without the rail with the strangers that were there; and the number of them, that were accepted to be members, was about three-hundred Jews. And this was all that was done the first day.

On the second day, the assembly being full, the propounder stood up, and made his speech concerning the end of their meeting: and, 'this, said he, is to examine the Scriptures, concerning Christ †, whether he be already come, or whether we are yet to expect his coming.' In examining this question, they searched the Old Testament with great care and labour, to be resolved of the truth thereof, having many Bibles with them there for this end. And about this point there were great disputes amongst them. The major part were of opinion, that he was not come; and some inclined to think, that he was come; being moved thereunto by their great judgment ‡, that hath continued now this 1600 years upon them.

I remember very well, one of the council, in his conference with me, seemed to be very apprehensive of the great and long desolation of their nation, ever since their destruction by the Roman emperors; and he imputed this their affliction to their impenitency, and comparing their present judgment with their other judgments they had suffered before. The same he ingenuously confessed, that he did conceive it was for some great wickedness; and that their nation was guilty of the blood of the prophets sent from God to their nation, and the many massacres that have been committed by the several sects and factions amongst them. 'For, said he, we are no idolaters, neither do I think we were guilty of idolatry since our captivity in Babylon; and therefore, said he, I do impute this our calamity and present judgment to the forenamed causes.' And this is the sum of that which was disputed amongst them, the second day of their meeting; and so they adjourned till the next morning, which was the third day of their meeting.

* Jews by original record or genealogy.

† The Messiah.

‡ Of having neither church nor nation, and their being a vagabond-people ever since the destruction of their city and temple.

When, being assembled together again, the point that was chiefly agitated was concerning the manner of Christ's coming. And, this, some said, shall be like a mighty prince, in the full power and authority of a King, yea, in greater power than ever any King had; and that he will deliver their nation out of the power of their enemies, and their temple shall be rebuilt again; and that the nations shall be of their religion, and worship God after their manner. For they hold, that the Messiah will not alter their religion, whensoever he cometh. And further, concerning his parentage, they did agree in this, that he should be 'born of a virgin,' according to the prediction of the prophets; and they agreed also, that he may be born of such a virgin, which might be of mean note amongst their nation, as was the Virgin Mary. And here some of them seemed to me to incline to think, that Christ was come. Therefore when they came together again the next day, the propounder demanded of them, if Christ was already come? And who they thought he was? And to this demand they gave this answer, that they thought Elijah was he, if he was come, because he came with great power, which he declared by slaying the priests of Baal; and, for the fulfilling of the scripture, he was oppressed by Ahab and Jezabel; yet they esteemed him to be more than a mortal man, because he so strangely ascended up into heaven. And, because this opinion was contradicted by others, the day following, they took into examination the same question, to answer them that said Elijah was not the Messiah. They of the contrary opinion did urge the care and love of Elijah, for the good of their nation, in that he left them Elisha, his disciple to teach and instruct the people; which they expect to be the care of their Messiah. These were the chief arguments they had to defend their opinion; and, the same day towards night, it came into question amongst them, 'What he then was that said he was the son of God, and was crucified by their ancestors.' And because this was the great question amongst them, they deferred the further consideration thereof, until the next day.

When, meeting again, the pharisees (for some of this sect were amongst them, that were always the enemies of Christ) they first began to answer this last night's question; and these by no means would yield that he was the Christ; and these reasons they gave for their opinion.

First, because (said they) he came into the world like an ordinary and inferior man, not with his scepter, nor royal power; wherewith they affirmed the coming of Christ should be glorious. 2. They pleaded against him the meanness of his birth, in that his father was a carpenter; and this they said was a dishonour, that Christ should not be capable of. 3. They accused him to be an enemy to Moses's law, in suffering his disciples, and in doing works himself, that were prohibited on the sabbath-day; for they believed that the Messiah will punctually and exactly keep the law of Moses; and where the gospel doth testify of Christ, that he did fulfil the law, they reject the testimony thereof, because they do not own the gospel. But I observed, these reasons of the Pharisees did not satisfy all that heard them, but there still remained some doubt in some of them concerning Christ; for there stood up one rabbi called Abraham, and objected against the Pharisees the miracles that Christ wrought, whilst he was upon earth, as his raising of the dead

to life again, his making the lame to walk, the blind to see, and the dumb to speak. And the same Abraham demanded of the Pharisees, by what power he did those miracles? The answer, the Pharisees returned to him was to this purpose: They said he was an impostor, and a magician; and blasphemously traduced him of doing all his miracles by magick: Thus, said they, he first caused them to be blind, to be dumb, to be lame; and then, by taking away his magical charm, they were restored to their former condition. Nevertheless, this answer gave little satisfaction to the said Abraham; but thus he replied, that he could not charm those that were born in that condition, as blind, &c. and born also before Christ himself was born; as it appeareth some of them were: This seemed to him an absurd paradox; and truly the pressing of this argument did almost put them to a nonplus, till at last they had this evasion (though weak and vile) they were, said they, by other magicians convinced to be so in their mothers wombs; and that, although himself was not then born when they were born with these evils, yet he being a great dissembler, and more cunning than any magician before him, power was given him, by the devil, to remove those charms, which others had placed; and there was one Pharisee named Zebedee, that of the Pharisees there did most opprobriously revile him, and vehemently urge these things against him; but I conceive he did it not to the well-liking of many there that heard him, even members of the council. And as the Pharisees that day played their parts against him; so did the Sadducees also endeavour (for some of that sect were also of the council) to render Christ vile and odious to the rest of the Jews that were assembled there. I observed it was with them as it was once with Herod and Pilate; though they two could not agree betwixt themselves at other times, yet they could agree together to crucify Christ; for the Pharisees and Sadducees, though they be much divided in opinion among themselves, yet did they at this time too much agree to disgrace and dishonour Christ with their lyes, calumnies, and blasphemies; for the Sadducees, as well as Pharisees, did in other things accuse him for a grand impostor, and for a broacher of corrupt doctrine; in that in his gospel he teacheth the resurrection from the dead, which they there denied to be true doctrine; but it is no new thing to see factions dissenting, to agree in some evil design against others, as I found it by experience; being at Rome in the year 1650, which was the year of their jubilee, there was a great strife between the Jesuits and the Friars of the order of St. Dominick, both which were against the protestants; and although their differences have been, by the care and vigilance of the Pope, so smothered, that the world hath not taken much notice thereof, yet this fire broke out into a flame greater than ever it was before (as they certified me there) both by publick disputings, and by bitter writings one against another, opening the vices and errors of one another's faction, thus seeking to disgrace one the other; which caused the Pope to threaten to excommunicate the authors of all such black and libellous books, that did tend to the dishonour of his clergy and religion, to make them infamous to the world. But this by the way.

We are now come to the seventh and last day of their council; and, on this day, this was the main quere amongst them: 'If Christ be come,

then what rules and orders hath he left his church to walk by?' This was a great question among them; and because they did not believe the New Testament, nor would be guided by it, they demanded some other instruction to direct and guide them, in this point; thereupon six of the Roman clergy (who of purpose were sent from Rome by the Pope, to assist in this council) were called in, viz. two Jesuits, two friars of the order of St. Augustine, and two of the order of St. Francis; and these, being admitted into the council, began to open unto them the rules and doctrine of the holy church of Rome (as they call it) which church they magnified to them, for the holy catholick church of Christ, and their doctrine to be the infallible doctrine of Christ, and their rules to be the rules, which the apostles left to the church for ever to be observed, and that the Pope is the holy vicar of Christ, and the successor of St. Peter; and for instance, in some particulars, they affirmed the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, the religious observation of their holy days, the invocation of saints, praying to the Virgin Mary, and her commanding power in heaven over her son; the holy use of the cross and images, with the rest of their idolatrous and superstitious worship; all which they commended to the assembly of the Jews, for the doctrine and rules of the apostles. But, as soon as the assembly had heard these things from them, they were generally and exceedingly troubled thereat, and fell into high clamours against them, and their religion, crying out, 'No Christ, no woman-god, no intercession of saints, no worshipping of images, no praying to the Virgin Mary, &c.' Truly their trouble hereat was so great, that it troubled me to see their impatience; they rent their cloaths, and cast dust upon their heads, and cried out aloud, blasphemy, blasphemy! and, upon this, the council broke up: Yet they assembled again the eighth day; and all that was done then, was to agree upon another meeting of their nation three years after, which was concluded upon before their final dissolution.

I do believe there were many Jews there, that would have been persuaded to own the Lord Jesus; and this I assure you for a truth, and it is for the honour of our religion, and the encouragement of our divines, one eminent Rabbi there did deliver his opinion, in conference with me, that he at first feared that those, which were sent from Rome, would cause an unhappy period to their council; and professed to me, that he much desired the presence of some Protestant divines, and especially of our English divines, of whom he had a better opinion than of any other divines in the world; for he did believe that we have a great love to their nation; and this reason he gave me for their good opinion of our divines, because he understood that they did ordinarily pray for the conversion of their nation; which he did acknowledge to be a great token of our love towards them; and, especially he commended the ministers of London, for excellent preachers, and for their charity towards their nation; of whom he had heard a great fame. As for the church of Rome, they account it an idolatrous church, and therefore will not own their religion; and, by conversing with the Jews, I found that they generally think that there is no other Christian religion in the world, but that of the church of Rome; and for Rome's idolatry, they take offence at all Christian religion; by which it appeared that Rome is the greatest enemy of the Jews conversion.

For the place of the Jews next meeting, it is probable it will be in Syria, in which country I also was, and did there converse with the sect of the Rechabites, living in Syria; they still observe their old customs and rules; they neither sow, nor plant, nor build houses; but live in tents, and often remove from one place to another, with their whole family, bag and baggage. And seeing I find that, by the Italian tongue, I can converse with the Jews, or any other nation, in all the parts of the world, where I have been; if God give me an opportunity, I shall willingly attend their next council. The good Lord prosper it: Amen.

A

RELATION OF THE EXECUTION

OF

JAMES GRAHAM, LATE MARQUIS OF MONTROSS,

At Edinburgh, on Tuesday, the 21st of May Instant.

With his last speech, carriage, and most remarkable passages upon the scaffold. Also a letter out of Ireland, more fully, concerning the taking of Clonmell.

London, printed by E. Griffin, in the Old Bailey, May twenty-eighth, 1650.
Quarto, containing eight pages.

SIR,

NOTWITHSTANDING the great hubbub this place is in at the beheading of Montross, I shall give you a short account of affairs; On Saturday last Montross came hither; he was received at the end of the town by the bailiffs, and set upon a high cart, and tied with a rope, his hat being before taken off by the hangman, and the hangman riding upon a filly-horse, with his bonnet on, and a staff in his hand, and thus he was brought up, through the town; several persons have been with him, and upon discourse he told them, that, for personal offences, he hath deserved all this, but justifies his cause; he caused a new suit to be made for himself, and came yesterday into the parliament-house, with a scarlet rocket, and a suit of pure cloth, all laid with rich lace, a beaver, and a rich hatband, and scarlet silk-stockings. The chancellor made a large speech to him, discovering how much formerly he was for the covenant, and how he hath since broke it. He desired to know, whether he might be free to answer; and being admit-

ted, he told them his cause was good and that, he had not only a commission, but particular orders for what he had done, from his Majesty, which he was engaged to be a servant to, and they also had professed to comply with; and upon that account, however they dealt with him, yet he would own them to be a true parliament. And he further told them, that if they would take away his life, the world knew he regarded it not; it was a debt that must once be paid, and that he was willing, and did much rejoice, that he must go the same way his Majesty did, and it was the joy of his heart, not only to do but to suffer for him. His sentence was, to be hanged upon a gallows thirty feet high, three hours at Edinburgh-cross; to have his head struck off, and hanged upon Edinburgh tollbooth, and his arms and legs to be hanged up in other publick towns in the kingdom, as Glasgow, &c. and his body to be buried at the common burying-place, in case his excommunication from the kirk were taken off, or else to be buried where those are buried that are hanged. All the time while sentence was giving, and also when he was executed, he seemed no way to be altered, or his spirit moved, but his speech was full of composure, and his carriage as sweet as ever I saw a man in all my days. When they bid him kneel, he told them he would, he was willing to observe any posture, that might manifest his obedience, especially to them who were so near in conjunction with his Majesty. It is absolutely believed, that he hath gained more by his death, than ever he did in his life. The Scots are listing forces here, and have named their officers; they intend to make up their army twenty-five thousand, they are very much startled at the marching of the English army northwards. By the next you shall hear further from

Your servant,

H. P.

Edinburgh, May 21, 1760.

Further by another express from Edinburgh of the same date, thus :

YESTERDAY, after the sentence was pronounced against Montross, he said, That tho' he was cried out against for a bloody man, yet he never committed any act of cruelty, nor took away any man's life, but in an hostile way.

After he came to the place of execution, having been so used as before, he spoke to this purpose to one that was near him: You see what compliments they put upon me, but I never took more delight in all my life, in riding in a coach, than I did in this manner of passage to this place.

His late declaration and the history of his transactions were tied at his back, when he was hanged, but he would have nothing to do with the ministers who stood at the end of the scaffold.

The places where Montross's quarters are to be set up, are, Glasgow, Sterling, Perth, alias St. Johnson, and Aberdeen.

A letter out of Ireland, more fully concerning the taking of Clonmell.

SIR,

THIS day we entered Clonmell, which was quit by the enemy the last night, about nine of the clock, after a tedious storm, which continued four hours. Our men kept close to the breach, which they had entered, all the time, save only one accidental retreat in the storm. We lost in this service Colonel Cullum, and some other officers, with divers private soldiers, and some others wounded. The enemy had made many great preparations within, by a traverse or cross-work, and so beat our men off, as they entered; but afterwards many of them stole out of the town, and left some few, with the inhabitants, to make conditions. In the morning, our forces pursued and killed all they could light upon. The town is a very strong place, and I hope the getting of this garison will be of good use for the gaining of others, which depended upon this. The English under Ormond and Inchequeen are come in, and as many as desired had passes to go beyond seas, and the rest have leave to live quiet at home. I am

Clonmell, May
10, 1650.

Your affectionate friend,
W. A.

For Argyle's Last Will, See VOL. II. p. 508.

*The Process and Pleadings**

IN THE COURT OF SPAIN,

UPON

THE DEATH OF ANTHONY ASCHAM,

Resident for the parliament of England, and of John Baptista Riva, his interpreter, who were killed by John Guillim, William Spark, Valentine Progers, Jo. Halsal, William Arnet, and Henry Progers. Who are all in close prison in Madrid for the said fact, except Henry Progers, who fled to the Venetian ambassador's house, and so escaped. Sent from Madrid from a person of quality and made English.

London, printed by William Dugard, printer to the council of state, 1651.
Quarto, containing twenty pages.

To his truly honoured friend Sir W. Butler, Knight.

SIR,

YOUR desires to me are equivalent to decrees, which I shall be always ready to put in execution, as far as I can, and never be found

* This is the 38th Number in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the Harleian Library.

in contempt: therefore, according to the contents of your last, I have sent you by this post the plea, concerning the English gentlemen that are under close restraint here in the King's Prison, for the death of Mr. Ascham, and your old acquaintance John Baptista Riva, his interpreter. We cannot conjecture yet what will become of them, for the church stands firm for them; and you well know what predominant influences the church hath in this clime.

The Lord Cottington and Sir Edward Hyde are parted, and departed from this court, the first to Valladolid, the other for Flanders; and since that time Mr. Fisher appears abroad in some lustre with his coach and lacquies, whereas, before, he kept retired and invisible. Catalonia is like to be reduced this summer, for there are mighty forces both by land and sea, to that purpose.

No more but that I am always

Madrid, this 8th of May,

Your ready and most real servant,

1651.

R. W.

The whole discourse analysed.

This plea doth partition itself into sundry particulars.

FIRST, The manner and circumstance of the fact is punctually related, with the names and distinction of the actors.

Secondly, The atrocity and heinousness of the fact is aggravated, being committed upon the person of a publick minister of state, viz. the ambassador or resident of England, whose person should merit more particular respect in the catholick court, in regard of the precedencies which were always given in England to the Spanish ambassadors.

Thirdly, Divers testimonies are produced how that the persons and office of ambassadors are sacred, &c.

Fourthly, It is proved that this publick minister had the safe conduct, and consequently the protection of his Catholick Majesty; which makes the offence reflect upon him, and is punishable by his own royal justice, and so the delinquents are not to be transmitted elsewhere for their punishment.

Fifthly, A parallel betwixt the death of Ascham and Abner, who had King David's safe conduct.

Sixthly, The holy church cannot protect so proditorious a murder, as it is proved by forcible reasons.

Seventhly, Important arguments for a sudden execution of justice upon the offenders, &c.

The learned and elaborate charge of Dr. Don Augustin de Hierro, Knight of the Order of Calatrava, and Fiscal, or attorney-general, of the council-royal, against Don John Guillim, William Spark, Valentine Progers, William Arnet, and Jo. Halsal, Englishmen, who say they are, and are detained in the Royal Prison of this court, for

having traiterously, and upon prepense malice, killed Anthony Ascham, ambassador, or resident of the parliament of England, who came and entered into this court by virtue of the safe conduct of the King our Lord, whom God preserve, and John Baptista Riva, a Genoese, being interpreter, or secretary of the said resident. The immunity of the church, which they pretend, cannot avail them, nor ought the plea of that immunity hinder the imposing and executing upon the said delinquents the punishment that corresponds with their offences, as will be proved in the ensuing charge.

The accusation or charge.

1. **T**HE disaster and death of Charles Stuart, King of England, happened the ninth of February, N. S. 1649. The parliament of England, governing the kingdom afterwards, sent an embassy to the King our Lord, whom God guard; and Besoldus saith, that *qui à belli Ducibus Gubernatoribusque provinciarum liberis mittuntur, sunt Legati*. Those, who from generals of war and free governors of provinces are sent any where, are ambassadors. I could produce a cloud of authors upon this argument, who treat of, and declare, who have capacity to send ambassadors, as the Earl of Fontanar, Don Christoval de Benevente, in his Advertencies to Princes and Ambassadors; the Dissertations of Don John Vella, Conrado Bruno, and the Count Don Juan Antonio de Vera in his book, called, The Ambassador, do amply aver: but whether the person sent lately by the parliament of England was an ambassador or agent, or resident, as the delinquents term him, or most properly an orator, for he came to deprecate peace; whether he was all these, or any of these, it matters not; for any of these may stile him a legate, and make him deserve that title; and the same security is due to all those titles, as Hotoman upon his theme resolves the point, with others.

2. This ambassador, or resident, sent by the parliament of England, called Anthony Ascham, arrived at the Bay of Calais the twenty-fourth of March, 1650, with an interpreter, and three or four servants; and not meeting there with the Duke of Medina Celi, he went in quest of him to the port Santa Maria, and did let him know that he was sent by the parliament of England, in quality of an agent to the court of Spain. The duke lodged him thereupon, and according to his accustomed attention and prudence, by which he always operates, sent to tell him, that in regard it was the first negotiation between Spain and the parliament of England, he could do nothing in the business, till he had first given an account to his Majesty, as he did the twenty-seventh of March, which came to Madrid, the second of April, and the same day the King referred the letter to his council; and the fourth of April, there was order sent to the duke, to treat him as resident, and see him conveyed to the court accordingly in safety. The twentieth of April, the resident, having been sick before, began his journey, being accompanied by the camp-master, Don Diego de Moreda, and the second of June they came to Toledo, whence the camp-master sent

to the court for further order; and order was sent that he should pursue his journey, and that the resident might take a house where he pleased in the court. So they arrived at court the Sunday following at five in the evening; and Monday next after, at six in the morning, John Baptista Riva, who was, he said, a Genoese, went in company of a servant of the camp-master, to Hieronymo de la Torre, knight of the order of Calatrava, and secretary of state; the said Riva complained of the illness and incommody of the lodging: but when the resident and his train lighted at their lodging, it was observed there passed by some that went muffled, thereabouts, who were over-heard to say, *essus son*, these are they; so Riva delivered the secretary two letters from the parliament, saying that the resident came under the protection of his Majesty. The secretary answered, that they had done ill, not to have given account at the very point of their arrival; the resident being the person he was, and being in the catholick court he was secure enough; and he would advertise his Majesty of his coming accordingly, which he did within a quarter of an hour, charging the camp-master's servant, that he should tell his master, to continue in assisting the resident; but an hour and half before this, the fore-mentioned delinquents did proditoriously, out of prepense malice, murder the said resident, and the said John Baptista Riva, according to the circumstances, which shall follow. Now these men well knew, that the said resident came to treat of peace, and they spontaneously confess they knew it, and that he entered into this court, by order from his Majesty, and with his passport; so that, besides the treachery and malice of the act, they committed capital treason, *crimen læsæ Majestatis in primo capite*. Now for every offence there is a corresponding punishment, and for this certainly there is undoubted pain of death; therefore they have made themselves unworthy of the immunity of the church, which they pretend.

The business briefly doth branch itself into two articles:

First, The grievousness of the delict is to be considered, and the quality of the person upon whom it was committed, one, who had a safe conduct from his Majesty; therefore it is *crimen læsæ Majestatis*, and perpetrated in a most treacherous and malicious manner.

Secondly, The church cannot give them sanctuary, therefore the pain of death is to be executed upon them according to the merit of the delict; in declaring the circumstances whereof I will leave all curiosities, and go to the pinch of the business, without extending myself to any extravagant impertinencies.

The First Article.

Touching the necessity and utility of ambassies, Besoldus prosecutes this subject at large, together with Pascasio Benavente and Marsellaert, in their learned dissertations. But Pedro Ærodo may be said to comprehend all, in these elegant words: '*Legatorum munus perquam utile est, ac perquam necessarium, nam sine iis nec fœdera iniri possunt, nec belli leges pacisq; dici; inimicitie essent immortales, insidiæ, cedes, ubiq; essent.*' The function of ambassadors is both profitable and necessary, for without them there can no confederation be made, nor any

laws of peace or war enacted; enmities would prove immortal, slaughters, perfidiousness; deceit and combustions would be every where. This so necessary and profitable a ministry was justly called, *Sento officio y ministerio de los Angelos*, the holy office and ministry of angels; and the persons of those, who did exercise it, were held for sacred in all men's opinions. *Sancti habebantur legati, eorumq; corpora sancta sunt.* Ambassadors were held holy, and their bodies holy, saith Marcus Varro; therefore they should be protected from all human injury. Cicero also saith, '*Sentio jus legatorum tum hominum prazidio munimur esse, tum etiam divino jure vallatum.*' I hold the right of ambassadors not only to be fortified with human safe-guard, but intrenched with divine safety; I could muster up a whole squadron of authors, both modern and ancient, upon this subject, especially King Don Alonso, who makes this security of ambassadors his own, and defends it so; and this security is due to any ambassador, though he be suspected and false, as friar Don Goncalvez resolves the point in his History of China; and Besoldus also; and although the said ambassador come to deceive and collude, or that he be an enemy, yet having a safe conduct, he is to be protected, as the Count de la Roca saith, '*Fides enim, quando promittitur, etiam hosti servanda est contra quem bellum geritur, quanto magis amico pro quo pugnatur.*' And if this security be due to an ambassador, that comes to intrap, yea, to an enemy, how much more to an English friend, in whose country the ambassador of Spain hath, and always hath had the pre-eminence of the ambassadors of all other princes?

Now that England should still be our friend, *in statu quo nunc*, and that peace should be continued with her, proceeds from right; for peace is not only made with the King, but with the kingdom also, and, although the first expires, the last remains. For, put the case that a peace be concluded with a country, without including the King, either by carelessness, or some other accident, yet the peace stands good; for so the Polish magistrates answered the Emperor Ferdinand the Second, *Faltando el Rey, se conservan con el reyno*: the King failing, yet peace is to be conserved with the kingdom. So Bodin holds, and urgeth a pregnant example to this purpose, *Lib. de Repub. cap. iv. fol. 63.* where he alledgeth the answer which the ambassadors of France made to Edward the Fourth, King of England, desiring aid from France against some rising subjects of his, by virtue of the league between them; which answer was, 'That the King of France could not help him: for confederations betwixt France and England were made betwixt the Kings and Kingdoms; so that, though King Edward was dispossessed thereof, yet the league and amity remained still with the kingdom, and with the king regnant.' Just so the peace betwixt the Kings and kingdoms of Spain with England, though Charles Stuart, the King, be wanting, yet it may be kept intire with the kingdom: and his Majesty himself insinuates so much unto us, continuing still his ambassador in England; for, when a peace is established betwixt Kings and kingdom, people, persons, and vassals, though the King fail, and the kingdom receive a differing form of government, yet the peace holds good still, because it aimed principally at the people and persons of both nations;

and upon these terms the peace was renewed betwixt Spain and England, 1630, as the French Mercury relates.

Therefore these delinquents failed much in the foresaid reverence due to the sacred persons of ambassadors, as also to the safe conduct of his Majesty, by laying violent hands upon his person, much more by murdering him. Joab did treacherously kill Abner, who came with David's safe conduct; whereupon David said to all the people that were with him, *Scindite vestimenta vestra*, and, reinforcing his sorrow, *Levavit David vocem suam, et flevit super tumulum Abner, flevit autem et omnis populus*; David lifted up his voice upon Abner's tomb, and wept, yea, all the people wept: moreover, David erected a tomb for Abner, being so treacherously killed, notwithstanding that he had his safe conduct, and the privilege of an ambassador. The Romans raised statues to ambassadors that were killed. *Interfecto legato statua debetur*, saith Besoldus, through all his Chapter of Legations.

Moreover, it is observable that David did not only weep, but he burst out into this deprecation, *Si ante occasum solis gustavero panem vel aliud quidquam*; If, before the setting of the sun, I taste bread, or any thing else, &c. Now, this sorrow of David did much please the people, *Populus audit, et placuerunt eis cuncta quæ fecerat rex in conspectu totius populi*; as the holy text hath it, The people heard, and were pleased with every thing that David did.

Here it is to be observed, that the people were to be satisfied herein; nor was a bare sorrow only satisfactory for this murder, but a due punishment must expiate the offence, which, in regard that David himself could not do it in his life-time, he left it in his charge to his son Solomon, in these words: *Facies ergo juxta sapientiam tuam, et effudit sanguinem belli in pace*; Thou shalt do according to thy own wisdom (exaggerating his speech with a reason) and he shed the blood of war in peace.

So his Catholick Majesty (God guard him) hath done out of a resentment he had of this treacherous murder, by recommending the business to so great a tribunal: *Facietis ergo juxta sapientiam vestram, effudit sanguinem belli in pace*; proceed according to your own high prudence, by punishing these delinquents, who have murdered the ambassador of the parliament of England, though he came with a royal passport, and so shed the blood of war in time of peace.

Moreover, this death of the ambassador, by hindering the procedure of his embassy, is no single offence, but it reflects upon many. As the great civilian saith, *Si quis autem legationem impedit, non unus, sed multorum profectum avertit, et sicut multis nocet, à multis arguendus est*. Whosoever shall impede an embassy, he averts not the benefit of one man, but of many, and, as he hurts many, so he is to be argued by many. Now, many are the accusers of these men; many are interested in the business, and most especially the King, our liege lord, who gave a passport, and allowed of the ambassador, and of the parliament of England that sent him: therefore these men had need to have many lives to lose, for to satisfy so many whom the business concerns; so Magalotti hath it, that the punishment is to be double, in regard of the persons concerned.

But hence may result a question, whether the punishment be to be inflicted where the delict was perpetrated, and the King's security violated, or whether the murderers be to be sent to the ambassador's master, whom he represents? This was an old difference betwixt Romulus and Tacius, who reigned together, as Pedro Ærodo relates the business briefly, yet elegantly. Romulus was of opinion, that the offenders were to be sent to the ambassador's master. But this transferring of the offender to the party offended was always held to proceed rather from urbanity than justice, as it appears in the case of Rincon and Fregoso, which is amply related in the annals of the Emperor Charles the Fifth; it was a loud clamorous business, whereof all the corners of Christendom do ring, and every chronicler hath it, therefore I will not molest you with so trite a thing.

Tacius was of a differing sentiment; for he would have the delict to be punished where it was perpetrated; and the reasons, which the doctors give, are, because the lord of the territory is the more interested, and obliged to punish the offence on the party, to vindicate his own wrongs, as in this cause his Catholick Majesty is most injured, because his royal passport is violated; and why should he have recourse to a foreign power to desire justice, when, by the law of nations, he may avenge the affront at home by his own? And, it is most fitting, they should receive punishment in this court rather than any where else, where, in regard of the greatness of our King, there are continually so many ambassadors residing, whose security may be much confirmed by the exemplary punishment of these delinquents, and, in particular, the very ambassadors of England themselves, who are sojourning here now, though opposites to the dead ambassador, in regard of the dissensions now in England; all which must be done by a just infliction of punishment.

But the delinquents think to escape, by the immunities of the church where they fled, and sheltered themselves from so grievous and atrocious a crime, aggravated by so many circumstances, by so many accusers and interested persons; nor, according to their defence, do they confess to have committed any offence or sin at all, but they vaunt to have performed an heroick act. Now, it is a rule, that *Jactantia aggravat peccatum*; boasting of mischief makes the sin the worse. St. Augustin, in defining sin, saith, that it is *Dictum, factum, vel concupitum contra legem æternam*; a thing spoken, done, or wished against the eternal law. Him followed Thomas Aquinas; and, citing Gregorio de Valentia, Father Granados pursueth the opinion, and Vasquez. Sin also is defined *Transgressio legis*, a transgression of the law: now the delict of murder is opposite to all laws, both divine and human; as also to violate the security of an ambassador, much more to murder, is condemned by all laws of heaven and earth; therefore this can be no other than a delict, and much more precisely a sin, and a sin *non nominandum*, an infandous sin, much less an heroick action, or exploit of gallantry.

The second article.

That these delinquents cannot make themselves capable of the protection of any sanctuary, will be justified by two mediums, in form of a syllogising argument.

He who commits *Crimen læsæ majestatis*, a crime of high treason, cannot have the protection of the church.

But these delinquents have committed a crime of high treason.

Ergò, They cannot have the protection of the church.

The second argument is of no less force.

He who commits a treacherous murder, cannot have the protection of the church.

But these delinquents have committed a treacherous murder.

Ergò, They cannot have the benefit of the church.

For proof of the first, Ambrosinus's, Bosius's, and Julius Clarus's opinions are clear; Gambacarta, Diana, and others concur with them; among other high-treasons, they instance in killing the King's eldest son, his brother, or any of the race royal; or the King's wife (because she is the one half of him) or a privy-counsellor of his, &c. as also, he who violates the King's *salvo conducto*, whereon they insist much. Now, touching that large bull of Gregory the Fourteenth, touching the immunities of the church, it is the opinion of all the civil doctors on this side the Alps, that it is not available in all provinces; nay, it hath been petitioned against by divers; and to this day is not put generally in practice. They are the words of *Evia de Bolanos* in his *Curia Filipica*. It was petitioned against in Portugal; nor could this bull take footing in Spain, which never had such exorbitant privileges, but observed the common canonical right, which makes more for the reverence of the church. And whereas it may be alledged, that the said safe conduct was not to be observed by the said delinquents, because it was not published, and that it binds only from that time; whereas it may be alledged also, that the King's safe conduct is only by royal letters, or some publick instrument, all this is of little or no validity at all; for the delinquents voluntarily confess, that they had notice, by letters from England, that this resident was come to treat of peace, and correspond with Spain. The delinquents, besides, may aver, that the observation of this *salvo conducto* did not aim at them, being no vassals here: But this argument is of little vigour likewise; for all people, whether vassals, or not vassals, are obliged to observe the laws, in the territories of that prince where they sojourn; and, if this law takes hold on the natural vassals of any country, much more on strangers, who must not be encouraged, by any immunity, to come and offend in another country, without incurring the same severity of law.

Nor will it serve their turn to say, That all treasons are either *in odium*, or *contemptum regis*; neither whereof could induce them to that act, because they were militant in his Majesty's army, and served him with all exact fidelity; for all this concurred in Joab; for he was ever faithful, and a confident of King David's, and son to his sister Serviah.

For proof of the second argument of our discourse, viz. that he, who commits a treacherous or proditorious murder, cannot have the protection of the church, the determination of his holiness Clement the Eighth shall serve; who saith, that 'not only he who kills one proditoriously, but he who kills a reconciled enemy, is deprived of the benefit of sanctuary.' Now, these delinquents destroyed this publick minister of state *per insidias, appensatè, animo deliberato, et proditoriè*, fraudu-

lently by forecast, with a deliberate mind, and proditoriously; therefore they are far from deserving the shelter of the church.

The sacred scripture takes us out of all doubt, by the act of holy and religious Solomon, when, in execution of the just commandment of David his father, he consulted how to punish Joab for having slain Abner, who had David's safe conduct, for which he fled to the church and to the altar: *Fugit ergo Joab in tabernaculum Domini, et apprehendit cornu altaris*: And Benaïas, who had the charge of executing him, returning with this news to Solomon, he answered, *Vade, interfice eum*, go and kill him. Benaïas, going again to Joab, told him the King's command, and bid him come out: Joab replied, I will not come out, but I will die here. There-upon, Benaïas going back to Solomon to inform him what Joab had said, the King rejoined, *Fac sicut locutus est, et interfice eum*; do as he hath said, and kill him. So Benaïas, the son of Jehoiada, went up to the altar, and, assaulting Joab, he killed him. Now, it is a great question among the theologues, whether Solomon sinned in doing this? Abulensis excuseth him, giving this reason: *Quis non illi profecit tenuisse aram, quia nullum homicida insidiator habet presidium*: because the altar could not profit him, in regard that no treacherous man-slayer hath any protection. Add hereunto what Gaspar Sanchez and Ruperto alledge touching the same fact: *Nihil debet illi fides altaris, qui per dolum occidendo proximum omnem fidem perdidit*: the faith of the altar oweth him nothing, who lost all faith in slaying his neighbour feloniously. But Cajetan, with others, find no way how to excuse Solomon touching this business, in regard that he might, by his pretorian troops and veteran soldiers, have taken him both from the altar and the tabernacle; and so, without any note of violating religion, he might have dispatched him in some profane place, as the priest Jehoiada commanded Athaliah to be taken out of the temple, and killed without. This is a great and precise lesson for the Lords Alcaldes, for they need not fear to put these men to death, in regard they are not now materially in the church.

To prove the minor of the second syllogism, viz. that these men did voluntarily, of set purpose, with a deliberate mind, and proditoriously murder the ambassador of the parliament of England, shall be thus proved:

Certain men espied the said ambassador lighting at his lodging the same night he came; the next day, William Spark and Henry Progers (who is fled) spoke with John Baptista Riva, the ambassador's servant, and Henry, going down, said to William, Let us go here below (where the other three delinquents were) and said, Let us kill the resident for a destroyer of our nation: So they swore among themselves, that, if one died, all would die with him in so heroick an act: Whence this circumstance may be drawn, that this murder was committed by former consultation and with a deliberate mind. What is formerly related is confessed by the delinquents themselves, and that they came to perform this exploit two by two; for, being come to the lodging, two remained at the foot of the stairs, two on the top, and two entered. William Spark went in first; seeing two sitting at the table, he pulled off his hat, and said, I kiss your hands: Which is the resident? And, when they

knew who he was, Don John Guillim came, and, snatching him by the hair, with a naked dagger he gave him a thrust, that overthrew him; then came William Spark and gave him another, so that they gave him five stabs in all; John Baptista Riva thinking to retire to his chamber, there went four of them after him and gave him four wounds, whereof he presently expired; whereby it appears most evidently, that the murder of the ambassador was committed *per insidias, appensatè, animo deliberato, et proditoriè*; therefore the church cannot protect them. It was done proditoriously, in regard that *Prodere est unum actibus ostendere, et aliud in mente gerere; unde homicidium proditorium est cades hominis nihil tale suspicantis*, as Augustine Barbosa affirms. Just so was Abner killed by Joab; according to the text, he killed Abner in a dishonourable way, viz. fraudulently, when he spoke to him peaceably, therefore Joab deserved to be deprived of the immunity of the temple; and just so was this ambassador killed, and, it may be thought, they deserve not the shelter of the sanctuary, as Joab did not.

But, methinks, I hear the delinquents, to extenuate their delict, whisper, that they killed the said ambassador for an heretick, for a disturber of the publick peace, who particularly fomented the death of the King, and the change of government; and they did operate this to vindicate the death of their King upon a regicide, an enemy to his country, and on an impostor. Moreover, one of the delinquents saith, that, in this rebellion, he killed a brother of his, with whom he had a particular enmity. To these arguments I may say, as John Garcia did in his *Gloss. Nobilit. Adducuntur leviuscula quedam argumenta, quæ meritis subtrahi poterant; sed satisfaciendum est doctis pariter ac indoctis*: Certain light arguments are alledged, which might have been spared; but we must satisfy the unlearned, as well as the learned. And, concerning the first,

They say, they killed the ambassador for an heretick; so was their King, whom, they pretend, he had helped to murder: But the Catholic church never held yet, that it was lawful to kill a man only for his religion; besides, this ambassador had a royal passport, and was attended all the way, from the sea-side, by his Majesty's servants; and ministers of any religion may have passports for their safety, as John Huss had, and as Charles the emperor gave Luther.

They say, this ambassador came to seduce and deceive by a book of his, which was found among his papers, and a medal which he had, which had, on the one side, Nebart, and on the other XII. and the word *obstricti*; and they say it signifies those twelve, which gained Nebart, and occasioned the wars: Hence they infer, that he came to deceive. There was also found a crown stabbed with a ponyard. This same argument Joab propounded to David, when he said, *Ignoras Abner filium Ner, quoniam ad hoc venit ad te, ut deciperet te, ut sciret exitum tuum, et introitum tuum, et nusse omnia quæ agis*. Thou knowest not Abner the son of Ner; for he is come hither to deceive thee, to know thy going-out and thy coming in, and to pry into all things thou dost, as the sacred text tells us: But this could not excuse Joab for killing Abner, who came hither all the way with a safe conduct; and it is the prerogative only of that prince, who gave him the safe conduct, to know the cause of his coming.

To come now to a conclusive point, and final period of this plea. The punishment of these men, for having fraudulently, by premeditated malice, with a deliberate mind, and proditoriously murdered the ambassador of the parliament of England, according to the foregoing circumstances, and by their own spontaneous confessions; I say, the speedy chastisement of these men to death (notwithstanding the depending process, touching the immunity of the church) is required by six parties that are interested therein, viz.

1. By God himself.
2. By the King.
3. By his subjects.
4. By the publick cause.
5. By the fiscal of the council.

First, God requires it, who watcheth over all crimes, especially those of blood, which cry for vengeance more than any, therefore the procrastination hereof would be offensive to his divine Majesty.

Secondly, The King (whom God preserve) requires speedy execution, in regard some grave doctors do doubt, whether it was a sin in David to delay the punishment of Joab till after his death, by bequeathing the execution of justice to his son Solomon, as a legacy.

Thirdly, the subjects of the King our Lord require a hastening of the punishment; because it troubles them to see, hard before the King's eyes, and in the Catholick court, so horrid and sudden a murder committed: *Quando accidunt aliqua mala et horrenda, quæ sunt penitus inopinata, solent homines nimium turbari, etiamsi ad illos mala illa non pertineant; quia ergo mors Abner erat malum quoddam rarum et inopinatum, subito, illo audito, turbati sunt omnes Israelitæ.* When some horrid, unexpected, and unusual mischiefs happen, people use to be strangely troubled, though it nothing belongs unto them; therefore, because Abner's death was a kind of extraordinary, sudden mischief, all Israel was troubled at it, as Abulensis speaks upon the second of Kings.

Fourthly, The publick cause requires a sudden execution of justice upon these delinquents, because they murdered two men by fraud, *quorum opera utilis videbatur futuræ reipublicæ*, whose negotiation was to be profitable to the commonwealth, as Gaspar Sanchez saith.

Lastly, The fiscal requires justice for God, for the King, for his fellow-subjects, for the publick cause, and for himself, who concludes with Cokier, in his treatise *de legato*,

Ac perde has animas, patriam bonus eripe noxæ.

To shut up all; the justified cause cries out for speedy justice, in regard that these delinquents murdered an ambassador of the parliament of England. Now to every ambassador there is owing an extraordinary respect, especially to the ambassadors of England: they slew him, though they knew that he had his Majesty's safe conduct; they slew him in the Catholick court, where the right of nations useth to be kept inviolable, and more solemnly than any where else, whereby they committed

not only a foul, treacherous murder, but treason in a high degree against his Majesty; they surprised the ambassador and his secretary at dinner, a harmless hour; they came in like friends; wherefore it may justly be inferred, that this murder was committed *per insidias, animo deliberato, appensatè, et proditoriè*; by fraud, with a deliberate mind, by forecast, and treacherously. Touching the circumstances, their own spontaneous confessions make them good; therefore both God, the King, all the vassals of this court, the publick cause, and the fiscal of the council demand a speedy and actual execution of justice upon them, notwithstanding the depending process, and pretensions touching the immunities of the church.

Salva in omnibus, &c.

Such was the charge in the court of Spain, which was delivered, with much aggravation, by the said Dr. Hieronymo Hierro, knight of the order of Calatrava, against John Guillim, William Spark, Valentine Progers, Jo. Halsal, William Arnet, and Henry Progers, who are detained still in prison for killing Anthony Ascham, resident for the parliament of England, and John Baptista Riva, his interpreter; all except Henry Progers, who, being formerly known to the Venetian ambassador, fled to his house for protection, and so made an escape. The suit is still depending, and no resolution taken, in regard the church stands so earnestly for them; insomuch that it is not known when it will be determined.

A

TRUE NARRATIVE AND RELATION*

OF HIS

MOST SACRED MAJESTY,

MIRACULOUS ESCAPE FROM WORCESTER,

On the Third of September, 1651, till his arrival at Paris.

Printed at London, for G. Colborn, 1660. Quarto, containing eight pages.

FORTUNE had now twice counterfeited and double-gilt the trophies of rebellion, and its brazen trumpet repeated victory, betrayed, or prostituted, before at Dunbar, and now ravished at Worcester, by nu-

* This is the 125th number in the catalogue of pamphlets in the Harleian Library.

merous overpowering force, on that black and white day, September the third, 1651; in the dusk of which fatal evening, when the ashamed sun had blushed in his setting, and plunged his affrighted head into the depth of luckless Severn, and the night, ready to stain and spot her guilty sables with loyal blood, was attiring herself for the tragedy. The King (whose first and conspicuous valorous essay so exceeded all comparison, that it cannot but oblige fate to preserve that matchless courage, and never again to venture, or expose it to any hazard) compelled to abandon the city of Worcester. whose fidelity and affection deserved perpetual memory. After he had quitted his court and lodgings, to which he retired from the field, and having rallied his most faithful and considerable friends, divers English lords and gentlemen, who were resolved to accompany him in his flight, was presented by the late renowned Earl of Darby, with one Charles Gifford, Esq. (a person of note, then of that country, and of much manifested honour since to the world) to be his Majesty's conductor in this miraculous blessed escape; who forthwith called for one Francis Yates, whom he had brought with him, under the command of Colonel Careless, in a party that met the King, in his advance to Worcester, to be guide-assistant, for the sure finding the by-ways for his Majesty's speed and safety.

In the mean time, Colonel Careless, a gentleman of very gallant and noble endowments, was commanded to sustain the brunt of the pursuing enemy, and to keep them off, while the King might be somewhat in his way; which, with excellent prudence and valour, he did to effect, and afterwards fled to his old retreat and coverture, passing by Hartlebury castle, then garisoned by the enemy, whom he courageously fought with, and broke through, and came safe to his designed shelter.

Towards three o'clock, Thursday morning, the fourth of September, the King, in company with the said Earl of Darby, Earl of Shrewsbury, Earl of Cleveland, Duke of Buckingham, my Lord Wilmot, and others, to the number of fourscore, came to a place called White Ladies, in the parish of Tong, in the confines of Stafford and Shropshire, being twenty-five miles distant, or thereabouts from Worcester, which space of ground he had rid that night.

The White-Ladies was a house belonging to one Fitz-Herbert, where one George Pendrill, hearing somebody knocking at the gate so early, and opening the window, espied the aforesaid Francis Yates, who was his brother-in-law, with Mr. Gifford; to whom he presently opened the door, and enquired of his brother Yates, what news from Worcester; who told him, that the King was defeated, and in pursuit, and, therefore, bid him to make haste, and put on his cloaths: But, before he could make himself ready, the King, with most of his lords, had entered the house, and come into the hall; where, after a short consultation held amongst them, the Earl of Darby called for William Pendrill, the eldest brother; (you must know, that my lord of Darby had taken this place for a subterfuge, after the defeat given him by Colonel Lilburn, near Wigan, in Lancashire, and was acquainted there, and, by them, conveyed to Worcester to the King; as also, several other gentlemen before had used this for their sanctuary) who being come, George was sent to Tong, to one Robert Beard, an honest subject, to enquire of him, whether

there were any scattered parties of the King's thereabouts, or any of the enemies appearing; who brought word, that the coast was yet clear, and no parties at all to be seen. In his return, he met with his brother Richard; for now those few inhabitants, that lived there, were awaked with the noise, and their own ill-boding thoughts and fears of the success at Worcester.

Richard was no sooner come in, but Esquire Gifford called for him, and bid him make haste, and bring with him his best cloaths, which were a jump and breeches, of green coarse cloth, and a doeskin leather doublet; the hat was borrowed of Humphry Pendrill, the miller, being an old grey one, that turned up its brims; the shirt (which in that country-language, they called an hurden, or noggen-shirt, of cloth that is made of the coarsest of the hemp) was had of one Edward Martin, George Pendrill's band, and William Creswel's shoes; which the King, having presently unstripped himself of his own cloaths, did nimbly put on. His buff-coat, and linnen-doublet, and a grey pair of breeches, which he wore before, he gave into these brothers hands, who forthwith buried them under ground, where they lay five weeks, before they durst take them up again. The jewels, off his arm, he gave to one of the lords then departing.

Then Richard came with a pair of shears, and rounded the King's hair, which my Lord Wilmot having cut before with a knife, had untowardly notched; and the King was pleased to take notice of Richard's good barbering, so as to prefer his work before my Lord Wilmot's, and gave him the praise of it; and now his Majesty was *a-la-mode* the woodman.

Hereupon, William Pendrill was brought to the King, by the Earl of Darby, and the care and preservation of his most sacred Majesty, committed to his charge, and the rest of the brothers (my lord would have staid too, but there was no undertaking security for them both) and presently the lords took their heavy leave, and departed, every one shifting for himself. Only my Lord Wilmot was conveyed, by John Pendrill, to Mr. Thomas Whitgrave's; but he would have left him at several other places, which my lord did, in no wise, approve of; first, at one John Shore's of Hungerhill, thence to John Climpson, thence to one Reynolds of the Hide, so to John Hunspatch's; where passing by Coven, they had notice of a troop of horse in the town, and seeing some men coming behind them (which proved to be friends, though my lord suspected the country rising upon them) they betook themselves into a dry pit, where they staid all evening, and then arrived safely at Mr. Whitgrave's.

The company being all departed, a wood-bill was brought, and put into the King's hand, and he went out with Richard into the adjoining woods. William departed home, and Humphry and George went out to scout, and lay hovering in the woods, to hear or see if any one approached that way. But the King had not been an hour in the wood, before a troop of horse, of the enemy's, came to White-Ladies, and enquired, if some of the King's horse, and himself, passed not that way, and if they could give information of him; to which the town's-folks answered, that, about three hours ago, there was a party of horse

came thither, and they supposed the King with them, but they made no stay in the village, but presently departed; they were, hereupon, so eager in the pursuit, that, after enquiring which way they took, they followed the rout, and made no further search there; the King straight heard this, by the two aforesaid scouts, who straggled for intelligence into the town.

All this day, being Thursday, the King continued in the wood, upon the ground, Richard Pendrill being constantly with him, and sometimes the other two brothers: it proved to be a very rainy day, and the King was wet with showers; thereupon, Francis Yates's wife came into the wood, and brought the King a blanket, which she threw over his shoulders, to keep him dry; she also brought him his first meat he eat there, viz. a mess of milk, eggs, and sugar, in a black earthen cup, which the King guessed to be milk and apples, and said he loved it very well. After he had drank some of it, and eaten part in a pewter spoon, he gave the rest to George, and bid him eat, for it was very good. There was nothing of moment passed this day in court, but only the King exchanged his wood-bill for Francis Yates's broom-hook, which was something lighter.

They had much ado, all that day, to teach and fashion his Majesty to their country guise, and to order his steps, and straight body, to a lobbing Jobson's gate, and were forced, every foot, to mind him of it; for the language, his Majesty's most gracious converse with his people, in his journey to, and at Worcester, had rendered it very easy, and very tuneable to him.

About five o'clock that evening, the King, with the retinue of Richard, Humphry, George, and Francis Yates, left the wood, and betook himself to Richard's house, where he went under the name of William Jones, a wood-cutter, newly come thither for work. Against his coming, the good wife, for his entertainment at supper, was preparing a fricassee of bacon and eggs; and, whilst that was doing, the King held on his knee their daughter Nan. After he had eat a little, he asked Richard to eat, who replied, yea, Sir, I will; whereto his Majesty answered, you have a better stomach than I, for you have eaten five times to-day already. After supper ended, the King, according to his resolution to pass into Wales, prepared, when it should be dusky, to depart; before he went, Jane Pendrill, the mother of the five brethren, came to see the King, before whom she blessed God, that had so honoured her children, in making them the instruments, as she hoped, of his Majesty's safeguard and deliverance. Here Francis Yates offered the King thirty shillings in silver; the King accepted ten, and bid him put the other up. Humphry would have gone before, to see and view about, but the King would not let him; it being now near night, they took their leave of the King upon their knees, beseeching God to guide and bless him.

So the King and Richard only departed, to go to one Mr. Francis Wolfe of Madely, there to take passage into Wales. On the way, they were to pass by a mill, at a place called Evelin, and going over (it was about nine o'clock at night) the bridge of the said mill, the miller steps forth, and demanded, who goes there; having a quarter-staff, or a

good cudgel, in his hand; to which Richard, being foremost, thought it not safe to reply; but, the water being shallow, leaped off the bridge into it, and the King did the like, following Richard by the noise and rattling of his leather breeches; the miller being glad he was so rid of them, for, as it afterwards appeared, here were some of the King's scattered soldiers in his mill, and he supposed the other to be parliamentarians, that were upon the scent for his distressed guests.

Being come to Madely, to the said Mr. Francis Wolfe's, late that night, they understood there was no passage over the water into Wales, and that it was very dangerous to abide there, the country being, every where about, laid with soldiers; nor durst he entertain them in his house, but shewed them a hay-mow, where they might lodge; and here the King and Richard continued all that night, and the next day, being Friday; and that night, with the conveyance of a maid of this Mr. Wolfe's, who brought the King two miles on his way, they retreated back again to Richard's house. Master Wolfe lent the King some small sum of money.

This design being crossed, Saturday morning, without any stay at Richard's, the King and he went to a house of Mrs. Giffard's, called Boscabel, where William Pendrill and his wife dwelt as housekeepers for the said Giffard, who received him joyfully; but the King's feet were so blistered, with travelling in such coarse and stiff accoutrements, as he wore on his feet, and lying in them, that he was scarce able to stand or go; which William's wife perceiving, she stripped off his stockings, and cut the blisters, and washed his feet, and gave the King some ease.

The same time, or near thereupon, that noble colonel, Careless, who, as is said before, made good the King's rear at Worcester, and had fought his way through; after he had been two days at one David Jones's, living in the Heath in Tong Parish, and there by him secured (for this colonel had lain three quarters of a year before obscured in this country, when he had been narrowly, every where, searched after) was brought, by one Elisabeth Burgess, to this same house of Boscabel; and there his Majesty and he met, but the colonel was so overjoyed with the sight of the King, his master, in such sure and safe hands, that he could not refrain weeping, and the King was himself moved with the same passion.

After a short conference, and but inchoated counsel of the King's probablest means of escape, it was resolved by them, to betake themselves to the wood again; and accordingly, about nine of the clock, that Saturday morning, the sixth of September, they went into the wood, and Colonel Careless brought and led the King to that so much celebrated oak, where before he had himself been lodged. This tree is not hollow, but of a sound firm trunk, only, about the middle of it, there is a hole in it, about the bigness of a man's head, from whence it sturdily and abusively, in respect of its deserved perpetual growth to our last time itself, is called hollow; and, by the help of William Pendrill's wood-ladder, they got up into the boughs and branches of the tree, which were very thick and well spread, full of leaves; so that it was impossible for any one to discern through them.

When they were both up, William gave them up two pillows to lie upon between the thickest of the branches, and the King, being over-wearied with his travel and sore journey, began to be very sleepy; the colonel, to accommodate him the best he could, desired his Majesty, to lay his head in his lap, and rest the other parts of his body upon the pillow, which the King did; and after he had taken a good nap (William and his wife Joan still peaking up and down, and she commonly near the place, with a nut-hook in her hand gathering of sticks) awaked very hungry, and wished he had something to eat; whereupon, the colonel plucked out of his pocket a good lunchion of bread and cheese, which Joan Pendrill had given him for provant for that day, and had wrapped it up in a clean linnen cloth, of which the King fed very heartily, and was well pleased with the service, and commended highly his good cheer; and some other small relief he had, which was put up in the tree, with a long hook stick.

In the mean while, Richard Pendrill, the first esquire, was sent to Wolver-hampton, some three miles thence, being a market-town, to buy wine and bisket, and some other necessary refreshments for the King; and withal to speak with one Mr. George Manwaring, a person of known integrity and loyalty from Colonel Careless, with some instructions about the King's removal, though not expresly the King, but one of that ruined party; in effect it was to know of him, whether he knew of any sure privacy for two such persons; to which he answered he had not himself, but would enquire if a friend of his, one Mr. Whitgrave of Mosely, formerly and again to be spoken of here, could do it. So that we may see what a loyal honest combination and secrecy there was between all these persons; and then Richard returned with his wine, &c. to the King, who, towards the evening, came down by the same ladder from the tree, and was brought into the garden of Boscabel house, where he sat in the bower of it, and drank part of the wine till towards night.

Neither was Humphry Pendrill, the miller, unemployed all this while, but was sent to get intelligence, how things went. And, the easier to come by it, he was sent to a captain of the Rump, one Broadway, formerly a heel-maker, under pretence of carrying him twenty-shillings, for the pay of a man in the new raised militia of their county for their mistress. While he was there, in came a colonel of the rebels, and asked for Captain Broadway, on purpose to know what further enquiry had been made at White-Ladies for the King, relating to Broadway the story of it; to which he replied he knew nothing of it further than rumour, but that there was one of that place, in the house that could give him an account of it. So Humphry was called, and several questions put to him, which he evaded, but confessed that the King had been there, as was supposed; but there was no likelihood for him to stay there, for there were three families in the house, and all at difference with one another. The colonel told him there was a thousand pounds offered to any, that would take or discover him, and that they doubted not, but within a day or two to have him delivered into their hands.

These tidings Humphry brought with him, and omitted not to tell his

Majesty of the price his rebels had set on him; at the telling of which, the King looked something dismayed, as having trusted his life into the hands of so poor men, whom such a sum as that, though both detestable, and of inconsiderable value to the purchase, might pervert from their allegiance and fidelity; which made Humphry to be exceedingly troubled for his rashness, while Colonel Careless assured the King, if it were one hundred thousand pounds, it were to no more purpose, and that he would engage his soul for their truth; which Humphry also, with many urgent asseverations, did second.

It was late, and the King was very hungry, and had a mind to a loin of mutton, and, being come into the house, asked William, if he could not get him such a joint; to which, he replied, that he had it not of his own, but he would make bold at that time, and for that occasion, with one of his master's sheep in the cote; which instantly he did, and brought it into the ground-cellar, where the colonel, not having the patience to stay while he fetched a knife, stabbed it with his dagger; and when William came down, they hung it upon a door, and flead it, and brought up a hind quarter to the King, who presently fell a chopping of the loin to pieces, or, as they called it then, into Scotch Collops, which the colonel clapped into the pan, while the King held it and fried it.

This passage yielded the King a pleasant, jocular discourse, after his arrival in France, when it amounted to a question, a very difficult case, who was cook, and who was scullion? And the solution of the doubt, when it could not be decided by the lords then present, was referred to the judgment of his Majesty's master-cook, who affirmed, that the King was, *hic et nunc*, both of them.

When this nimble collation was ended, it was time for the King to betake himself to his rest, and his chamberlain William brought him to his apartment. It was a place made between two walls on purpose for secrecy, contrived at the building of the house; thither they let the King down, where he slept very incommodiously with little or no rest, for that the place was not long enough for him; and therefore, the next night, they laid him a sorry bed upon the stair-case, that the meanness of his lodging might secure him from suspicion.

My Lord Wilmot, as is said before, was all this while safe at Mr. Whitgrave's, only his care of the King made him full of trouble. His hiding-place was so sure a one, that at his first coming to it, he wished, so he gave twenty thousand pounds, that the King was either as secure, or there with him; he therefore dispatched away John Pendrill, who attended him, all along, to the White-Ladies, to enquire for the King, and to give him notice of the conveniency that was at Mr. Whitgrave's; but, when he came thither, which was on Friday, the King was then gone to Madely, to Mr. Wolfe's. The next day he was sent again, and Richard's wife directed him to Boscabel, where he delivered the King his message, which the King assented unto, and resolved to remove thither.

Monday night, September the eighth, at eleven at night, was the time appointed for the King's progress to Mosely, but a horse was hard to be found. John was ordered to borrow one of one Stanton of

Hatton, but he had lent his out before; when the colonel remembered that Humphry the Miller had one, and he thereupon was called and desired to lend him for the King's service; it was a kind of war-horse, that had carried many a load of provision, meal, and such like, but now he put upon him a bridle and saddle, that had outworn his tree and irons, and at the time prefixed, brought him to the gate.

As soon as the King had notice of it, out he came, and would have had none but Colonel Careless and John to have gone along with him; but they told him, it was dangerous to venture himself with so few; they therefore intreated his Majesty, that he would give them leave to go with them, which, at their importunity, he granted.

Having mounted the King, Colonel Careless and the six brethren guarding him, two before and two behind, and one of each side, armed with clubs and bills, Humphry, leading his horse by the bridle, they began their journey. It was five miles from Boscabel to Mosely, Mr. Whitgrave's, and the way in some places miry, where the horse blundering, caused the King to suspect falling, and bid Humphry have a care; to which he answered, that that now fortunate horse had carried many a heavier weight in his time, six strike of corn, which measure the King understood not, but now had a better price on his back, the price of three kingdoms, and therefore would not now shame his master.

Their travel was soon and safe ended, and the King brought the back way to a stile that led to the house; Humphry led the horse into a ditch, and the King alighted off upon the stile; but, forgetting that most of his guard were to return home, was gone five or six steps onward, without taking leave of them, but, recalling himself, returned back and said, I am troubled that I forgot to take my leave of my friends; but if ever I come into England, by fair or foul means, I will remember you, and let me see you, whenever it shall so please God; so they all departed, but the colonel, John, and Francis Yates, who guided the King to the house.

Their master, Thomas Whitgrave, received the King, dutifully and affectionately, and brought him in to my Lord Wilmot, who, with infinite gladness, kneeled down and embraced his knees. After a little conference, his Majesty was had to his lodging, and the intrigues of it shewn him; where, after the King had rested himself that night, they entered into consultation about the escape, which had been projected by my Lord Wilmot before.

Francis Yates departed, but John staid two or three days longer with the King, while he went away. On Wednesday noon a troop of the rebels horse passed through the town, and made no stay; which John told not the King of, till afternoon, because, as he then said, he would not spoil his Majesty's dinner.

Now the King prepared and fitted himself for his journey, and one Mr. Huddleston and Mr. Whitgrave accommodated him with boots, cloke, money, &c. and John Pendrill was sent to Mrs. Lane about it, who sent him back again with a parcel of leaves of walnuts, boiled in spring water, to colour his Majesty's hands, and alter the hue and

whiteness of his skin in those parts, that were most obvious to the eye, and by him gave notice to the King what time he should be ready.

On Thursday night, the eleventh of September, Colonel Lane came with his sister to a field adjoining, and there they put the King before her, John having the honour to hold the King's stirrup while he mounted; and presently they two set forward, having taken directions to know the country, and my Lady Lane having several recommendations to the allies, friends, and acquaintance of her family, that lay in their intended road, if any untoward occasion should put them to the trial.

The several adventures, which that heroic lady passed and overcame, in the management of that grand affair of his Majesty's life, will become and bestit a worthier paper, and a nobler pen; and therefore, let the blessed and thrice happy event of that her fortunate loyalty restrain a curious enquiry of the means, which probably may be some *arcana imperii*, secrecy of state now, as well as then of the King, not yet fit to be divulged. Miracles indeed of this benign and propitious influence are very rare. God hath not dealt so with the nations round about us, especially, where human coadjutement, and that so signally, in the tacitness of so many persons concerned, hath been instrumental; and therefore, why may we not, as we fearfully behold comets, with delight look upon the serene smiles of Heaven, in his Majesty's preservation, and the rays of its goodness, diffused into the breasts of those loyal persons, his guardians, for whose honour more especially this paper officiously obtrudes itself, with such weak eyes as we now see with, before we can have the benefit of a prospective, (the full relation.)

Let it therefore suffice and content us, that it pleased the Divine wisdom and goodness to protect and defend our most gracious Sovereign in all dangers, places, and conditions whatsoever, in that his incumbered passage, through his own rightful dominions, and without the least umbrage of suspicion, to convey him out of the hands of his blood-thirsty traiterous enemies, who thought themselves sure of him, that so killing the heir, the inheritance might be theirs.

He remained, or rather pilgrimaged, from one sanctuary to another, in England, near the space of five weeks, and like other princes, though not, on the same account, was present *incognito*, while such time as a convenience of passage could be found for him in Sussex; where, after he had embarked himself in a barque out of a creek, he was put back again by contrary weather into the same place, being disguised in a sailor's cloaths; but, the wind veering about more favourable, about the end of October, 1651, landed at Dieppe in Normandy, from whence an express was sent to her Majesty of England, to acquaint her of his safe arrival, which was presently communicated to the French court, who, appearingly with great manifestation of joy, welcomed the news. But his Majesty's most affectionate uncle, the late Duke of Orleans, did with intire joy, as also sundry of the most eminent French nobility, congratulate his deliverance, which they testified by a most splendid and honourable cavalcade, at his reception and entry into Paris.

AN
ANSWER TO THE PROPOSITIONS

MADE BY THE
ENGLISH AMBASSADORS,

As they stile themselves,

The nineteenth of March, in the great assembly of the high and mighty Lords, the states-general of the United Provinces. As also, to their memorials of the sixteenth of April, and the ninth of May, 1651, respectively. And likewise, to the thirty-six articles of the desired treaty. As it was delivered by the Honourable Sir William Macdowal, knight, resident for his Majesty of Great-Britain, after his return to Holland, in the said Great Assembly. June the seventeenth, 1651.

My son, fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change.

For their calamity shall rise suddenly, and who knoweth the ruin of them?

Prov. xxiv. 21, 22.

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THE said pretended ambassadors have offered, and withal required a strict confederacy, and holy league, as they term it betwixt the commonwealth of England, and the United Provinces, alledging to that end,

I. The ancient and successive contracts, and mutual friendship betwixt both.

II. The advancement of trade and traffick.

III. A conformity in the reformation of religion.

IV. The like success and blessings upon both.

V. An answerable change in the condition of both states; as likewise in the restored liberty of the people. *Hinc inde.*

Which specious motives, and inducements, viewed aright, and laid in a just balance, will appear, by their favours, to have no warrantable ground; for the clearing of which, the high and mighty States are desired to look back, and consider:

I. That, formerly, all contracts have been made, betwixt the successive Kings of England, their lawful heirs, and the high and mighty States-

general, and not with England, as is alledged. Not to look further back, the sovereignty of these countries was offered to Queen Elisabeth, of happy memory, in the year 1585, which she in wisdom thought fit to decline; but, withal, assisted the States, with five-thousand foot, and one-thousand horse; as likewise advanced to their Lordships, before the year 1596, in the space of eleven years, eleven-hundred thousand pounds, sterling, according to the calculation of her Majesty's counselors and high treasurer for the time.

Her royal successors, James and Charles, of immortal memory, in the years 1608, 1614, 1635, respectively, have not only assisted these States, in their great straits, in a very considerable way, but also engaged with their Lordships, *offensive* and *defensive*; and that without any the least communication had with the people of England concerning it. And if a ratification of such an alliance should be concluded with a factious commonalty here, and that they might at pleasure disturb the republick, and turn matters upside down. What an anarchy and woful confusion would ensue, as now, alas! we see too plainly follows in England? Truly, if that people had been so inclined, and governed, as they now are, by those, who *regni causa*, have violated the rights; and to make purchase of the Lord's vineyard, have murdered him, and oppose, with their utmost power and malice, the inthronement of his lawful heir, their undoubted sovereign, the Low-Countries should not have obtained such real friendship and advantage from them.

Besides that, the now prevailing party is not the hundredth part of the people in England, in comparison of those, both of the clergy, nobility, gentry, and commons, who cordially adhere to the King's just interest, and passionately groan to be delivered from the continued oppressions of those cruel task-masters, whose little finger lies heavier upon them, than all their King's whole loins.

And an eminent member of the late House of Commons, formerly a sufferer, in his *memento* affirms, that there are in the three kingdoms ten-thousand to one, who firmly and affectionately cleave to his Majesty.

In kingdoms and republicks, as politicians speak, it is the very same people now, as those that lived an hundred years ago; as likewise, that it is the same ship, although all the planks be renewed; but if the keel be destroyed, and the form of government and fundamental laws be utterly abolished, *non idem populus, nec eadem navis*; it is not the same people, nor the same ship.

Moreover, by all proofs it is sufficiently known, that the predecessors of the now prevailing party in England were then so mean and inconsiderable among the people, that they were thought utterly incapable of having the least hand in the former favours, shewn to these States.

II. Trade and traffick, which they call the common interest of a state, are *juris gentium*, common to all nations; consequently, not to be carried on by monopolies, and damage of a third party, especially the eldest, and sometime the most considerable ally of this estate. *Amicitias, saith Polybius, ita institui par est, ne qua vetustior amicitia et societas violetur.*

It is remarked by most of the authors of the Netherland history, that their Lordships predecessors upon a time, being more moved by the impositions of the Duke of Alva, of the ten and one-hundred penny respective, than for the violence offered to religion, and therefore compared to the Gargasenes, who preferred their swine before their Saviour, were the more severely punished by God.

And shall the high and mighty States now hazard their religious and high esteem in the favour of those, who, in regard of commerce, enlarging of their limits, and usurped power, are big with such monstrous mysteries? And of whom it was said long before their troubles:

Gens tacitis pragnans arcanis ardua tentans.

Who derive their power and authority merely from themselves, as formerly hath been said, in the dominion of the Chaldeans over the Jews, and of Cinna and Carbo amongst the Romans, who, in the time of Sylla, made themselves consuls without any court election: *Violent imperia*, saith one to Cæsar, *sunt magis acerba quam diuturna*. The rather, because no nation under the sun is so subject to a change as England, even while they lived under their lawful sovereigns. The Earl of Warwick, called the Titular King, in eleven days, Edward the Fourth in twenty, Henry the Seventh in one day, as a Cæsar *veni, vidi, vici*, brought the English successively to their obedience.

Commerce and traffick are plausible pretences, but often accompanied with great jealousies, especially betwixt neighbouring republicks; the which, like twins struggling for the primogeniture, are in a continual emulation for profit and preheminance. And, therefore, compared to an *alluvies*, where the increase of one is the decrease of the other. Insomuch, that grave and judicious statesmen have judged it would be more safe and profitable to these States, that England continued a monarchy, than to be tumbled into a commonwealth, confirmed by a prognostication of a person of credit with them, living at London, given out the sixteenth of October last, alledging and applying with much confidence, against the United Provinces, Jerem. li. 13.

III. Concerning the pretended conformity in religion, in the third place, which, under the blessed and glorious government of Kings, as a palladium and lamp, did out-shine all other nations, it is, alas! now become a Pandora, out of which, *tanquam ex equo Trojano*, do issue so many monstrous sects, heresies, and blasphemies, and is consequently so deformed, as being utterly destitute of discipline, and differing in most points of doctrine, that it is nothing like the religion here professed, nor indeed religion itself.

A good religion, as an upright and lively faith, issues forth into good works; insomuch that, in the primitive church, the Christians were discerned from the infidels only by their holy life, according to the proverb, *Christiani non sunt Cassiani*; but alas! how many not only *Cassii*, but also *Albii*, and *Nigri*, are now-a-days to be seen? Witness, besides the treatises intitled, *Defensio pro Carolo rege*, *Vindicia pro capite regis Anglia*, *Elenchus motuum*, Mr. Prynne's *memento*, *Theatrum tragicum*, *Vox veritatis*, and

others, two declarations also of the eighteenth of January, 1648, long before that lamentable catastrophe, by divers preachers, and learned divines, in and about London; subscribed by one-hundred and twenty-six of them mourning over, and complaining of horrible and scandalous abuses, as in the church, so in the civil, or rather military government, and strongly refuting their flattering of themselves in their continued success, which may next be considered of.

IV. For as Solomon saith, ' That there be just men, to whom it happeneth, sometimes, according to the work of the wicked. So again, there be wicked men, to whom it happeneth according to the work of the righteous.

Successes often are a punishment, as sometimes given for a blessing, where only those are to be valued, whose principal aim appears to be the true advancement of God's revealed will in his word; which, as it strictly commandeth obedience to Kings, and those in authority under them, so it doth severely punish sedition and rebellion against them, not sparing the curse of condemnation to those, who comply with, and adhere unto them. Neither hath the great Turk come far short of (that undoubted blessing) good success, the now prevailing party justify their cause, and measure its righteousness by, though they may seem to disavow him.

Finally, the resemblance made for the manner of the recovered liberty of both states, to use the expression of a great personage, is not more different than milk and ink, both in regard of the ancient condition of the people on both sides, and the way of attaining to it.

The Low-Country men, especially the Batavi, have been reputed by all ancient writers, for a free people, neither subject to the Romans, whom they did acknowledge only Civilli, as Tacitus saith, nor to any directors, counts and governors, which were constituted by themselves.

The English have more than a thousand years been governed by Kings, all sprung from the same royal stock, to whom they have successively sworn obedience and loyalty.

The King of Spain, after a war of almost eighty years, hath in two solemn treaties, the one before the twelve years truce, and the other in the late concluded peace, acknowledged the United Provinces to be a free state, and that *privative*. Whereupon his Catholick Majesty, for himself and his successors, hath disclaimed all pretences of sovereignty here.

Whereas Charles the First, that blessed martyr, whose innocent blood, like that of Abel, cries loud to the highest heaven for vengeance against those who now sit upon his throne, not only was, but was ever by them acknowledged for their lawful sovereign; instead of disclaiming his royalty over them, as must be, if the resemblance stand compleat, was both divested of his power, and deprived of his life; and his princely successor, so far as in them lieth, kept back and disabled from the exercise of his undeniable power over them; whereof let them find an absolute parallel from the creation until now.

In Israel King Ahab did tyrannise, and, as a man sold unto sin, above others provoked God's wrath against him. In Rome there was Nero,

more like a monster than a man. Amongst the Christians, Christiernus in Denmark, Wenceslaus in Bohemia, who was likewise emperor, behaved themselves so wickedly, that it was said of them, That they had cast off human nature. Nor much unlike to them was Richard the Third, called, The tyrant of England, yet none of all these was ever condemned to die by the sentence of their subjects. Insomuch that it is observed, that the Israelites, after they had deserted their King Rehoboam, although an oppressor, never enjoyed a happy hour, but were infested with continual wars, both civil and foreign, till at last they were utterly destroyed, and carried captives into Babylon.

Of Nero it was said, *Primum damnati principis exemplum*; I add, *Postremum, non mactati tamen*, as in this case. The confederate provinces were first forced in their religion, their persons and goods seized, and one hundred-thousand of them killed. The prevailing party in England, after those insolent and high affronts done to his Majesty, before his constrained removal from his court at Whitehall, took up arms, gave out commissions, levied men, according to his Majesty's last true and undeniable words, and seized upon the *regalia*, before he once put himself into a posture of defence.

In the Low-Countries their liberty was, *more majorum*, fully restored to them, without prejudice to any man.

In England, religion and liberty are shamefully trampled under foot; and the House of Commons so dismembered, and its privileges violated, that the eighth part of ten were beyond all parallel cast out, as the declaration and protestation of the secluded members, Feb. 13, 1648, doth testify.

The proceedings of the high and mighty States are approved and justified by all the world; on the contrary, those of the English condemned and abhorred, and by themselves confessed as irregular and unwarrantable; and a most pregnant proof and *probatio probata*, of their wrong, as is contained in the said declaration of the ministers.

The which premisses the high and mighty States being pleased to take into serious consideration, according to their accustomed wisdom and justice, and calling to mind those divers treaties betwixt the King's royal predecessors, and their lordships, in his Majesty's person, yet firmly standing. And seeing likewise divers of their lordships resolved for a punctual observation of a neutrality, since the year 1642, between the late King, his Majesty's father, of blessed memory, and his parliament, the which, by the partial confederacy with the one party, now laboured for, will, in all appearance, be violated and infringed.

Therefore their lordships are earnestly intreated not to hearken to the said propositions, as being prejudicial to the King my gracious master's interests, and dangerous to this state; likewise that the acknowledging them for a free republick, which possibly the condition of the times, and benefit of trade, hath occasioned, be not drawn into a farther consequence, much less an occasion given thereby, forgetting Joseph's sufferings, that the afflicted be yet more afflicted, their liberty retarded, and their calamity lengthened.

His Majesty's affairs, God be praised, are yet in a very good and hopeful condition, far better than some of his royal predecessors, who

have, notwithstanding, run through all difficulties, and became considerable to their friends, as well as formidable to their enemies.

King Robert Bruce, about three hundred years ago, being likewise by the rebellion of his subjects, and the disloyalty of Baliol and Cumming, and their adherents, fiercely assailed by King Edward of England, who, at once, was possessed of most of the towns and strengths in Scotland, kept a parliament in St. Andrew's, took his queen prisoner, killed four of his brethren, amongst whom were those *duo fulmina belli*, defaced or removed all the monuments and registers of that kingdom, was constrained, with one or two servants, to hide himself among the hills; yet, notwithstanding all this, in a short time after, recovered his whole kingdom, was crowned with honour and glory, and forced his insolent enemy, in confusion, to fly from Sterling to Dumbar, and thence in a fisher-boat, Xerxes like, escaped narrowly with his life. I say Sterling,

Invictum, et fatale Scotorum propugnaculum :

Of which it is said,

Hic Latium remorata est Scotia cursum.

His Majesty's royal grandfather, Henry the Fourth, King of France and Navarre, yet of fresh memory, was in a lower condition, and had less power to resist those of the league and the powerful King of Spain; yet at last became victorious, in the overthrow of his enemies, to the great advantage and very considerable succour of the Netherlands.

The distressed condition of the predecessors of the high and mighty States-general, whom, after so many changes, the Almighty God hath, to the admiration of the whole world, brought into a safe haven, however Sirius, a Spanish writer, jesting with those of Holland and their confederates, did say, What can the Hollanders do against the King of Spain? As now, some scoffingly ask, How can the Scots stand against the powerful English? Is an eminent and visible example, that it is all one, with the Lord, to help with few or with many, and that, when all strength and human hopes do fail, he will arise gloriously, for the deliverance of the righteous, crowning them, in the end, with honour and good success.

I. Shall we then look upon the present successes, and prosperity of that party, as alone unchangeable, for the which such strange grounds are by them pretended, as are no where found, being so diametrically opposite, according to the declaration of the said divines in and about London. To

1. God's holy word.
2. The instinct of nature.
3. Natural reason.
4. The laws of all nations.
5. The constitutions, particularly of the kingdom of England, who, above all other people, most obsequiously and affectionately regard and

reverence their Kings, as in those maxims of their law, *Rex non moritur, Rex nulli facit injuriam*, &c.

6. The judgment of all casuists.

7. Their oaths of fealty, supremacy, and allegiance, repeated particularly at the admission of every member into the House of Commons; their protestation, their covenant, their solemn league and covenant, and an hundred declarations, besides the publick faith of the kingdom of England, solemnly given to the commissioners of the kingdom of Scotland, upon their receiving his Majesty at Newcastle, in all which, they professed to the world, that they would maintain and preserve, with their lives and estates, the King's person, honour, rights, and royal posterity.

II. Or, shall we rest satisfied in the sophistry of those sectaries, who, out of Christ's answer to the subtle questions of the Herodians and Pharisees, if it were lawful to give tribute to Cæsar, answered, *Ostendite mihi numisma, cujus habet imaginem?* infer that, *fide implicita*, the party now in England, is to be acknowledged, without any further enquiry or examination, since our Saviour's answer speaks nothing for their advantage. But, on the contrary, his commanding tribute to be given to Cæsar, whom the Jews formerly acknowledged to be their King. confirmeth and establisheth lawful power, and consequently condemneth sedition and rebellion; else David should have submitted unto and acquiesced in the usurped power of Absalom, who was possessed of all the land, even unto Jordan, and carried away all Israel after him; and Solomon in the power of Adonijah, Jehoiada in Athaliah's, and the Maccabees in the power of Antiochus Epiphanes, the grand enemy of the Jews; yea, the estates of the United Provinces should have then obeyed the force of the Duke of Alva, who, by the emblem of his statue formerly set up in Antwerp, did signify that he had invested himself with the absolute power. It is well said by one of the ancients, *Omnis potestas est à Deo; sed acquisitio potestatis, furto, rapina, incendio, aut perduellione, non est à Deo, sed ab hominum affectibus et Salutaris malitia.*

III. Or, may we suffer ourselves to be abused by the examples and precedents, which the said sectaries alledge of the Kings, Edward the Second, and Richard the Second, who, by reason of their incapacity, were forced to resign their crowns, the one to his son, the other to his competitor King Henry the Fourth, but neither of them to an inconsiderable, small remainder of an House of Commons, or the people? Only, in a full parliament, both their resignations were confirmed, and neither executed, but were always afterwards honourably entertained; yea, one Roger Mortimer, which is worth the observing, the chief author and actor in deposing of Edward the Second, and crowning his son Edward the Third in his father's place, according to which precedent his Majesty Charles the Second, ought by these to have been crowned, was by a parliament four years after, together with his fellow-murderers, condemned as a traitor and enemy to the King and kingdom, because he killed the said deposed King in Berkely Castle.

Besides, the now prevailing party, by solemn protestations, did publish and declare to all the world, that they did not intend to follow those accursed precedents, although they should suffer never so much by the King and his party. *Exact. Collect. pag. 69.*

IV. Should we not rather deeply apprehend, and with fear look upon those exemplary punishments inflicted upon perjury, and covenant-breaking, in God's holy word, as may be seen, to omit others, in the person of Saul, who, together with his posterity, as also the whole kingdom of Israel, was so severely punished, because he destroyed the Gibeonites, against the covenant made with Joshua, above two-hundred years before, notwithstanding they procured the same deceitfully? As likewise in the history of England, and other kingdoms, many pregnant examples to that purpose might be alledged; particularly that of William Thorpe, chief justice of the King's Bench in that realm, who for taking a bribe of eighty pounds sterling, was put to death, and all his goods confiscated to the King's use, in regard that in so doing he violated the oath of a judge, as the words run, *Quod sacramentum domini regis, quod erga populum habuit custodiendum, fregit malitiose, falso, et rebelliter.* Parl. 23 Edw. III.

An Answer to their memorials.

THE memorials I pass over, as monstrous, and which, by inevitable consequence, not only tend to cut off all treaties and alliances between the King's Majesty and this state, and all commerce with his loyal and faithful subjects, but likewise, in some cases, to the not suffering them to dwell or reside in these parts.

A demand which is against the band of common society amongst men, the sovereignty of the United Provinces, and liberty of the same, which have ever been a sanctuary for honest men, and a receptacle of all nations whatsoever. In a word, such *quale victor victo dare, non socius socium rogare solet.* The cruelty of Tiberius, Nero, Domitian, and others, hath, for the most part, been confined within the walls of Rome, or the borders of Italy, without persecuting their opposers, in a strange land, as an *omnibus umbra locis adero.*

Concerning the thirty-six articles of the treaty.

THE thirty-six articles evidently tend,

I. To hinder his Majesty's just right, and restitution to his hereditary crown and kingdom of England.

II. To involve the high and mighty States-General in a labyrinth and great inconveniences, who, at present, have no enemy.

III. To encourage and strengthen the King's irreconcilable enemies, and rebels, as the fourth, fifth, sixth, and thirty-first articles do import.

IV. Against the forementioned resolutions of the high and mighty States, in the year 1642, concerning the keeping a neutrality between

his Majesty's father, of blessed memory, and his parliament of England, namely, those of the first of November, and thirtieth of December, 1642, and the sixth of November, 1648.

V. Against a declaration and protestation of the noble and mighty States of Holland and West Friesland, dated the sixth of November, 1649, to the same purpose.

VI. Against all former treaties and alliances between his Majesty's royal predecessors and this State.

As, amongst others, that of the fourteenth of February, 1593, likewise consisting of thirty-six articles, between King Henry the Seventh of England, his heirs and successors, made in his name, and by his authority, as the words of the said treaty do bear, and Philip, Archduke of Austria, and Duke of Burgundy, which bind and oblige, to this very day, divers of the United Provinces, and the chief members and towns thereof, to assist the said Henry the Seventh and his heirs, (which unquestionably pleadeth for my master Charles the Second, he being the sixth from him in descent, *in linea recta*) and to afford them all favour and friendly assistance, as well by sea as by land, and prohibiteth any treaty and alliance to be made with the rebels, and the enemies of one another.

Whose undoubted right, according to God's sacred word, the laws, and the fundamental constitutions of the kingdom of England, as, *Rex non moritur*, &c. is firmly radicated in his Majesty's person, however he by violence be kept from it :

——— *Non unquam perdidit ordo*
Mutato sua jura loco.———

Insomuch that the ancient Romans, by the light of nature, did refuse to enter into any alliance with Nabis, the usurper of Lacedæmon, but continued the same with the just and lawful King Pelopides. *Amicitia et societas nobis nulla tecum est*, saith Titus Quintius, in the behalf of the Roman empire, *apud Livium, lib. 34. sed cum Pelopide rege Lacedæmoniorum justo et legitimo facta est.*

Finally, against the renewed treaty in the year 1550, December the fifteenth, made at Bins in Henegow, called the Perpetual Treaty, between the tutors of Mary, Queen of Scotland, in her minority, and Queen Mary of Hungary, regent for Charles the Fifth in the Low Countries, renewed again *in solenni forma*, word by word, at Edinburgh, 1594, between King James the Sixth and the high and mighty States, after the baptism of the late Prince Henry, his Majesty's son, celebrated at Sterling.

In the which it is promised and agreed upon, inviolably to maintain and preserve mutual friendship one with another, for all ages to come, and, as far in them lay, to prevent and hinder any damage that may befall either of them ; that they shall traffick in safety and security, and likewise, that they shall assist each other with ships, and all sort of ammunition, as may be seen at length in the treaty itself, inserted by Peter Borr, in his thirtieth book.

But how opposite this is to their fourth, fifth, and thirty first articles, propounded to your Lordships, appeareth clearly out of the words there contained, where they not only deny to the King, and his subjects, *privately*, all favour, friendship, and provision of war, but likewise endeavour to oblige your Lordships, *de facto*, to infest and make war upon them, as having now no other enemies, as they themselves give out, but Scotland.

But, expecting better things of the high and mighty States, and a religious observation of all treaties, resolutions, protestations, and declarations, your Lordships are intreated not to give ear to the said propositions, and memorials; as also, that the said thirty-six articles, perishing in their birth, may not be taken into any further consideration.

The Lord will reward every one according to his works; and, I wish, that he may ever bless the high and mighty States with his fatherly protection, and keep them from contracting any league and alliance, which may be attended with dishonour and damage unto them.

NEWS FROM FRANCE,

OR

A DESCRIPTION OF THE LIBRARY OF CARDINAL MAZARIN,

Before it was utterly ruined.

Sent in a letter from Monsieur G. Naudæus, keeper of the publick library.

London, printed for Timothy Garthwait, at the little north door of St. Paul's, 1659.
Quarto, containing six pages.

TO THE PARLIAMENT OF PARIS.

Gentlemen,

SINCE all the ordinances of your famous company are like thunderbolts, which dash in pieces each person whom they strike, and make dumb, or astonish every one that sees them fall: Give me leave to tell you, yet with all respects and submissions possible, that what you thundered out on the twenty-ninth of the last, against the library of the most eminent Cardinal Mazarin, my master, hath produced these two effects, with so much force and violence, that forasmuch as concerns the said library, it is not likely it should ever recover those losses which it hath already suffered, nor yet avoid those wherewith it is still threatened, unless by some very remarkable effect of your singular goodness and protection.

And, as for me, who cherish it as the work of my hands, and the miracle of my life, I protest to you ingenuously, that, since that stroke of thunder, which was cast, from the heaven of your justice, upon a piece so rare, so beautiful, so excellent, and which I have, by my watches and labours, brought to such perfection, as none can morally desire a greater, I have been so extremely astonished, that if the same cause which once made the son of Cræsus, though naturally dumb, to speak, did not now untie my tongue, to utter some sad accents; my last complaints, at the decease of this my daughter, as he there did, in the dangerous estate wherein he found his father, I should remain eternally dumb. And, in truth, gentlemen, since that good son saved the life of his father, in making them know, wherefore he did it; why may not I promise myself, that your benevolence and ordinary justice will save the life of this daughter, or, to speak plainer, this famous library, when I shall in few words have represented to you an abridgement of its perfections, being the most beautiful and the best furnished of any library, now in the world, or that is likely, if affection do not much deceive me, ever for to be hereafter? For it is composed of more than forty-thousand volumes, collected by the care of several Kings and Princes in Europe, by all the ambassadors that have set out of France these ten years, into places farthest remote from this kingdom. To tell you that I have made voyages into Flanders, Italy, England, and Germany, to bring hither whatever I could procure that was rare and excellent, is little in comparison of the cares which so many crowned heads have taken to further the laudable designs of his eminence. It is to these illustrious cares, gentlemen, that this good city of Paris is beholden for two-hundred-bibles, which we have translated into all sorts of languages, for an history, that is the most universal, and the best followed of any yet ever seen; for three thousand five-hundred volumes, purely and absolutely mathematical; for all the old and new editions, as well of the holy fathers, as of all other classick authors; for a company of schoolmen, such as never was the like; for lawyers of above an hundred and fifty provinces, the most strangers; above three-hundred bishops concerning councils; for rituals and offices of the church, an infinite number; for the laws and foundations of all religious houses, hospitals, communities, and confraternities; for rules and practical secrets in all arts, both liberal and mechanical; for manuscripts in all languages, and all sciences. And to put an end to a discourse, which may never have one, if I should particularise all the treasures which are heaped together within the compass of seven chambers, filled from top to bottom, whereof a gallery, twelve fathoms high, is reckoned but for one; it is to these illustrious royal personages, that this city of Paris, and not Paris only, but all France, and not France only, but all Europe, are indebted for a library. Wherein, if the good designs of his eminence had succeeded as happily, as they were forecast wisely, all the world should, before this, have had the liberty to see and turn over, with as much leisure as benefit, all that Egypt, Persia, Greece, Italy, and all the kingdoms of Europe, have given us, that is most singular and admirable. A strange thing, gentlemen, that the best furnished lawyers were constrained to confess their want, when they saw the great collection that I had made of books, in

their profession, in this rich library. That the greatest heap of volumes, in physick, were nothing, compared with the number of those which were here gathered in that faculty. That philosophy was here more beautiful, more flourishing, than ever it was in Greece. That Italians, Germans, Spaniards, Englishmen, Polonians, Dutch, and other nations, found here the histories of their own nations, far more rich and better furnished than they could find in their several native countries. That catholicks and protestants might here try all sorts of passages in authors, and accord all manner of difficulties. And to accumulate all these perfections, to enhance them, and set them in their true lustre; is it not enough, gentlemen, to shew you assured proofs of his Eminence's intentions, that he resolved to present it to the publick, and to make it a common comfort for all poor scholars, religious persons, strangers, and for whoever is learned, or curious, here to find what is necessary or fit for them? Is it not enough, gentlemen, to shew you the inscription, which should have been put upon the gate of the library, to invite the world to enter with all manner of liberty, and which should have been set up about three years ago, if wars, and domestick dissensions, had not prejudiced the good intentions of his eminence? It is this:

Ludovico XIV. feliciter imperante, Anna Austriaca, Castrorum Matre Augustissimâ Regnum sapienter moderante, Julius, S. R. E. Cardinalis Masarinus, utriusque Consiliorum Minister acceptissimus, Bibliothecam hanc omnium Linguarum, Artium, Scientiarum, libris instructissimam, Urbis splendori, Galliarum ornamento, Disciplinarum incremento, habens, volens, D. D. D. publicè patere voluit, censu perpetuo dotavit, posteritati commendavit. MDCXLVIII.

Behold, Gentlemen, an inscription, that may now be called ancient; for it is long since it was first spoken of, and though it contain many things, I can assure you, that his Eminence intended somewhat more in his generous design of founding a publick library in the midst of France, under the direction and protection of the prime presidents of three sovereign courts of this city, and of the lord attorney-general, persuading himself, that, by this means, so potent and venerable, posterity would perpetually enjoy a very advantageous pledge; and such, as without disparagement to the famous libraries of Rome, Milan, and Oxford, might pass, not only for the most goodly heap of books, that this age can shew, but likewise for the eighth wonder of the world.

And this being true, as I am ready to swear upon the Holy Gospels, that the intention of his Eminence was always this, as I tell you; Can you permit, gentlemen, the publick to be deprived of a thing so useful and precious? Can you endure that this fair flower, which yet spreads its odour through all the world, should wither in your hands? And can you suffer, without regret, so innocent a piece, which can never suffer, but all the world will bear in a share in its loss, to receive the arrest of its condemnation from those who were appointed to honour it, and to favour it with their protection? Consider, gentlemen, that when this loss hath been suffered, there will not be a man in the world, though

he have never so much authority in publick employment, never so much zeal to learning, that will be able to repair it. Believe, if you please, that the ruin of this library will be more carefully marked in all histories and calendars, than the taking and sacking of Constantinople. And, if my ten years toil in helping to gather such a work; if all the voyages which I have made for materials to it; if all the heavy cares that I have taken to set it in order; if the ardent zeal that I have had to preserve it to this hour, are not means sufficient to make me hope for some favour at your singular goodness; especially at this time, when you have the same excellent occasion to shew it towards this library, which you had three years since, when, by a solemn arrest or ordinance, you resolved it should be preserved, and that I should have the keeping of it: Yet give me leave, gentlemen, to have recourse to the muses, seeing they are so far concerned in the preservation of this new Parnassus, and joining the interest they have in you, with my most humble prayers, speak to you in the same language which the Emperor Augustus used, when the question was, Whether Virgil's *Æneids* should be destroyed or saved? Which doubtless, was not so inimitable a piece then, as this library will be to all posterity.

————— *solvetur litera dives?*
Et poterunt spectare oculi, nec parcere honori
Flamma suo; dignumque operis servare decorem?
Noster Apollo veta! Musæ prohibete Latine!
Sed legum est servanda fides, suprema voluntas
Quod mandat fierique jubet, parere necesse est.
Frangatur potius legum veneranda potestas,
Quam tot congestos noctesque diesque labores,
Hauserit una dies, supremaque jussa senatus.

Must such a rich and learned work be dissolv'd,
 Can eyes with patience see't in flames involv'd?
 Methinks the flames should spare it, sure the fire
 (More merciful than men) will sav't intire.
 Ah sweet Apollo hinder! Muses stay
 Their violence, and what though fond men say,
 'It is decreed; the ordinance is made;
 'The will of supreme power must be obey'd.'
 Rather let laws be broke, let reverend power,
 Lie prostrate, ere't be said, that in one hour,
 A work so toil'd for many years, was late,
 Quite ruin'd by commandment from the state.

GABRIEL NAUDEUS, a Parisian.

A GREAT VICTORY

Obtained by the

ENGLISH AGAINST THE DUTCH,

And the pursuing of the Dutch fleets, by General Blake and Sir George Ayscue, with one hundred and eighty men of war, towards the Downs, and their resolution to engage them, between Dover and Calais. The manner how Sir George Ayscue, with great policy, obtained the wind; the number sunk and taken; and two gallant ships, surprised by Captain Stoaks, laden with gold and elephants teeth. Also, the number of ships coming up the river of Thames for London, richly laden from the East Indies, the Streights, Virginia, and Barbadoes.

Die Septembris 27, 1652.

Extracted out of the original papers, sent, from Captain Stoaks, to the honourable council of state, on Sunday last, September the twenty-sixth.

Imprinted at London, for George Horton, 1652. Quarto, containing eight pages.

SIR,

UPON the advance of General Blake and Sir George Ayscue, with a fleet consisting of one-hundred and eight gallant sail, towards the Downs, they cleared the whole western channel before them, by sailing, as by order, within shot of each other; by which means, we cleared all from the coast of France to the coast of England, almost as if a bridge had been made over the channel; and thought to have fought the Dutch fleet at the same time, but they gave us the go-by, much like that of the Scots King, when he made an inroad into England, and are now sailed towards the Downs; whereupon, information being given thereof by the Assurance scout, who had forced her passage, even through the thickest of the action, from five Dutch men of war, the General hoised sail after them, but the wind, blowing stiff upon the north-point, could not reach so much as the enemy's rear-guard; but, on the twenty-fifth instant, we had intelligence of their standing over to the coast of France; whereupon, the General and Sir George Ayscue bore up towards the Downs, with a most potent and invincible armada, consisting of one hundred stout men of war, whereof twelve were merchants ships; that is, the five from the East Indies, two from the Streights, two from Lisbon, in Spain, two from Virginia, and one from Barbadoes; all which are sent up the river for London.

But not long had his excellency anchored upon those Neptune-streams, but he received advertisements from the Diamond, and other frigates, that had been scouting forth, that had been scouting forth, that a great fleet of Hollanders, consisting of at least two-hundred sail, was riding between Dover and Calais; whereupon, Major Bourn was commanded forth, with the great Andrew, the nimble Saphir, the famous Garland, and twenty-seven other stout men of war, as a forlorn to the navy, to engage the enemy, if possible.

After him sailed Sir George Ayscue, with thirty-five sail, as a reserve; and, within shot of the said squadron, the general bore up with the great ship, called the Commonwealth, and the rest of the fleet, flanking Sir George. The Dutch, perceiving their resolute motion, endeavoured to get Calais-point, but Sir George, to prevent them, bore up to the leeward, by which means he got the wind of the Dutch fleet, and hath now engaged them. The Zealand ships lie at the head of their fleet, and seem to be very resolute for action. Vice-admiral Evarson hath attempted to fire some of our ships, but was prevented; for Major Bourn, commanding the guard that night, received advertisements, from one of his scouts, of the near approach of some of the enemy's ships, and prepared to receive them; which he so effectually performed, that two of his fire-ships were soon waylaid, and the rest dissipated; insomuch that De Witte and Ruttier endeavour to decline engagement; but it is a thing impossible, for we now have them pretty fast upon the hug, and question not, by divine assistance, but to give them a sudden turn, by reason they are divided, having diversity of opinions, and manned with English, Flemings, Scots, Walloons, Switzers, and Germans. This great blow is suddenly expected; yet something further I should have insisted on, but I am forced to draw to a period, by reason the packet-boat is falling off, and our ships ready to engage.

Aboard the Ruby, Septemb. 25, 1652.

As touching our further victorious success against the Hollanders, it is confirmed by letters from Captain Stoaks, commander of the Dragon, to the council of state; who, having discovered two sail upon the coast of France, made up to them, and found them to have Swedish colours; but, coming aboard them, he discovered them to be Guiney ships, laden with gold ore and elephants teeth, and several letters, directed to Amsterdam, and other places in Holland, which, with other circumstances, gave cause to believe, that the lading of the said vessels belonged to the Dutch; whereupon, the captain brought the said ships into Plymouth, where they now remain. The officers of these prize ships say, that the gold ore and elephants teeth, and other lading therein, are worth about fourscore-thousand pounds; the said captain likewise took a pickroon of twenty-four guns, and twenty-four men, which he likewise brought into harbour.

By an express from Dover, thus: The Dutch fleet, under De Witte, came in sight of this town, at the back of the Goodwin, on the tenth instant; and, on the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth, plied to the westward; the fourteenth, they lay between Calais and Boulogne; the fifteenth, they came on this side with six frigates, and gave chase to a

Sandwich pink, but she got safe into the Downs; the sixteenth, De Witte, with about thirty sail, came to this side again, having gotten sight of eight sail, coming to the westward; bore up to them, and, between Foulkstone and this town, put the Swan frigate on shore, and three Morlaix men, laden with linnen-cloth, and two or three small men of this town, most of them ashore; the Mary fly-boat, and Brier frigate, got past them to this town, but exchanged several shot with them. Thus it pleased God to preserve them all. De Witte himself came very near the shore, and let several broad-sides fly at our ships, that were stranded, and Sandgate castle returned him several guns. Towards night he stood over to the French coast, to the rest of the fleet; and, that tide, all our ships got off, but not without some damage, only the Swan frigate got a bulge, which made her unserviceable at present; the seventeenth, he lay at half sea over, betwixt Boulogne and this town; the eighteenth, he came to the back of the Goodwin with sixty sail, being resolved to play some feats against the English, or else never to return to his own country.

De Witte is joined with Ruttyer, having seventy of the greatest ships that ever yet were set forth. Stout Evanson, of Zealand, is vice-admiral, whose mariners are famous, and were once accounted the stoutest enemy that ever sailed upon the seas. But, truly Mr. Launsman, though you now usurp a privilege upon small game, the butter-box of your trifling honour may, perchance, melt away, in a hot day, with the English. For know, that injuries, in this kind, evermore prove like stones thrown up into the air; they may touse lustily for a while, like the aspiring sound of a trumpet, but, at last, they must of necessity fall down upon your ambition, to dissolve the injustice of your imperious spirits. They are grown so high and imperious, that they begin to truss up poor Englishmen in several places, as a faulcon does wild ducks, especially about the coast of Norfolk, where, on Sunday, the twelfth instant, they adventured into the very harbour at Wells, and took away some vessels. This sudden exploit caused divers gentlemen, and others, with their families, to return higher into the country.

By an express from Yarmouth, it is certified, that there is a fleet of seventy sail of colliers lying ready to be convoyed for London; and that there is another great fleet also in readiness at Newcastle, with thirteen sail of island vessels of Captain Worm's fleet; but from him, and the rest, we yet hear no news. We hear that Colonel Airs and Doctor Chamberlain being bound for Ireland, through distress of weather, the vessel was in great danger by a storm, and, it is much feared, the passengers are cast away.

The Hollanders have agreed to send a navy to the East-Indies, with commission to destroy and depopulate those places of the English; they are old excellent at the routing of you in high language, but are not a little moved, that you have gotten so many considerable prizes from their merchants.

From France they write, that the prodigious force, and matchless valour of the Duke of York, causeth great admiration in the enemy's camp, who have felt wonderful and strange exploits, and yet the vanquished continually find his grace and favour; for, upon beating up of some of the Spanish quarters, a French colonel persuaded him to use

the benefit of the advantage, which the darkness of the night afforded him. No, no, said he, it fits me not to hunt after night-stolen victories. *Malo me fortunæ peniteat, quam victoriæ pudeat.* I had rather repent me of my fortune than be ashamed of my victory.

From the navy, further thus: We have received advertisements from Genoa, that eight of our ships, whereof four are men of war, and four merchantmen, have had a great dispute with nine Dutch men of war, and, after a short conflict, with great gallantry and resolution performed on both sides, it pleased God to crown the English with victory, and to deliver into their hands five of the enemy's best ships; but three got off, though, notwithstanding, they were much rent and torn; the other was sunk. These five, with those two, taken by Captain Stoaks, make up the whole number forty-seven; wherein were found great store of rich merchandises, ammunition, and, at least, seven-hundred pieces of ordnance; which is a great weakening to the States of Holland, and no little discouragement to their mariners, to see their own ships manned forth against them.

These particulars from Captain Stoaks were confirmed by a letter to the council of state, on Sunday last, being the twenty-sixth of this instant, September, 1652.



A

CRY AGAINST A CRYING SIN,*

OR

A just complaint to the Magistrates,

Against them who have broken the statute-laws of God, by killing of men merely for theft. Manifested in a petition long since presented to the common-council of the city of London on the behalf of transgressors. Together with certain proposals, presented by Colonel Pride, to the right honourable the general council for the army, and the committee, appointed by the Parliament of England, to consider of the inconveniencies, mischiefs, chargeableness, and irregularities in their law,

JER. v. 4, 5, 6.

Therefore I said, surely these are poor, they are foolish; for they know not the way of Jehovah, nor the judgment of their God.

I will get me unto the great men, and I will speak unto them; for they have known the way of Jehovah, the judgment of their God; but these have altogether broken the yoke, and burst the bonds.

* Vide the 295th article in the catalogue of pamphlets.

Therefore a lion out of the forest shall slay them; a wolf of the evenings shall spoil them; a leopard shall watch over their cities; every one that goeth out thence shall be torn in pieces, because their transgressions are many, and their backslidings are strong.

Hosea v. 10, 11, 12.

The princes of Judah were like them that removed the bound; I will pour out my wrath upon them like water.

Ephraim is oppressed and broken in judgment, because he willingly walked after the commandment.

Therefore, will I be unto Ephraim as a moth; and to the house of Judah as rottenness.

Hosea viii. 12.

I have written to him the great things of my law, but they were counted as a strange thing.

Printed at London, for Samuel Chidley, dwelling in Bow-Lane, at the sign of the Chequer, 1652. Quarto, containing thirty-four pages in red letter.

THE PREFACE.

THIS little book reflecteth upon all those, who have broken the statute laws of God, by killing of men merely for theft. Let such sinners who are the judges, or executioners of such over-much justice, be ashamed, and confounded for defiling the land with blood; if they hold on this their wonted course, now the light of lawful liberty breaketh forth, will not the land spue them out? For the earth crieth against this sin, which cannot be cleansed in an ordinary way, without the blood of him that sheddeth it. This is one of the abominations of the time, for which the saints ought to mourn.

It is long since this following petition was presented to Thomas Andrews, Esq. the then lord mayor, and to the aldermen and common-council; but, had they done but their duties, I had no need to print and publish these books in red letters, and present the same to them in the midst of their jollity, and to the learned judges of the land; yea, to the commissioners of oyer and terminer, and goal-delivery, at the sessions at Newgate, before whom I appeared, to put them in mind of their duty, and of the law of God, which they had forgotten, and rested too much upon an arm of flesh; yea, if they had done what they were bound in conscience to do, and had observed that most righteous law, to which they were sworn, it would have saved me a labour of going to the council of state, general council of the army, or the parliament. Now, seeing little fruit yet appears, for the establishing of the laws of God in this nation (for the lives of men are taken away merely for unvaluable trifles) I am once more pressed in spirit to publish the same, in manner and form following. Thus sound-

ing an alarm against the workers of iniquity, that they may repent, and turn from their evil ways; so delivering my soul, and clearing myself of that blood-guiltiness, which lieth upon others, and especially upon rich men, who are called to weep and howl for the miseries that shall come upon others. For the bread of the needy is the life of the poor, and he that defraudeth him of it is a murderer, and the scripture saith, 'Thou shalt take no ransom for the life of a murderer that is guilty of death, but he shall surely be put to death.' But I hope, that some righteous men will take the matter into serious consideration, these our endeavours tending not only to the good of those transgressors, who have not deserved death by the laws of God, but also, of those who put them to death unjustly, lest the justice of God take hold upon those who are the causers of it, and that the like punishment be inflicted justly upon them, which they inflict upon others unjustly. And, indeed, I do admire that men who profess to be governed by God's laws, and stand against tyranny, should have a finger in such a work! Surely, such men, though they pretend never so much religion, are not fit to pray, nor to be prayed with: For, 'when they stretch forth their hands, God will hide his eyes, and, though they make many prayers, he will not hear them whose hands are full of blood.'

To the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons in common council assembled.

The mournful petition of many inhabitants of the City of London, in the behalf of many thousand transgressors.

Sheweth,

THAT, forasmuch as the righteous God exacteth no more of sinful man, than his iniquities deserve, no magistrate is to punish a wicked man for his iniquity, beyond the rule of equity; that, seeing it is evident, that whatsoever is good is of God, and the contrary of Abaddon; and that no man's will, though great, is good, unless it be correspondent to the will of him who is greater than the greatest; nor the law of any authority whatsoever, unless it be according to the law of him, who is higher than the highest: Therefore, when great ungodly men have, by their own wills, and inhuman laws, for many years, destroyed not only the righteous for conscience-sake, but also the wicked undeservedly, this was iniquity to be punished by the judge, though done by judges themselves, who, by their over-much righteousness, and over-much wickedness, the people abetting them, have brought death and destruction upon this land, and the hand of the Lord is stretched out still, against this sinful nation, and unless they repent, they shall surely perish.

That the head of this land is the sinful city of London, who, instead of bringing forth monthly good, for the healing of the nation, doth bring forth that which tendeth to the destruction thereof; grey hairs being sprinkled here and there upon them, and they not aware; for they consider not, how many are destroyed every month, by the law of man,

contrary to the law of God, who hath declared, that if a thief be found breaking thro', the sun being risen upon him, and he be smitten that he die, blood shall be shed for him, Exod. xxii. 3, from whence it appeareth, that those are guilty before the Lord, who take away the life of any man, merely for stealing, when the Lord requireth, that he should make full restitution out of his estate, or, if he have nothing, that he should be sold for his theft. But contrariwise, their lives are taken away, merely for stealing; and commonly many, though found notorious thieves, yet have been discharged, with little or no punishment, either in person or purse, to the great damage of those who have lost their goods, and to the imboldening of the malefactors, and the want of the due execution of the law of God upon them; and not setting them in a way to make restitution, to the owners, tendeth to the utter destruction, both of their bodies and souls.

Therefore, our desire is, that ye would take these things into serious consideration, and, in your wisdoms, take such a prudent and effectual course, that, in the execution of justice, the remedy may not be worse than the disease, like those who kill their wounded patients, and wound themselves; but that punishment may be equalised proportionable to the offences, that the prosecutors, or executors of the law, may have no cause to repent, and that one witness may not rise against any man, for any iniquity, but that, at the mouth of two or three witnesses, the matter may be established; and that ye would, by no means, make the wills of any men, or any human laws whatsoever, any rules for you to walk by, further than you see them agreeable to the holy will and word of God; and that ye would, according to your power, seek to remove the dishonourable badges of infamy, from off your sinful city and nation, though never so ancient, familiar, common, and customary, and that ye would address yourselves to the parliament, for the obtaining of these things.

And your affectionate petitioners shall pray.

Here followeth a letter, written to Thomas Andrews, the Lord Mayor that then was.

London-Bridge, June 25th, 1649.

Right Honourable,

I Hope your lordship hath not forgotten our petition in the behalf of transgressors; Christ made intercession to God for transgressors, who were guilty of eternal death before God; we make intercession for men, who are not guilty of temporal death before men. Divers petitions have been promoted in the behalf of saints, and it was a very good and acceptable service; this is for sinners whom it may be, God will call effectually, for Christ died for the ungodly, and received gifts for the rebellious. I have written this inclosed paper, to further the petition; I desire that my counsel may be acceptable unto your honour, so long as it is agreeable with God's word, and if it be agreeable to your

lordship's affection, I hope you will assist in it according to your power, and prosecute it with all your might, and make haste, and not delay, to keep the righteous judgments of the God of judgment, who hath promised to be for a spirit of judgment, to him that sitteth in judgment.

Right honourable, you may be pleased to remember what I said; I know no friend of mine that is guilty of theft; what I have done is in conscience to God, and compassion to my native country, and in tender respect to your honour, that the heavy wrath of God may not fall upon you, and the whole nation; at least, that some of the rods of God may be taken away, or that some of his judgments may be stayed. I desire to be a good example to the sons of men, that they may clear themselves of blood-guiltiness. I desire your lordship again to consider seriously of this inclosed writing; I have shewed it to just men, and they approve of it. Your lordship in your wisdom may take counsel of wise men, and of the ancients, concerning this matter, and hear what they say thereunto; but, above all, search the scripture, for whatsoever is not according to that, hath no light in it; and it is a maxim in law, that all laws which are not according to God's law, and pure reason, are void and null; and, if so, then not binding to a citizen, or to any other under Heaven, and so are no rules for me to walk by; but it is the word of God, which is binding, and yet is not bound.

Honourable Sir, I am,

Your Lordships humble servant,

SAMUEL CHIDLEY.

Certain Reasons of weighty consideration, in reference to the petition to the Common-Council, in behalf of transgressors.

ALTHOUGH there be ground sufficient enough in the petition itself to evince, that no malefactor's life should be taken away, merely for theft; when the Lord requireth, that satisfaction should be made out of his estate, and, if he have nothing, that he should be sold for his theft; yet, because of the ignorance and hardness of men's hearts, and their cruelty and revenge, I shall, for their regulation, propose some things to their consideration.

To take away the life of any man only for theft, as aforesaid, is iniquity, because it is against the rule of equity; it is not good, because not of God; it is not correspondent with his will, it hath no agreement with his most righteous law, but is inhuman, bloody, barbarous, and tyrannical, and provoketh the God of judgment, to execute his judgments upon the nation that abetteth the same; yea, it tendeth to their utter destruction, to destroy men by the laws of men, contrary to the laws of God; consider I say, how contrary it is to the rule of equity, the blessed and righteous law of God.

According to the rule of equity, there is required 'life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning for burning,

wound for wound, stripe for stripe,' Exod. xxi. 23, 24, 25. It is not life for eye, but eye for eye; nor eye for tooth, but tooth for tooth; so that, if a man require more, it is iniquity. Prov. xxx. 6. Therefore, if a man put out his neighbour's eye, strike out his tooth, and bruise his hand, but doth not kill, he ought not to be killed for this, but must lose his eye, and his tooth, and as he hath done to his neighbour, so it must be done to him; as it is written, breach for breach, eye for eye, tooth for tooth; as he hath caused a blemish in a man, so shall it be done to him again; and he that killeth a beast, shall restore it, and he that killeth a man, shall be surely put to death; and the same Lord saith, 'Ye shall have one manner of law, as well for the stranger, as for one of your own country,' Levit. xxiv. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22. The Lord of life hath expressly declared, and it is known to all men living, 'That the life is more than meat, and the body is more than raiment,' Luke xii. 22. If then the life be more than meat, no man's life should be taken away for meat, much less for raiment, which is inferior; and all things, necessary for the temporal life and body of man, are comprehended in these terms, food and raiment, Deut. x. 18. 1 Tim. vi. 8.

The God of the spirits of all flesh hath declared plainly, in his most just and righteous law, That, 'if a thief be found breaking through, the sun being risen upon him, and be smitten that he die, blood shall be shed for him,' Exod. xxii. 3. And he renders this reason, for he should make full restitution, and, if he have nothing, he shall be sold for his theft; and the Lord hath not said, that he that stealeth food, or raiment, shall be put to death, or that his blood shall be shed; but, 'Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed,' Gen. ix. 6. So then it appeareth, that it is murder by the law of God to kill a man merely for stealing, when the Lord saith he should make full restitution, and if he have nothing, he shall be sold, not killed, for his theft; and, amongst his statute-laws, hath stated particular cases in this, as well as in other things, and made them so plain, that mean capacities may decide controversies of this nature.

And, as there is no precept nor consequence in the word of God for this unjust practice, so there is no precedent in Israel, but many in England, the more is their misery; but, as that ancient Father Austin saith, That man is miserable, who is not sensible of his misery, which may well be applied unto this sinful and miserable nation, who are not sensible of the dangerous consequence of this one deadly evil amongst the rest; how unjust a thing it is to kill a man for stealing fourteen pence. Let all men reasonable judge; for so is the law of this land, according to which the people are forced to prosecute the thieves; but, in King Solomon's time, Men did not despise a thief in some case, Prov. vi. 30. And he who is greater than Solomon, even the Lord Jesus Christ, who is the Prince of the Kings of the earth, hath not given the least hint, that he that stealeth food, or raiment, should be killed, but He, that leadeth into captivity, shall go into captivity; and he, that killeth with the sword, must be killed with the sword. Revel. xiii. 10. But, concerning theft, it is said, 'Let him that stole, steal no more;' he doth not say, let him be hanged; 'but rather let him labour

with his hands the thing that is good, that he may have to distribute to him that needeth, 'Ephes. iv. 28. And it is expressly commanded That 'he that will not work, neither should he eat,' 2 Thes. iii. 10. Many precepts, precedents, and propositions may be brought to confirm the premisses, but this is enough at this time. A word to the wise is sufficient.

A letter written the 11th of December, 1651, by Samuel Chidley, to the Right Honourable the Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer, and Gaol-Delivery of Newgate.

Right Worshipful and Honourable,

ALTHOUGH I know not any of my acquaintance to be guilty of theft, yet I seek to save the lives of these sinners whom God would have preserved; and, I coming down to this judgment-seat, it being as free for me as another to see justice done; and, observing your proceedings from the beginning hitherto, how, in many things, you go against the very letter and equity of the law of the only law-maker, by whom, and by which, yourselves must be judged, caused me to call to mind, how that great men are not always wise, neither do the aged always understand judgment.

Right Honourable, I am sorry to see you go on still in your wonted course, of arraigning men for their lives merely for theft. I have observed, that the persons, who are arraigned before your honours, are poor labourers, and such creatures who stole things of a small value, peradventure, for mere necessity; yet you arraign them for their lives, when the Law of God requireth their preservation in such a way, that they may make satisfaction, and not, if disabled, to force them into a necessity of stealing again; but they are great sinners indeed, who rob men of their precious lives. And the worst of men are such, as despise and destroy thieves that steal, merely to satisfy their hunger. It seems some of the thieves you will press, for not holding up their hands at your command, or for not answering to that interrogatory, guilty? or not guilty? Consider, I pray you, how circumstantial these things are; the weight of trials depends not hereupon, as I humbly conceive. For it is possible that a murderer, when he is arraigned, may want his hands, and another may be dumb; yet you may proceed to judgment against him, if sufficient evidence come in, and that the jury, who are judges in matter of fact, and, if they will, in matters of law, find them guilty. Surely you must take no ransom for the life of a murderer, though he cannot, or will not, hold up his hand at the bar, or say, that he is guilty; for, by the law, no man is bound to accuse himself, therefore the guilty person is not bound to say he is guilty; and, if he should say, not guilty, what is he the better?

This is my opinion, which I humbly leave to the serious consideration of this honourable bench. I would to God that you would try such men by the laws of God, who cast themselves upon God and the country. And oh! that you would put the judgments of God in exe-

caution, seeing you are his stewards; all laws being subordinate to God's laws, as the country is to God himself; then your tranquillity would be lengthened. Consider what I say, in the fear of God, for life is above liberty and estate. The jewel of one man's life all your estates cannot balance. I took notice of a passage of the Lord Chief Justice Rolls, and it was well observed, how that the thieves are honest, before they come in gaol, and there they become naught, and learn to lye, by saying, not guilty, when they had confessed it before. If it be so, then great pity it that they should not be in such a place, where they may be put in a way and course to make satisfaction according to the direction of the wisdom of God, by whom princes and nobles, yea, all the judges of the earth are said to rule. So, leaving these conscientious dictates to your serious thoughts, I subscribe myself,

Sessions, Dec. 11,
in the year of
Christ 1651.

Your humble servant, devoted to
the fear of God, and service of
the commonwealth, according to
the laws of God, and not otherwise,

SAMUEL CHIDLEY.

This letter was delivered unto the bench, about the third hour of the day, where, when Mr. Chidley was called, he made answer, and came to the board, and the letter was there publicly owned by him, as his own hand-writing, which he would stand by and justify, it being, as he said, a discharging of his conscience, as a testimony before them all, which he left to their serious consideration; whereupon he was commanded, by the bench, to depart, and was put out of the court, he speaking in the justification of the statutes of God to be right, and the precepts of men to be wrong, in taking away men's lives for such trivial matters.

After he was put out, they gave sentence against the prisoner at the bar, who was arraigned for stealing, and would not hold up his hand, nor plead, but besought them that the letter might be read publicly, that all the bench might hear; and then, saith he, afterwards I will plead, whatsoever comes of it, whether I live, or die. But they would not hearken unto him, but proceeded; and, by the Recorder, Mr. Steele, who was their mouth, gave sentence against him, which was to this effect: That he should go from thence to the place from whence he came, and be led into a dark room where there was no light, and should be stripped naked, only his privy members and his head covered, and his arms stretched forth, both on the one side and on the other, as far as they could be stretched; and that he should be laid along on his back, and have as much weight laid upon him as he was able to bear, and more; and, the next day, he should have only three morsels of barley-bread, without any drink; and, the day following, three draughts of the kennel-water running under Newgate as much as he could drink, and so to remain in that condition from day to day till he died.

Psal. cxix. 126, 127, 128. It is time for thee, Lord, to work, for

they have made void thy law. Therefore I love thy commandments above gold, yea, above fine gold. Therefore I esteem all thy precepts, concerning all things to be right, and I hate every false way.

To the Right Honourable the Council of State.

The humble petition of Samuel Chidley,

Sheweth,

THAT your petitioner, setting the fear of the Lord of Lords before his eyes, and advancing the judgments and laws of the God of Gods in his heart before the precepts of frail man, was moved, in zeal to his most sacred Majesty, to discharge his conscience in the best and most peaceable way he could devise, and, accordingly, hath given testimony of the truth, at the judgment-seat before the sessions in the Old-Bailey, the eleventh of this month, as may appear unto your honours by the printed relation hereunto annexed; yet, notwithstanding they proceed according to the usual custom, which is against the law of God, the good things contained in the solemn league and covenant of the nation, the oath of every freeman of London, reason itself, the witness of conscience well checked, or rightly rectified, and the whole creation of God.

My humble desire is, that this honourable council would be pleased, in their prudence, to take such a speedy course, that the condemned persons yet alive (who are not guilty of death by the laws of God, nature, or equity) may be reprieved, till the parliament of this commonwealth hath heard and determined this matter; so shall you find much comfort. Jehovah will be with the good.

And your petitioner shall pray, &c.

SAMUEL CHIDLEY.

To the Right Honourable the General Council for the Army.

The Humble Proposals of Samuel Chidley,

Sheweth,

THAT, forasmuch as the Lord of Lords hath anointed you to be the heads of the forces, which he hath mustered up for the destruction of that generation of sinful men, who are compacted together, as one man, to establish iniquity by their laws, which they have set up in direct opposition to the laws of God, and have made use of the Kings of the earth, as their horns, to protect them in the exercise of their bloody cruelty; and, seeing the Lord of Hosts hath, in a great measure, subdued your enemies, and that your swords are not returned empty, it concerns you, right honourable, to testify your thankfulness by yielding

obedience unto the statute-laws of God, which, at this day, in the main fundamental parts thereof, are trampled upon by those who have the form of godliness, and deny the power thereof in their practices, as may appear by their putting of men to death for trivial matters, contrary to the law of God; for God's law saith, If a thief steal, he shall make restitution out of his estate; and, if he have nothing, he is to be sold for his theft, but not killed. Now, although my soul abhors the sin of theft, it deserving the punishment of eternal death before God, how much more the crying sin of murder? And, though I know not any of them, and, for aught I know, not one of them knows me, yet, because I see no man valiant for God, nor stand to make up the gap, I, for want of a better, am moved, in zeal for God's glory, to cry out against the irrational and irregular proceedings of men, who set up or maintain a flag or standard of defiance against their own consciences, and the most righteous laws of the only law-maker; and this I have endeavoured to do in such a peaceable way, that my transaction of this business for God may not savour of any bitterness of spirit in me, against the persons of those men, or contempt of their lawful authority, who sit in judgment, and do err therein, as I humbly conceive; but, seeing God hath said, He will magnify his law, and make it honourable; and that it hath been a usual course with him to make choice of weak instruments, to make his truth known; I, therefore, upon this account, was resolved to put forth myself, and engage my heart in this business, the consequence whereof, when accomplished, will be more than I will speak of at this time; and, although I endure some reproaches for it, some saying, What a thief is this to attempt such a work? And that none but thieves would do it; yet I am led forward by such a spirit, as, I hope, will so carry me upon the wings of his providence in the managing hereof, that I shall not be discouraged, notwithstanding human frailty. And, because I have a seasonable opportunity to acquaint your honours with this business, and to crave your assistance, I desire you, in the first place, to consider my printed papers, wherein I have shewed my dislike of putting men to death for stealing; and, for the further amplification and enlargement thereof, I desire you to consider of these positions:

1. That God is the only law-maker, and that his law is the ancientest and the best that ever was, or can be possibly invented by any parliament, to which all men are bound under pain of damnation; and that whatsoever laws and proceedings are opposite thereunto, in the smallest measure, are unjust, and the executioners thereof do sin; and, by how much the greater the precept is, by so much the more do they offend that violate the same.

2. God hath no where given liberty, but hath prohibited, that the life of any man should be taken away for stealing, and hath manifested he would have their lives preserved; therefore to take away their lives is a sin, a crying sin, yea, I may say it is a national sin, for which God hath, and will visit them with the arrows of his indignation. Yet, the people are so blinded with this corrupt custom, that they know it not, neither will they understand, but think they do well, and that

they shall have peace, though they walk on in darkness, while the foundations of the earth are out of course.

Obj. And, whereas they object, that it is the law of the land to put thieves to death for stealing to the value of thirteen pence halfpenny,

I answer. That no law is to be observed, if it be against the law of God, especially in the taking away of men's lives; yea, God was so far from commanding such thieves to be put to death, that he requireth their blood at the hands of them that shed it, though done in the very act of breaking through, if the sun be risen upon them.

3. The putting them to death is expressly against the law of God, because it disableth them for ever from making satisfaction to the owners of the goods; yea, such is the corruption of the laws and customs of this land, that he, that discovers the thief, is bound over to prosecute him, tho' it be to the taking away of his life; and, after he has done that, the owner shall sustain damage nevertheless, and he can have no more than the life of the thief; and some men are so ignorant, cruel, hard-hearted, and revengeful, that they will take away the lives of the petty thieves in revenge, taking an opportunity, upon the advantage of the law, to exercise their bloody cruelty upon them.

And such is the corruption of the laws, that, if the thief steal to the value of thirteen pence halfpenny, he shall be hanged, as Judge Byron, in his cases, hath declared; and sometimes their lives are taken away upon a single evidence; whereas there ought to be two witnesses to prove every fact, and one witness ought not to rise up against any man, to put him to death. So God hath said, whose word is a law amongst saints, though sinners cast the same behind their backs.

4. The law of putting poor thieves to death for stealing, that are not able to make restitution out of their estates, is against God's law; because, in such cases, God hath said they shall be sold for their theft. Now, though they are worth somewhat, while they are living, yet, when they are dead, they are worth nothing; yea, a living dog is better than a dead lion. Men would rather, in such cases, bury dead men, than buy them; and, how unjust a thing it is to put them to death, seeing the apostle saith, Let them labour with their hands, let all rational men judge. The apostle saith, They should labour with their hands: No, saith the bench, they shall be hanged; tie up their hands, and he that hath benefit of clergy, and can read his neck-verse, burn him on the hand. By this he is disabled for the present, that he cannot labour with his hand, and, if he would, he is forced into a necessity of stealing again, if no man will set him on work; which thing men will be cautious to do to one that carrieth such a brand of infamy upon him.

5. This murdering law is the cause wherefore many murders are committed by robbers in the act of stealing; for the thieves know it is a hanging matter to steal, and it is no more to commit murder; and then, for safety of their lives, and to hide their theft, they commit murder, for fear the party should come and witness against them, to the taking away of their lives.

6. This law is the cause wherefore many thieves escape, and persons come not in to prosecute them, because they find, that the remedy

tain riches certain; as may appear by their putting thieves to death for stealing.

Now, when I found so little fruit in the magistrates of the city of London, as you may see by my printed relations, I was sorry that my endeavours produced no better effect amongst them, whose predecessors have always been very forward to put the laws of man in execution, though they were never so ridiculous, and contrary to reason and religion.

I sent and went unto others, whom it likewise principally concerned, even to those who are called the learned judges of the land, and declared my judgment to as many of them as I could meet with, that they might not suffer their mouth to cause their flesh to sin, by pronouncing unjust murdering sentences.

I went down also to the sessions, but I could gather no grapes off thorns.

And after I had delivered a letter to the lord president Bradshaw, to be presented unto the council of state; I remembered that the officers of the army were men professing great things, for the advancement of God's glory; so I presented some humble proposals to those honourable gentlemen, which were well resented by them, a copy of which I have sent you here inclosed with this petition, which should have been presented to the house; but some of the members conceive the business to be proper for you to take cognisance of, because you are appointed to consider, and make report of the evils of your law, for reformation thereof; therefore you ought to cry out against murder before you do any thing else, for this concerneth men's lives; the best of your actions herein, in my judgment, having been at the most but a tything of mint, anise, and cummin, and you have neglected mercy, one of the weighty matters of the law; for I am verily persuaded, that it was in your power to have put a stop to the murdering of those men which were hanged at Tyburn the last sessions, for stealing five shillings and six pence. I hoped that you would have gone to the root, and not cropped only the branches of wicked laws. I am angry, and grieved at the heart, that you should so dally in God's matters, as not to acquaint the house with such a gross, unnatural, inhuman practice of the law, as killing of the petty thieves. I desire the Lord to give you repenting and relenting hearts, for doing his work so negligently, to value men's lives no more; for it is a sin, and shame, that the land should still be defiled with more blood; and how you can answer it in the day of account, for not preventing such mischief, when you knew how to do it, and had an opportunity in your hands, I know not. In my opinion, if you follow your work never so close, if you omit this business of weight, you will make a long harvest of a little fruit; no doubt, but the time will be long before you have swimm'd through the ocean sea of your troublesome laws. For, what is the chaff to the corn, or the heap of ashes to the spark that is hid under it? May not the Parliament, by the west-wind of their legislative power, blow such combustible stubble away? You sit as refiners, but time is precious, and dross is not worth the labour of refining, and a leaden law is too heavy for an honest heart; and we ought not to think, that such a law, because it is a law, will be a sufficient excuse to the execu-

pay for their theft. And then, if any (as I hope many will) be converted in this their captive condition, O, how will they bless the time that ever such compulsion was used, whereby they learned to know themselves, and to remember their Creator! And he, that is an instrumental means of converting one poor sinner, shall have no cause to be sorry for it in the day of account.

7. Another abuse in the proceedings of the law of this land is, that, whereas God's law requireth that the witnesses should be executioners of death on their malefactor, a condemned executioner doth it, who is the notoriousst rogue that can be found, and one that knows nothing of the business, whether he, whom he hangs, be an honest man or a knave; he will hang a martyr as well as a thief, but, doubtless, he hath a check of conscience, as well as his masters, else why will he ask them forgiveness before he turns them off? Now all that can be alledged for the hangman is, he doth but his office, he is but an executioner of the law and sentence. And the like the judges do alledge for themselves. Alas (say they) what can we do, we are but the executioners of the law of the land, and, till the parliament alter the law, we must observe our ordinary rules. Why do you come to us? What would you have us do? We have not power.

But judges ought to be men of courage, fearing God, and hating covetousness, and such as will observe God's laws, and judge according to his statute book; and by the laws of God, no executioner ought to inflict death upon any man, unless he in the execution of him be satisfied in his own conscience, that the man ought to die, else he is a murderer after a manner, though the offender deserveth death; yet, if a man be not convinced of it, he ought not to put him to death, by any command whatsoever, and, if the witnesses will not do it, they must be severely dealt with.

This is my opinion, which I humbly submit to the consideration of those who have more understanding than myself.

8. Another abuse, which I find in the proceedings of the law, is in the pressing men to death, because they will not hold up their hands at the bar, or say they are guilty, or not guilty; upon which circumstantial nicety, they condemn them to be pressed in such a tyrannical manner, that the very sentence itself is enough to terrify the poor creatures, and make them open their mouths to confess their own guiltiness, or else to lye against their own consciences.

Obj. But it is objected, That they are pressed to death, within half an hour at the most, and that they are not kept in such a lingering condition, according to the sentence.

Answ. I answer: If they put them to death before their time, herein they go beyond their commission. But indeed the executioners do it out of compassion to the condemned, to dispatch him out of his torment; something like a physician, that will give his patient something in pity, to rid him out of his pain, because he believeth he must die, and cannot escape his fit of sickness, so making more haste than good speed.

Now the proceeding against such malefactors who will not hold up their hands, and plead, is without examination of witnesses, yet they

will take his life away *pro confesso*; but by what law I know not, unless a law of antichrist; I am sure such precepts came neither from Mount Sion, nor Mount Sinai: these have out-stripped Herod and Pontius Pilate. The Gentiles, that knew not the law, did not compel man to lye, by saying not guilty, when they were guilty; nor to go against the law of nature, to accuse themselves by confessing their own guilt; but of all cruelty there is none like that of Antichrist, the Man of Sin, and that beast with seven heads, and ten horns, spoke of in Revel. xiii. and they exercise it upon their own brethren, even the members of their church. Thus the crowned locusts, in the midst of Ægyptian darkness, are a plague to the men of the earth.

But the way to try a thief is to examine the witnesses, and, if they prove matter of fact, the judge is to declare, how much he must pay, and to command that law to be put in execution. That his estate should be seized, and, if it will not satisfy, he must deliver up his person, not so much as to lose a limb, or any member of his body, but to go immediately to the work-house, or place where he may be safely kept with sufficient food, and work enough, as much as he is able to do, and ply it constantly early and late every day (Lord's days excepted) and to have sufficient time to sleep and rest; and when they have wrought out their theft, then to be freed, and, if they steal again, to serve them in the same kind; as, if the thief steal a hundred pounds, he should pay two hundred pounds, if it be found with him; but, if he have spent the money, he shall pay four hundred pounds.

If this course were well followed, Tyburn would lose many customers; for it would much abate the number of thieves and murderers.

My desire is, that your honours would have the parliament to put God's law in execution, concerning this thing, and what it is I have declared before.

It hath been desired, that laws should be drawn up from God's word, for the government of this nation; but unless the parliament will be pleased to confirm them, what are we the better? Ordinary men cannot impose, all they can do is only to propose; only God hath declared, His testimonies must be bound up, and his law sealed amongst his disciples. But others do take upon them to make laws besides, and contrary to the laws of God; moreover, if the parliament should countenance such a thing, that certain men should be appointed to draw up laws, according to the laws of God, it will ask a great deal of time; and it is a work that the wisest and holiest men, in the world, will find too great for them to undertake to do, without errors, unless they were infallibly inspired by the Holy Ghost. Moses was in the mount with God, forty days and forty nights, and neither eat nor drank; and forty days and forty nights after that likewise; neither do we read, that he saw sleep with his eyes, in all that time; and after he wrote the laws and precepts for all Israel, with the statutes and judgments; he was therein guided by the immediate direction of the Spirit of God infallibly, and how long he was writing them, we know not, but they are very full and brief, and very sufficient for the government of that nation; neither had any nation such an excellent law as Israel had; neither was there so excellent a government amongst any people,

as amongst the people of the Jews, so long as they forsook not the law of the Lord, nor cast aside the word of the holy one of Israel. Their chief city was called the city of righteousness, the faithful city, righteousness lodged in it; their judges and counsellors were gods, and children of the Most High, because the word of God was committed unto them. Now may be it will be a long time before the Parliament will establish the laws of God, or give way for laws to be imposed upon this nation, which are suitable thereunto; and when such a work is set upon, it will be long before it be accomplished, for whosoever taketh it upon them, must devote themselves wholly to the work, and when they have used their best endeavours, a wonder it will be, if the laws they draw up, with the manner of proceedings, will be so perfect, that they need no amendments, in respect of manner and form; and a long time will be spent in debate, before such a work be admitted to be attempted. And therefore I humbly conceive, that it is a meet, that this business, concerning the preservation of the petty thieves, should be concluded now, with all speed, being out of controversy, and afterwards to do the rest according as time and opportunity will afford. For this doth concern life, which is above person, name, liberty, and estate. And this thing, being done, will render the antichristian priests, and lying lawyers, the basest of men, who have lived upon the souls and bodies of men, and have not had the fear of God before their eyes, but have made their belly their God, and their glory their shame, and their end shall be destruction, unless they repent. And, as a testimony of the truth of God in this particular, I set to my hand, this thirty-first of December, 1651.

SAMUEL CHIDLEY.

A letter written to the regulators of the law, appointed by the Parliament, and sent, and presented to that committee.

From my mother's house in Soper-Lane, London, Feb. 25, 1651.

Honourable Gentlemen,

FORASMUCH as you are appointed by the Parliament, to consider of the inconveniencies, mischiefs, chargeableness, and irregularities, in your law, and that you have professed your willingness to receive whatsoever persons have to offer in relation thereunto. I hold it meet to present you with these inclosed papers, which, peradventure, may be a means to shorten your seven years tedious work, and wherein you may observe that I have endeavoured to discharge my conscience before all, witnessing against that hateful sin of putting men to death merely for theft, although the God of nature doth teach a contrary lesson. But who is so blind as those that will not see? Surely covetousness is the root of all evil, and gifts destroy the heart, and blind the eyes of the wise, and pervert the judgment of the righteous; and men in the greatest places are the greatest unbelievers, for they have not so much faith as to trust God with their substance, but use indirect means to make uncer-

tain riches certain; as may appear by their putting thieves to death for stealing.

Now, when I found so little fruit in the magistrates of the city of London, as you may see by my printed relations, I was sorry that my endeavours produced no better effect amongst them, whose predecessors have always been very forward to put the laws of man in execution, though they were never so ridiculous, and contrary to reason and religion.

I sent and went unto others, whom it likewise principally concerned, even to those who are called the learned judges of the land, and declared my judgment to as many of them as I could meet with, that they might not suffer their mouth to cause their flesh to sin, by pronouncing unjust murdering sentences.

I went down also to the sessions, but I could gather no grapes off thorns.

And after I had delivered a letter to the lord president Bradshaw, to be presented unto the council of state; I remembered that the officers of the army were men professing great things, for the advancement of God's glory; so I presented some humble proposals to those honourable gentlemen, which were well resented by them, a copy of which I have sent you here inclosed with this petition, which should have been presented to the house; but some of the members conceive the business to be proper for you to take cognisance of, because you are appointed to consider, and make report of the evils of your law, for reformation thereof; therefore you ought to cry out against murder before you do any thing else, for this concerneth men's lives; the best of your actions herein, in my judgment, having been at the most but a tything of mint, anise, and cummin, and you have neglected mercy, one of the weighty matters of the law; for I am verily persuaded, that it was in your power to have put a stop to the murdering of those men which were hanged at Tyburn the last sessions, for stealing five shillings and six pence. I hoped that you would have gone to the root, and not cropped only the branches of wicked laws. I am angry, and grieved at the heart, that you should so dally in God's matters, as not to acquaint the house with such a gross, unnatural, inhuman practice of the law, as killing of the petty thieves. I desire the Lord to give you repenting and relenting hearts, for doing his work so negligently, to value men's lives no more; for it is a sin, and shame, that the land should still be defiled with more blood; and how you can answer it in the day of account, for not preventing such mischief, when you knew how to do it, and had an opportunity in your hands, I know not. In my opinion, if you follow your work never so close, if you omit this business of weight, you will make a long harvest of a little fruit; no doubt, but the time will be long before you have swimmid through the ocean sea of your troublesome laws. For, what is the chaff to the corn, or the heap of ashes to the spark that is hid under it? May not the Parliament, by the west-wind of their legislative power, blow such combustible stubble away? You sit as refiners, but time is precious, and dross is not worth the labour of refining, and a leaden law is too heavy for an honest heart; and we ought not to think, that such a law, because it is a law, will be a sufficient excuse to the execu-

tioners thereof, so long as it is idolatrous, prophane, rebellious, bloody, adulterous, thievish, lying, and covetous; certainly, that law cannot be good, that forceth all men to prefer the meanest thing before the greatest, that is, a little wicked mammon with an idolatrous badge upon it, before a man's precious life. Solomon esteemed more of a living dog, than those, who have killed men merely for stealing, have (or had) of living men. Now, if God do touch your hearts, and make you thoroughly sensible of the abominations of the time, and set you in a mourning posture, that you may bewail your neglect in suffering the poor thieves to be put to death, when it was in your power to have prevented it; then, you may the better go on, like Josiah's men, whom he set to spy out the abominations in the land, and set up a sign, wheresoever you find a bone of Haman-gog unburied, and go on, and let the nation know the idolatry, and superstition of their law, and its prophaneness, and the sabbath-breaking thereof; the rebellion of their law, the murder of their law, the adultery of their law, the theft of their law, the lying of their law, and the covetousness of their law; and lastly, the uncharitableness of their law, which is the end thereof, and so I end;

Yours (and the Commonwealth's servant) in all lawful things.

SAMUEL CHIDLEY.

READER,

WHERE are they that are valiant for the truth, and will do the work of the Lord diligently? If thou hast any spark of love or zeal to maintain the wonderful statutes of God, which my soul keeps; I charge thee, as thou wilt answer before the tribunal-seat of God's eternal vengeance, that thou hinder not the publication of this to all persons, who have an ear open to hear, neither conceal this precious truth, which will maintain him that maintaineth it, and bring him into more acquaintance with God. For, doubtless, the standing for the statutes and judgments of the holy and blessed God is a most blessed work, and the establishment thereof in this nation will work a more blessed reformation, than yet hath been, or shall be spoken of, at this time.

By Mr. Chidley's appointment, who is the author of this book, one of them should have been nailed upon Tyburn gallows, before the execution, with this motto written on the top:

Cursed be that bloody hand,
Which takes this down without command.

As a witness against such cursed proceedings of murdering men, merely for stealing food or raiment. But the party could not nail it upon Tyburn gallows-tree, for the crowd of people; and, therefore, was forced to nail it to the tree, which is upon the bank by the gallows; and there it remained, and was read by many, both before and after execution, and it is thought will stand there still, till it drop away.

THE
PROPOSALS OF THE COMMITTEE
FOR
REGULATING THE LAW,

Both in sense, form, and practice ; communicated to publick view, by especial order and command.

Quarto, containing eight pages.

WE the commissioners of the grand and weighty business of regulating the law, which have taken no small pains in sitting all this while, with the assistance of a single-soaled minister, have at last grown big of these high and mighty articles, and desire to be delivered of them into the world, for the publick applause and consent ; for by them we hope to give a free interpretation of modern justice, and a strict account of the reformation of all fees, tedious demurs, and practice of courts, that by it the commonwealth may be eased of the burden of unknown charges, which waits upon buckram-bags, and we richly rewarded for our sweat and travel in so acceptable and laudable a work.

Proposal 1. That, whereas all the good laws, statutes, and acts of grace in this kingdom have been derived clearly from noble and heroic princes, and their free grant, and (until they shall be repealed by a lack of parliament) are the sole tye and safety of human society, trade, and traffick, it is thought fit, that the charity and love of former Kings to their liege people be esteemed nothing to the mercy of the state we now live under, and the famous liberties, properties, and bounty of their generous spirits, we partake ; and that it shall be thought reason, and law both, that an ordinance of parliament may take the wall of Magna Charta, though it be in the middle of Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, and in all causes, and over all persons, to be supreme moderator.

2. That the sword was the first inventor of Kings, and the present upholder of states and parliaments ; and therefore, notwithstanding any right or equity to the contrary, the sword is the best law-giver ; and, as it has attempted already to cut off the head of the commonwealth, so it does require all the rest of the members to an observance of its command, be it never so unjust, inhuman, cruel, sacrilegious, or profane.

3. That in all administrations of modern justice, we may be no more bound to conscience, than conscience is to us ; for, let a man look over all the anatomy of the lawgivers, it is impossible to conjecture, in what part of that body conscience lies.

4. That the King's Bench bar be subservient to the high court of justice, in regard the one has no power, but merely to distribute *jus suum cuique*, the candid censure of the law between man and man; the other has a sovereignty above sovereigns.

5. That the court of iniquity, alias the Chancery (where a man may be suspended and demurred in his just right, from generation to generation, by the power of the purse) may be judged no more by the keepers of the liberties and privileges of England, but rather to be taken in its true and genuine sense by the preservers of the controversies and sins of the people; and, whereas a man, after the expence of a thousand pounds to bring his suit to a hearing, was used to be blown off with a non-assumption of the engagement, they shall henceforth be allowed twenty shillings towards their costs and charges, and the half-dozen clerks dagged gowns scoured.

6. That that bloody and deadly term *murderaverunt* may be looked upon as a word in fashion; and because it concerns many of great quality, it is ordered, that it be always written in capital letters.

7. That as many, as *swornate* unt themselves into the high stile of the knights of the post, are not a jot concerned in the act of degrading late honours conferred; but, this being an ancient order of knighthood, and very ready at all times, through the course of these ten years past, to bestead the commonwealth upon occasion, be it therefore confirmed, by all the sinews of the law, that this fraternity be upheld to perpetuity of ages.

8. That no *adjournementums* of causes shall henceforth be allowed; for, suppose a man, having but one poor *cotagium* in the world, have a suit depending *pro cabagio*, *Anglicè*, for a cabbage, in Michaelmas term, and, withal, a judgment and execution, the plaintiff must be constrained, perhaps, to wait a twelvemonth for satisfaction, and to be paid in his own coin.

9. That it shall be held fit in a circuit or assize, though it become not a judge itinerant, with his bunch of gravity on his chin, to take bribes, yet it may be convenient, that the price of a pair of gloves, called fifty pieces, be deposited in his clerk's pocket, to be presented to his lordship the next morning, when he goes to wash his hands, that, like Pilate, he might purify himself to the world in formality and circumstance, as in the case of Martin Sandy and Steyner.

10. That all attorneys of courts errant, passant, or regardant, may no more run up their clients with twelve-pence wet, and six-pence dry, besides baitings, breakfasts, collations, and Banbury cheeses; but that justice may run clear, without proclivity, or irregular bugging of a countryman's purse, it is ordered, *cum warranto*, that the pettifogger shall require no more than his ten groats; and, if so be the free hearted client tickle him under the short ribs, with an ordinary of boiled beef at Fetter-lane end *gratis*, it shall be thought a considerable *escamentum* of expence, and no more to be extorted for expedition.

11. That all dashes whatsoever, used in writing, shall be held for a capital crime; for, under the notion of a counter-stroke, the law and Latin cases were so martyred, that it puzzled the worshipful the judges (having forgotten their grammar by long experience) to understand them;

and therefore it is desired, that all words be written at length, and not in figures, for the conveniency of the benchers.

12. That it may be thought reason that the word *Villenagium* be utterly expunged out of the terms of the law, since we are all freemen, and no more slaves, than they which row in the Turks galleys.

13. That, by the motion of Mr. Peters, the term *simony* may be looked upon as convenient, if not lawful, since the first day he begun to sell the patronage of South-Wales.

14. That the right heir at law is he alone that is in possession: and as, by the outing of the best tenure in England, we see it apparent, *inter arma silent leges*, so, whosoever he be, that is born to an estate, unless he can derive his claim from the engagement, he is no longer to be suffered by the sheriff of the county to live in peace, till such time as he has run the gauntlope at Haberdashers-Hall, and then he shall be freely manumitted.

15. That an under-sheriff, a jailer, a catch-pole, and clerk of assize, being *individuum in natura*, or *termini convertibiles*, shall no more be dashed in their reputation with the circumflex of a K, but rather to be considered as publick officers, which, in this catching age, ought to have a little touch of hocus pocus in all their performances.

16. That the excise, notwithstanding there be no law extant, or conscience, to warrant so sore an imposition upon a free people, may be thought *jure divino*, because it enlarges the hawking-bags of the saints.

17. That no expedition be henceforth used in any court, practice, or procedure, but rather all delays and labyrinths to dwindle out a bumkin's patrimony to the last thread. That the puny clerks may be prevented in the vein of their spending money, and the masters of offices may be enriched with double fees, to the capacity of buying bishops lands and fee-farm rents; besides, the law being just shaking hands with us, it is necessary we make the most of it, while it is here.

18. That whereas a country solicitor, vamped up to the singularity of a vinegar cloke, and a green bag, is wont to dun the offices with a pitiful importunity, more (especially when his novice is at hand to quicken him with a piece of four; it is desired he may make the benefit of a *fallacia signi*, when the term is ended, to keep his under-vamper in town to bear his charges, until the poor fellow is compelled to pawn his cloke in Long-lane, to carry him home, and then take his leave, with a philosophical bill of charges at his back, like an indenture in folio, to bemoan his lawship to his admiring friends.

19. That the term *prerogative*, being a sequestrable phrase, a malignant and dangerous word, full of plots and treasons, a word prayed and preached against by many well-wishing and confiding divines, and godly souls of this nation, may be laid aside, and charmed into the happy conversion of the people's birth-right. And since the representatives of the plebeians have the managing of all delinquent incumbrances: Be it proposed to be enacted and made law, that all such tyrannical expressions, denominations, or inventions be pocketed up, to raise the wages, salaries, stipendiaries, or allowances of the aforesaid representatives from this time forth for evermore.

20. That whereas *meum* and *tuum* have been the old pronouns of distinguishing titles and claims in this blind and ignorant patch of the world, in regard they are Latin, and so of grievous consequence to a people new lighted, in respect of their alliance, relation, affinity, and consanguinity to the pope, being their countryman: Be it confirmed by a perpetual decree, that those words are no better than Jesuits, and have nothing to do with us in the decision of rights of the new model.

21. That the thing called a *King*, a title of usurpation, to whom, by compulsion and imminent necessity, men of greatest rank, nobility, and professions, took most formally the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; because we, that are wiser than our forefathers, know there is an inconvenience in having any one above us, to call us to an account, or controul the liberty of our concupiscence: It is beseeched, that all Britain, of what tongue, language, or speech soever, would be pleased to forget that obligation, and to acknowledge no supremacy but in themselves.

22. That, in all contracts, covenants, or agreements, it shall be considerable for every man to have a mental reservation, or intricate meaning, that upon advantages we may turn weather-cocks, and adore those mighty and modern deities, profit and self-ends.

23. That all records, or registers of antiquity, may be burnt and imbezelled, for fear, lest, in reading and turning over those slighted and moth-eaten papers, we may unwillingly be put in mind of a neglected and forgotten duty and obedience to magistracy, ministry, nay, I had almost said, sovereignty.

24. That every country-fellow may have the privilege of pleading his own cause, merely to humour the high shoes, notwithstanding we, in our known wisdom and integrity, shall give sentence according to our underfeeling and proper discretion.

25. That all committee-men shall be held forth saints at their death, and be enthroned in the church-windows, at the charge of the parish; because they have been most eminent instruments in the ingrossing and monopolising of all church-lands, glebe, and tythes.

26. That there may be a provincial pair-royal of judges selected for the determining of suits in the same country where they first take breath: Always provided, that if the parties be rich, fat, and well-liking, and of good credit in the sheriffs books, and withal able to endure the heat of a London trial: That, in such cases, there must and ought to be a further appeal to our palace at Westminster, where such differences are most peculiarly required to be decided with a wet finger.

27. That as the oath *ex officio*, or an injunction for a man to discover himself against himself, has always been held a most injurious circumventing and unjust invention amongst grandees (except in matters of sequestration) it shall be lawful henceforward for no man to unrip, untruss, or divulge the least syllable of his own privy or hidden knowledge of deluding, deceiving, or cousing the commonalty, against his own conscience.

28. That the damnable expensive fees of all offices and officers shall be brought to an *abatamentum*, and be left to the pleasure of every man's heart to gratulate and requite his trustee; and so, the lawyers being

brought into subjection to the mercy of the bores and swads, they may not flaunt so stately in their *pontificalibus*, being but publick servants, and a hickle of animals, which breathe by the iniquities of the land.

29. That, whereas incontinence has been evermore held by the ancients a most decried and punishable vice, and trick of youth in most countries, it is conceived fit to be esteemed venial, and more pardonable in this cold climate; and to permit all men, of experienced activity, the freedom of a wife and an intimate, for the fructifying of the sisterhood, and the enlargement of the number of the Geneva fry.

30. That the old proverb, 'Change is no robbery,' be put in practice in these moderate times. And whereas the grievous and mighty tax, called ship-money, imposed by the royalists, hath been esteemed tyranny, injustice, and covetousness: The easy and frivolous sess of sixty-thousand pounds a month, loaded by the reformed sighers and groaners, shall be construed by all sorts of pay-masters a trifle, a piece of nothingness, necessary to the supportation of the armies, and other small disbursements, which do not amount to half the sum.

31. That whereas the taking up of arms in former ages against a prince, by his own subjects, was by the law found treason; in respect that now we know he is but a man, obnoxious to death and mortality at pleasure; it shall no longer be judged treason, but convenience; and that such ought to be rewarded for it, under the notion of good service and gallantry.

32. That whereas in case of manslaughter, and other casual offences, men were allowed the benefit of their clergy; it is granted necessary in this metamorphosis of things, that no man be put to his book again, for there is hardly one in a hundred can read his neck-verse, and so many of the good intenders to the weal-publick may incur the hazard of the hempen twist.

33. That all subsizing, querpo, gizzard clerks, which farm a parcel of scribbling at three pence a day, shall not be suffered hence-forward to lay out their fathers allowance, and their own lamentable revenue, upon a suit of cloaths, and a horse collar of ribbands. For, as it is even in the greatest order of the bustling gallants a most unseemly, wanton, loose, profuse, ugly garb, to be dressed about the hips like a dancing-dancer, and to have more variety of strange colours than good conditions, it is judged commendable both in state policy and common civility to enact, that all such which are found whiffing in such antick dresses, be accounted no better than w—masters, tooth-drawers, and mountebanks, from this time forth for evermore.

34. That all lawyers wives, which have come sneaking into the Inns of Court, with their bag and baggage, whether it be to be proficient in their husbands' absence in the practice of fee-tail, or whether it be to convert those gallant edifices from a nursery of law, to a shambles of laundry-women, I know not; but it is requested to be voted, that all such presumptuous whippers, with their litter and lumber, reduce themselves either into Ram alley, Purple-lane, or Castle-Yard, more fit stages for such comical subjects, than seminaries of learning, and there to set up for themselves, where only such kind of cattle are to be expected.

35. That the corruption of courts has been a most horrid and crying crime in this nation, in that the poor have been overborne by the rich in a most high way, and all by intercession of the Lady *Pecunia*, a gentlewoman much idolised of late; it is therefore ordained, that no more money be produced to tempt the frailty of a clerk's conscience, but that every thing be carried in a round way between man and man, and, by that time the excise, sequestration, monthly taxes, &c. have continued their reign over us one year more, be it accounted treason for any man whatsoever to be able to offer an attorney, solicitor, or council, more than his just fee, except it be a rasher of bacon, to relish his morning's draught.

36. That there may be a distinction made between clerks of the children's threes, and staggers of the long twelves, men of the tribe of Anack in their prolession, and tipplers of the stock of Benjamin, whose goose-quill fancies were never elevated beyond the *Parnassus* of a green nozging in their masters absence: It is therefore proposed, that such niffing fellows be distinguished by the childish wear of yellow ribbands, from the marshal seniors with their fiery faces.

37. *Item*, That all indentures, bills, leases, conveyances, and bonds obligatory, shall no more be dated from the year of our Lord God, nor the coronation of the King, but *stilo novo*, from the first day of the eleventh month, in such a model of the state government, under the conduct of such a party.

38. *Item*, That all impropriations, college-holds, lapses, or patronage of church means, be all referred to a jury of saints to dispose of: Because it is the patrimony of the elect in this world, and to sustain the indigency of the spirit of talking.

39. That all right might be judged by the touch-stone of affection, and if so be the plaintiff, or defendant, cannot bring proof, that he is one of such a collected church of the marching ministry, it is fitting he should be reprobated in estate, as well as point of salvation.

40. That no married persons may justify themselves by the old common prayer book, but he, that means to be dabbling with his mistress now, must permit himself to be posted three several Sundays upon the church door; and, when every country hogo has spent his *grey* year upon him, then he must be examined by two justices of peace upon oath, whether he has his and her friends consent, and then, if it please the parties, they may go to bed together without any farther ceremony. *Qualiter maritaverit perdit dotem*.

41. That the multiplicity of heriots be reduced to nothing, and the *marketa mulieris* be set up in their place, or rather the forfeiture of that money by the occupation of the feminine feature by the three articles of the lord of the manour.

42. That the lottery and the public faith may walk hand in hand together from town to town, to see if it be possible to inveigle any more silver spoons or bodkins into the common or the Commons treasury.

43. That it may be lawful for any man to exercise, own, preach about, or practise any religion, heresy, or diabolical tenets; that the law may be brought into six words, Do as thou wouldest be done to;

that divinity may be made mercenary, and the fundamentals of the church and commonwealth laid waste and abolished; that one man may be as good a gentleman as another, and for all this, We beseech you to hear us, great Lords.

Sic tetigi portum quo mihi cursus erat.

Παιδεία Θριαμβός,

THE

TRIUMPH OF LEARNING OVER IGNORANCE,

AND OF

TRUTH OVER FALSHOOD;

Being an Answer to Four Queries:

Whether there be any need of universities?

Who is to be accounted an heretick?

Whether it be lawful to use conventicles?

Whether a lay-man may preach?

Which were lately proposed by a zealot, in the parish church at Swacy near Cambridge, after the second sermon, October 3, 1652. Since that enlarged by the answerer, R. B. B. D. and fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

TALMUD.

מַרְבֵּה יְשִׁיבָה מַרְבֵּה חֲכָמָה Qui augeat academias, augeat sapientiam et sapientes.

IGNAT.

Τὸς τὰ ἐσχίσματα πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ὡς ἀπὸ καυῶν.

ROM. xvi. 17.

Mark them which cause divisions, and avoid them.

ROM. x. 15.

How shall they preach, except they be sent?

[From a Quarto, containing thirty-eight pages, printed at London, in 1653.]

THE author of this pamphlet, Robert Boreman, brother to Sir William Boreman, or Boureman, clerk of the green cloth to King Charles the Second, was fellow of Trinity College in Cambridge, afterwards Doc-

tor of divinity, and rector of St. Giles's in the Fields, near London, and very probably of the family of the Boremans in the Isle of Wight. He published several other small pieces, and a sermon on Phil. iii. 20. and died at Greenwich in Kent, about the latter end of the year 1675.

It appears by this piece, that he was a man of both learning and piety; for, I doubt not, but the reader will presently see, that he had not only read much, but was blessed with a happy, methodical, and impartial talent, whereby he confutes, without depreciating his adversary; and, throughout the whole, there runs a sensible vein of compassion, and sincere and hearty prayer for the conversion of those that are misled, and for the subsiding of all disputes in matters of faith.

The subjects, here treated of, are not only well handled, but are such as, at that time, were most necessary to be explained, when ignorance was, under the power of the sword, triumphing over learning; when sectaries increased daily, and every opinionated cobbler, or taylor, usurped the ministerial office, and gloried in his endless capacity of dividing the church of Christ; when private assemblies in rooms or garrets, after the manner of our modern schismatics, the disciples of Westly and Whitefield, &c. who, had they the same power, are of no less turbulent and aspiring spirits, were preferred to the worship of God's house, the publick prayers and preaching in the church, and lay teachers and preachers were substituted in their private meetings, in opposition to their stated and lawful ministers. But our author's reasons will best appear from his own preface, as follows:

To all sincere and true-hearted Christians, lovers of learning, truth, and peace.

The Jews have a saying, not more short than ingenious, that truth stands upon two legs, and a lye upon one*: Their meaning is, that as falshood and heresy fall at the length of themselves, without any contradiction, so truth is, and ever was firm, stable, and lasting, getting ground, growth, and strength, by opposition. By this means, many questions, which lay hid, and, as it were, buried in the grave of silence, are raised, discussed, and evidenced even to vulgar capacities.

St. Augustine, in his 18th lib. de Civ. Dei. cap. 51, treating of heretics, and proving that the catholick faith is strengthened and confirmed by heretical dissensions, says thus of false teachers, *Habentur in exercitibus inimici*, &c. i. e. 'They are to be put into the file or number of those enemies who exercise the gifts and graces of God's servants;' who, like the stars that shine brightest in the cold nights of winter, are, in times of opposition, more active than ever in zeal, more vigilant and circumspect in their lives (as those† religious men were, in the days of Apollinaris, who laboured to out-shine him in strictness of life, knowing that, by this, his opinions thrived and prevailed.) Lastly, more earnest in their devotion and prayers to the father of lights, that the seduced may be undeceived, and the seducers convinced of their errors. This

* Colm. l. † Devent operum per insuipatus mores ut illius dogmata non plus valerent
Ser. m. lib. 6. Cap. 27. Jam. i. 17.

(not to be seen in print, which is a poor piece of ambitious pride) is the scope of my pen, and the aim of my unworthy endeavours: Especially now, that * little birds, scarce fledged, or hatched, flying with their shells upon their heads, and having only a feather or two of boldness in their faces, shall dare, and that in the bosom of their nurse, or mother, preach, or rather prate against learning, which they never had, and inveigh against universities, *quà tales*, simply as universities, of which they never deserved to be members.

It is an ill bird, &c. Every Englishman knows what follows in the proverb. There are no such enemies to learning, as the malicious and ignorant.

It was my happiness, of late, to meet with some adversaries, not, perhaps, so knowing, yet more candid than the former, declaimers against academies, and men of more Christian spirits, not (as St. Augustine† writes of the Donatists) *pertinaci insuperabiles*, invincible and pertinacious in their opinions; but such, whose minds were tuned to that obedience and meekness, that they, after a mild and long debate, yielded, with thankful acknowledgments, and protestations of love, to my reasons. And hereby declared plainly, before the congregation, that they were free from that whereof they were falsely suspected, i. e. heresy; agreeable to that of the learned and most profound Augustine‡; ‘*Qui sententiam suam quamvis falsam atque perversam nullâ pertinaci animositate defendunt, sed veritatem cautâ sollicitudine quærunt, corrigi parati cum invenerint, nequa quàm sunt inter hæreticos deputandi.*’ The meaning of which words, in brief, is this, that ‘he only is to be counted an heretick, who persists, with obstinacy, in an opinion, which is against the word; not he, who errs, yet is ready to forsake his error, and yield to the truth, so soon as he is convinced of it.’

This pious and humble temper was in those my antagonists; for whose farther confirmation, and satisfaction to their modest desires, together with the rest of that populous parish of Swacy, I have published the discourse, with some enlargements, hoping that it will meet with as good success (by God’s blessing on it) in the conviction of those by whom it shall be perused, whose judgments, perhaps, have been formerly perverted by false teachers, who beguile unstable souls, having hearts exercised (or overcome) with covetousness; cursed children (they are children for their ignorance) who, forsaking the way of all righteousness, have gone astray, following the way of Balaam, that made Israel to sin §. Such blind guides as these have been the cause of many poor souls falling into the ditch of heresy, which (if backed with obstinacy) is a bar that shuts men out of all hope of glory. This, hereafter, shall be proved, in my answer to the second doubt.

May the Infinite Goodness, (to whose only glory I humbly desire to devote myself, and all my weak endeavours) make them as useful and beneficial in the confirming and reforming of weak deceived souls, as they

* *Hujus furfuris (ne dicam farinæ) est Burtonus iste, hesternæ diei homulus, cui doctrinam et pietatem audaciæ inauditiæ parem optamus.* † Ep. 107. ‡ Ep. 162. § 2. Fet. ii. 14, 15. Jude ver. 11. Numb. xxv. 2. xxxi. 16.

are well meant and intended to the church's good, by the unworthiest of his servants : Who am, likewise, Christian reader,

Thine in Christ Jesus,

R. BOREMAN.

A short vindication of the use and necessity of universities, and other schools of learning ; being an answer to the first query,

What need is there of universities ?

IT is truly observed by a learned * writer, that the Pope of Rome, and that church, never flew higher in power, never sunk deeper into error, than when ignorance prevailed, and learning was suppressed. We may as safely, and with as much truth, assert, that where the purity of God's word is corrupted, and not preserved in its integrity, that kingdom, church, or state cannot but fall into ruin, and moulder away into divisions, caused by the multiplicity of false opinions, which, being joined with schism, do often (as they have now done) engender and beget a monster, the subverter of all government, and the disturber of peace, the nurse of religion. This and learning we may fitly resemble to the great luminaries of heaven, the sun and moon, both for their light and influence. And, as for the preserving the intire lustre of the moon, there is required a continual emanation of light from the sun ; so learning borrows its true light from religion ; without which a man having a learned head, and an unsanctified heart, is the fittest agent and best instrument for the devil to do mischief with ; but now, here is the difference between that lesser luminary and learning, in that resemblance. The moon repays no tribute, confers no benefit to the sun ; but learning, by way of reflexion, conduces much (if not to the being precisely taken, at least) to the happy and well being of religion. These two, like Eros and Anteros in the fable of the poets, are sick and well both at a time. † Julian the apostate understood this well, when he put down by a publick edict the schools where the children of Christians were to be educated ; so did Pope ‡ Paul the Second, when he absurdly pronounced those hereticks, that did either in jest or earnest but use the word academy in their tongues or writings. The Jesuits and their factors, men subtle in their generations, and active in their mischievous intentions, they know the same, and therefore endeavour now to effect (what of late one vauntingly said in the ears of a good protestant would be done) that is, to destroy the universities, and with them the ministry and religion.

That the universities so called, as || one explains the term, because the circle of all the arts and sciences is in them expounded or taught to young students and others of all sorts, degrees, and callings whatsoever ; that these universities and other schools of learning (seed-plots and nur-

* Gentilet. Exam. Concil. Trident. lib. 1. sect. 7. 8. Ignorantiam et Romanæ sedis auctoritatem simul auctam, &c. Vicissimque ut bonarum artium et literarum institutione facessere cepit ignorantia, ita et pontificis auctoritas paulatim imminuit et labescere visa est.

† G. Nas. Orat. 3.

‡ Plaut. in vita ejus.

|| Fab. Soranus in thesouro.

series subordinate to them) are not only profitable to the church, but also necessary for the maintenance of religion; so necessary, that, without them, neither the doctrine of the gospel can be preserved pure and uncorrupted, nor the church, wherein we live, stand sure upon its foundation, but will certainly be destroyed. This I shall endeavour to prove by a familiar climax or gradation, proposed to vulgar capacities by way of question.

First, By what means can the church be pure and free from heresies, without the guidance and light of the pure word of God, the holy scriptures?

Secondly, How can that word be preserved in its purity without the ministry?

Thirdly, How can there be a ministry without able and fit ministers to explain and publish that word purely without corruption? Whose office it is to act the parts of truth's champions, to defend it against seducing hereticks, who (as * Tertullian well notes, 'evermore alledged scripture to back and bolster out their absurd opinions, and by this their boldness they move some, tire out those that are strong by their restless disputes, take the weak in their nets, and as for those of a middle temper, these they send away full of doubts and scruples.' And whence do heresies arise, but from this (as St. † Augustine observes) *dum Scripturæ bonæ intelligantur non bene, et quod in eis non bene intelligitur etiam temere et audacter asseritur?* &c. i. e. 'Whilst the good word of God is not well understood, and that which is not well understood is rashly and boldly asserted for truth, &c.'

Now, in the fourth place, How can such stout champions, learned and faithful pastors, be had without schools of learning, the universities?

It will follow then by a necessary illation or consequence, that without universities, out of which such learned, wise, orthodox, and pious men may be called and produced how to govern particular congregations, and to sit at the helm of the church, this cannot be preserved secure and intire from heresies, but will be, like the ‡ ship wherein our Saviour was asleep, i. e. battered with tempests, and beaten with the waves of contrary opinions.

For this cause we find in antient records, that not only among the people of God, the antient Jew; and Christians, but also even among the Gentiles evermore in all ages, great care and diligence was used to ordain and maintain schools of learning, and to place in them holy and knowing men, whom they encouraged with large stipends, by whose pains and parts the liberal arts and sciences, together with the doctrine of their religion, might be taught and fastened in the people's memories.

To omit the schools of the Gentiles, as of the Ægyptians (§ to whom learning and arts were derived from the Jews) likewise those of the Chaldeans, Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, all which (to the shame of Christians in these times, had learned and men of wisdom in

* Tertul. lib. de præscript. Scripturas obtinent, et hac sua audacia quosdam movent, &c.
 † Aug. Tract. 18. in Evang. Joh. ‡ Luke viii. 23. § Alsted. lib. 24. c. 13. Eucgel. Scholast. Hæren. prunord. philosoph.

high estimation, especially professors and assertors of their religion; such were their Magi, their Gymnosophists, their Philosophers, their Augurs, or Soothsayers; omitting these, I shall make a plain discovery of the schools erected by the people of God, as well before as after Christ, and then leave it to the judgment of discreet and moderate judges, whether a want of love to religion, and the fear of God, does not discover itself in the profane practices of those men who labour to pull down the ministry, (which is now the Jesuits main design) by doing as the * Philistines did by the wells of Abraham, i. e. by seeking to stop the springs and fountains of learning, into which they have thrown dirt and stones, by undeserved slanders, and reproachful infamies.

If we traverse the story of the Old Testament, we shall find that there were (and this not without the prescript or command of God) in the kingdom of Israel, schools constituted and opened to publick use; in some whereof were placed Levites, in others Prophets, to teach and explicate the law of God, to train up disciples or scholars, who afterwards should teach either in the temples or synagogues, and propagate the doctrine of the law to succeeding generations. For, who were the sons of the prophets, of whom there is so often mention made in the Books of the Kings †; but those that were students, educated and brought up in those schools, whereof the prophets were heads and governors? This was the intent or meaning of the prophet Amos, when he said, ‡ 'I am not a prophet, nor the son of a prophet,' i. e. never brought up in the schools of the learned prophets.

What was the reason that the Lord || commanded forty-eight cities with their suburbs to be assigned to the Levites, above their brethren of the other tribes? Was it not for this, that in the land of Israel there might be schools and colleges, in the which the Levites might teach and instruct young novices, their pupils, in the law of God, and thereby fit them for the offices of the sanctuary?

Over these schools or colleges there were ever placed men renowned for their piety, learning, prudence, and gravity of manners, and those chosen out of the prophets and Levites. Thus § Samuel was the prefect or governor of the school which was at Naioth, in Mount Ramah; where were a school and scholars in the reign of Asa, if we may believe the Talmudists, who say, ** that he was therefore punished with lameness in his feet, 'because he compelled all the wise men or doctors of that place, together with their disciples or scholars, to leave their studies and to take up arms for his aid against Baasha, King of Israel.' This they collect (how truly I will not determine) out of 1 Kings, xv. 22. where it is said, that Asa made a proclamation throughout all Judah (none was exempted) and they took away the stones of Ramah, &c. i. e. when the scholars were all warned out by the King's edict.

Elias †† was the *præpositus* or master of the school at Jericho; in his place succeeded his disciple Elishah, and so others after him in succeeding ages.

In 2 Chron. xxxiv. 22, we read of a college in ‡‡ Jerusalem, wherein

* Gen. xxvi. 18.

† 1 Kings xx. 15. 2 Kings ii. 3. 7. 15.

‡ Amos vii. 19.

§ Numb. xxxv. 2.

|| 1 Sam. xix. 18.

** Vid. Buxtorf in מנחת כהן 2 Chron. xvi. 22.

†† 2 Kings ii. 5.

‡‡ It is called there משנה, which is as much as a double house, so called by reason of its two courts.

Huldah the prophetess dwelt, when Hilkiah went unto her with a message from Josiah. Doubtless, she dwelt by herself in one of the courts remote from the prophets and their sons, who were taught in the other. For colleges, indeed, ought to be (what a name that is given them by Eusebius does import) τὰ σπουδαία, places of gravity and severity, which cannot well stand with a mixture of both sexes in one and the same place. But to return from this short digression:

To this end and purpose it likewise was (I mean for the maintenance of schools) that the Levites, under the law, had such large incomes by God's appointment; they had well nigh (as hath been proved by me in another * treatise) the fifth part of the Jews revenues, which large allowance was given them, that, being free from all cares (to which the ministers of the Gospel are too sharply exposed) they might, with the less distraction, and more freedom of spirit, devote themselves wholly to their studies, and their ministerial functions.

Again, we find that the Jews themselves ever in after ages endeavoured (even when they were dispersed amongst the Gentiles) to retain their schools, which are called, sometimes, synagogues, although in a strict sense a school and a synagogue differ Philo (as he is cited by Grotius on St. Matth.) uses † the names promiscuously, and calls those synagogues συναγωγαὶ ‡, for that they did both pray and preach in them, and withal (as they do now where they are) train up their youth, and exercise themselves by disputes and polemical discourses, concerning the Holy Scriptures; whereby they find out many hidden truths. This is the practice of colleges in the universities, by which means the students learn to whet their tongues in disputes against the truth's adversaries, those of Rome, together with other hereticks.

In the second place, That there were colleges, places of publick concourse even under the gospel, in the time of the apostles at Jerusalem, we may collect or gather out of the Acts. 'And there were dwelling at Jerusalem Jews, devout men, out of every nation under heaven'§.

St. Luke records § concerning our Lord Christ, that when he went into the synagogue, that is, the ** school, there was given to him, as to a doctor, the book of the Scriptures, that he should explain a portion or piece of them, which he accordingly did to the amazement and conviction of those that heard him. The same apostle likewise reports, that, when he was twelve years of age, he disputed †† with the doctors of the school with great admiration. There were then scholars, colleges, and doctors in our Saviour's time; how then dare any disallow of those which Christ himself did approve of, so, as to go often into them, which he did surely to demonstrate and shew their necessity and use. They who speak and act, by a bold opposition, the contrary, by denying their use, to such I may aptly retort, what St. Augustine did once in another case to the Donatists, the true pictures of our Separatists, '*Christianos vos esse dicitis, et Christo contradicitis*,' i.e. 'You say you are Christians, and contradict Christ in your words and actions ††; this cannot stand with Christianity, which admits of no such contradictions.

* The Church's plea, &c. sect. 10. p. 23. printed at London in 165, 4to. † Grot in Matth. iv. 23. ‡ Places of instruction. § Act. ii. 5. † Luke iv. 15. 17.

** דמודרש ביה.

†† Luke ii. 42, 46.

‡ Aug. Ep. 17.

In Acts vi. 9, there is mention of the synagogue or college of the Libertines, Cyrenians, and Alexandrians, and of them of Cilicia and Asia, who disputed with the protomartyr St. Stephen.

The same author * tells us how that St. Paul came from Tarsus of Cilicia unto Jerusalem, where he was instructed in the law of the Lord at the feet of Gamaliel. It was the fashion or custom then of the scholars, to sit at the feet of the doctors; whence those are called by the Rabbins† *Pulverisantes*, from the dust which they received thus sitting below their teachers. The forenamed Gamaliel was a doctor or teacher of the law in the academy of Jerusalem, and disciple of that old Simeon, who took our Saviour, being then a child, in his arms, and then sung his *Nunc dimittis*, &c. his swan-like song. ‡ Lord, now lettest thou, thy servant, depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation, i. e. The Lord Christ, who is mercy and salvation clothed in flesh.

That school or college of Jerusalem had many famous doctors, one after another successively in after days, amongst whom, was Rabbi Hillel, who lived an hundred years before the destruction of the temple by Titus; of which Hillel we find so many rare and pious sayings in the *Pirk Avoth*, a book famous amongst the Jews, for choice proverbs, and grave counsels.

We read likewise of St. Paul, that, after his conversion, he went often into the synagogues or schools of the Jews, and mightily convinced them, that Jesus was the Messias (or the Christ) and persuading the things concerning the kingdom of God||.

There is mention in the acts§ of the school of one Tyrannus; it was erected by one, who was so called by his proper name, as Beza proves by many testimonies against Erasmus, and others, and with him, in this, the Syriack agrees; which, as Salom Glassius notes**, is the fittest to determine any doubt or controversy bordering upon a word or phrase in the New Testament, as the Chaldee paraphrase in the Old.

To omit that famous school in Asia at Ephesus, erected by St. John the Apostle, in which Polycarp and Irenæus were scholars, with many other famous bishops and martyrs for the truth of Christ.

Likewise that in Palestine of Cæsarea, in which Gregory, bishop of Neocæsarea was brought up.

Also that in Alexandria, the most famous in the whole world, where, (as St. Jerom attests) from the days of St. Mark the evangelist, many and great doctors flourished, as Patænus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Hieracles, Dionysius, with many others.

To the forenamed we might add that of Byzantium †† in Greece, where St. Basil, that ‡‡ Demosthenes amongst the fathers (for his sublime elegance so called) was educated; he was brother to that learned Nazianzen, who (being indeed a magazine of all kind of learning) is worthily called, *θεολόγος*, i. e. the divine.

To this of Byzantium might be adjoined that of Tiberias in Galilee, by the lake of Genesareth |||| so famous for the Masorites, those laborious textuaries and cabalists among the Jews.

* Acts xxii. 3.

† Acts xvii. 8.

Byzantium.

‡ מתאבקין

** Glass. Physiol. Sac.

†† Vid. Possevin. in vita Basil.

‡ Luke ii. 28. 29

†† Or Constantinople.

‡‡ Vid. Buxtorf, in Tiberiad.

§ Acts xviii. 28.

||| Vid. Buxtorf, in Tiberiad.

But omitting the farther discussing and opening of these schools or colleges (whereby I might farther evince by demonstrative arguments the necessity of learning and learned men ; as so many pillars, to sustain the vast fabrick of a church, kingdom, or state, from crumbling into dust, and mouldering into ruin) I shall only subjoin what now follows, by way of a concluding parenthesis, or exhortation to men of vulgar conceits, and misled fancies.

Let them run back in their thoughts, and look upon the story of our church in former ages. Who were they that gave the Pope, and his factors, their deadly wounds, stabbing them at the heart with the sharp weapons of their acute arguments ? Who did this glorious work, but first a Jewel *, a bishop ? Who was the first, that, in a sermon at Paul's Cross, made a publick challenge to all the papists in the world, to produce but one clear and evident testimony out of scripture, or any father, or other famous writer, within six-hundred years after Christ, for any one of the many articles which the Romanists, at this day, maintain against us ; and upon good proof, of any one such good allegation, he promised to yield them the bucklers, and reconcile himself to Rome. And although Harding†, and some others, undertook him and entered into the lists with him, about the twenty-seven controverted articles, yet they came off poorly, and Jewel on the contrary, with triumphant victory, having so amazed and confounded them with a cloud of witnesses in every point, that, as Bishop Godwin‡ reports of him, '*Dici non potest quantum hæc res pontificiorum apud nos vires frerit, existimationem minuerit, ac præsertim postquam Hardingi frigida responsione errorum ab illis recensitorum novitas potuerit.*' i. e. It cannot be said how this thing broke the hearts, and weakened the force of the Pontificians || with the loss of their esteem and credit in these parts, especially, when, after the frigid or cold answer of Harding, the novelty of their opinions was plainly discovered.

This glorious champion of truth for his rare and admirable parts and gifts, both natural and supernatural, did every way correspond to his gracious and precious name ; he was a rich Jewel consisting of many gems, shining as well in his life, as his incomparable writings. Lord, adorn and enrich thy church continually with such Jewels, deck her cheeks with rows of such rubies, her neck with such glorious chains, &c. He was born in Devonshire, bred up at Oxford §, and, if it lay at my mercy, to save or destroy it **, I should spare it, because it bred such a pillar of truth, and the scourge of Rome, as the conqueror spared Syracuse, because he found in it an Archimedes.

With him we may parallel our famous Whitgift, who was contemporary with him ; for the former died *anno* 1571 ; this latter was installed bishop of Worcester, *anno* 1577, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, 1583. He was born in Lincolnshire, bred here at Cambridge, first in Pembroke Hall, afterwards fellow of Peter-house, and not long after, he being of rare and eminent parts, was made president of Pembroke Hall, next master of Trinity College, in which time he was first

* Bishop Jewel. Godwin. in vita ejus, p. 400.

† A Romish priest.

‡ Page 410.

§ Or Papists.

§ First in Merton, afterwards in Corpus Christi college.

** Alluding

to the danger in which Oxford was then, for refusing to submit to the Rump visitors.

the Margaret, then the King's professor of divinity. This matchless pattern of prudence and patience did stand as stoutly, as the former, in the defence of the truth, against our home-bred innovators, who (as our learned Camden says in his annals) trampled on all government, and making fancy, the mistress of their judgment, pride and a zealous ignorance being their guides, they inveighed against the queen's * authority, and herein spake the language of Ashdod; acted highly for the Jesuits, denied uniformity in divine worship, although established by the authority of Parliament, severed the administration of the sacraments from the preaching of the word †. *Novos ritus pro arbitrio in privatis adibus usurpabant, &c.* ‡. They neglected and despised the sacraments (forgetting that God will not save us without the use of means.) They refused to go to church, thus making a dangerous schism, and rending the seamless coat of Christ, *Pontificum plaudentibus, multosque in suas parte trahentibus, quasi nulla esset in ecclesiâ Anglicanâ unitas*; i. e. Hereby they made our adversaries to rejoice and triumph over us, and were the cause of many weak ones turning Papists, upon this ground, that there was no unity in our church. (I fear our separatists || have now caused the like, if not worse, mischief, in the revolt of many thousands from us.) Those chams, men of hot and fiery spirits, who inveighed against their fathers, and uncovered their mother's nakedness; those scindentes (as § Irenæus well calls them) to which he joins *elati et superbi*; those proud, high-minded, daring schismatics, that reverend, learned, and most patient Whitgift quelled, and suppressed in a short time by his discreet meekness, and gentle exhortations to peace; first stopping, by arguments, the mouths of their Antesignani, their leaders (as Cartwright and others;) this he did by disputes and mild persuasions to peace, and at last having, by a patient courage, overcome many strong oppositions from the nobles and their adherents, abettors in that schism, by God's blessing he restored the church to unity and concord both in doctrine and discipline. Who, but a man of great learning and grace, could have done this, and been the instrument of settling in a distracted kingdom an universal peace.

Let me add to these one, though of a lower rank in the church, yet not much inferior in gifts of nature, and grace, the renowned Whitaker, first scholar, and after fellow of Trinity College, famous for his admirable skill in the arts and tongues; as for his excellency in the knowledge of divinity, his famous works now extant, his confutation of Campan, Sanders, Duræus, Raynolds, Stapleton, nay of Bellarmine himself, with whom, then living, this our champion encountered. He confounded the former, proving the Pope to be Antichrist, and maintaining the authority of the scriptures above the church; and at last singling out the ** Cardinal himself, the Goliath of Rome, he stunned him so, with the strength of prevailing truth and reason, in his controversies concerning the church, scriptures, and councils, &c. that the cardinal (it seems, first convinced by his argumentations) having him in high estimation, procured his picture, and hung it in his study among the portraits of other noted men, and was heard to say, 'That, though he was an he-

* Elisabeth.

† Sacramentorum administrationem à verbi divini prædicatione sejungebant. Camd.

‡ They used new rights in private houses, &c.

§ The confused number of

sectaries, which sprang up in the time of the civil wars.

|| Aug. l. de civit. Dei, lib. c. 2, comparat Chamo hereticos, l. 4. c. 43.

** Bellarmine.

etick, yet he was a learned one.' Never any saying had more of falsity and truth in it. When he confessed him to be learned, it was all one, as if he had acknowledged that he was by him confuted. What firmer testimony than that, which falls from the lips of a professed enemy?

To these forenamed worthies, I might add the late right reverend Javenant, Bishop of Salisbury; the now living and most knowing prelates Armagh* and Morton, true nursing fathers of the church, fed with their doctrine, and defended by their pens, which they have with great success dipped in the ink of confutation, against Jesuits and heretics. The Lord hath done great things by these Benaiahs†, and wrought great victories by means of their painful works against our diversaries.

Could these famous, useful, and church-preserving acts, with many hundred more which have been effected by men of parts, could these mighty things have been done without learning? could this have been attained without the help and furtherance of publick schools and universities? I suppose no man is so wanting to truth and modesty as to say so. This made Alphonsus, King of Arragon, bear an open book in his scutcheon,‡ to testify thereby to the world his high esteem of learning, as being the prop of religion, and the pillar of a state and kingdom. And therefore Charles the Great, wheresoever he erected a church, here he ever annexed a school of learning to it. Oh then let not the undermining and crafty Jesuits (who now swarm amongst us) blow any longer this poison into your ears; believe not the voice of these || hyænas's, who may speak like men, nay, like angels, but within are ravening wolves and savage beasts. Their common trade and work now is to ry down learning, and the fountains of it, the universities. They know that their cause cannot thrive so long as learning does flourish. These § Solifugæ hate that confounding light. These frogs love to croak in the black night of ignorance, they ever dig their mines in darkness. The traitor Vaux,** and his dark lanthorn, was the true emblem of a Jesuit, who has some light within which makes him sin against his conscience; yet that light wrapped up and obscured by malice, which forces him to act in defence of the catholick cause, and contrive any bloody wickedness.

And now is his harvest, who loves to fish in troubled waters; he hath put forth the sickle of his undermining policy to cut down the clergy and the universities, witness the late petitions against tithes, and that other from some mistaken ones in the county of Bedford, who little dream that they are now plowing with the Jesuits†† heifer, who have closely contrived those petitions, and incensed the countrymen against churchmen and scholars. For shame, work not any longer in this bloody field; be not days-men to these men of darkness; what they have overtly contrived, do not thou attempt openly and in publick. Believe it, if the pipes be cut from the two fountains, if the revenues and means which flow from the springs of benefactors for learning's main-

Archbishop Usher. † 2 Sam. xxviii. 12. 20. ‡ Middelcorp. l. de Academ. 1. p. 4. § De his vid. Franzii. histor. S. p. 1. c. 20. ¶ De his vid. Solinum. ** Guv
aux, who was found with a dark lanthorn ready in the cellar under the parliament-house, to
set fire to the gun-powder, intended to blow up the King, Lords, and Commons, &c.
†† Judg. xiv. 18.

tenance, if they be taken away (which God I hope will prevent by his merciful and over-ruling providence) then (I trust this then will never be) then we shall see (I hope we shall never see it) these * wild boars coming out of Rome's wood and wilderness; these foxes †, deceitful workers, ministers of Satan ‡, wolves in sheeps cloathing ||; they will, when they meet with no opposition, when the walls and watchmen are gone, break with violence into the vineyard, destroy its pleasant branches, devour its grapes, and (like those wolves in the fable, when the dogs at their persuasion were sent away) they will prey upon the poor sheep, tear their fleece from their backs, devour their flesh. In a word, when they want their guard and watch, i. e. orthodox pastors and sound doctors or teachers, the one to instruct the churches, the other to train up students in the schools: Then will the people be left as a prey to hereticks, whose doctrine will eat like a gangrene, § i. e. speedily, incurably, mortally. They will infect their souls with poisonous opinions, and (as they have begun) with damnable heresies ** (to speak in St. Peter's language) which St. Paul reckons amongst the fruits of the flesh ††, and exclude men from the heavenly inheritance. Of this opinion was Ignatius, a scholar of the apostles, who ‡‡ assures us, that both seducing and seduced hereticks shall perish for ever, and that with as good reason as thieves among men are put to death. Hereticks rob men's souls of God and the truth, they shut men out of heaven, and drive them into hell. To prevent all these fatal mischiefs, drain not (but rather increase with augmentations) the fountains of learning and religion; if these be once dried up, a drowth of truth will follow, and a deluge of miseries, when barbarism and atheism, with other horrid impieties, shall abound in this land, and overthrow the church; |||| whose welfare is contained (together with the common-wealth's) in the preservation of learning, arts, and sciences, which I could prove more at large, did I not fear to load the press, and tire the reader's patience.

I shall conclude this first query with an open confession, that, in these tumultuous, disordered times, some dirt has gotten into our fountains §§, and mingled itself with our pure streams; but what was ever in all ages, we hope, will not with aggravations be charged upon us, as the only fault of ours. And I trust that those Bedfordians (who clamour against the universities) will be laid asleep, and silenced by higher powers; neither doubt we, but that those, who have made such loud cries and protestations for truth, will not now at length (after spilling so much blood in the defence of the gospel, as was pretended) give themselves the stab of a lye, by doing that which will overthrow and lay truth in the dust, and setting up falshood with a painted face, coloured with shews of piety, and pretences of godliness. *Quod æternuncet Deus.* As for my part, I shall ever beg of God (and it is a piece of my daily devotions) that he would open the eyes, and mollify the hearts of the seduced, and obdurate seducers in this age, that, being reduced to the saving knowledge of the truth, they may have good wills joined with their great power to preserve the *keriotsepher*, the universi-

* Psal. xlii. 14.

† Cant. ii. 15.

‡ 2 Cor. x. 13. 15.

§ Mat. vii. 15.

|| 2 Tim. ii. 17.

** 2 Pet. ii. 1.

†† Gal. v. 40.

‡‡ Ignat. Ep. ad Ephes.

Of εἰρηοφῶν βασιλείαι βίη ἡ κληρονομία, &c.

||| Vid. Middendorp. de academia, l.

i. c. 4. & 8.

|||| Universities.

ties, and other schools, that from thence may come knowing men of sound opinions, and incorrupt lives, whereby they may outshine hereticks, and be able to refute and stop the mouths of heresies. Men well learned, of good lives, and lawfully ordained ministers, have a special call to so great a work, they have a blessing promised† on their labours; and may such be ever blessed who are lovers of peace, and truth's defenders.

THE SECOND QUERY.

Who is an heretick, and what is an heresy?

Amongst many convincing arguments to prove the greatness of the evil and danger of hereticks, some have been drawn from the great pain and cost, which the primitive church employed, and spent to extinguish the flame or fire of heresies, wheresoever and whensoever it was unhappily kindled. This is attested by the learned Chamierus in an epistle to Armandus‡. Thus from the great care and sollicitude of the physician, from the price and cost of the physick, or remedies, we may judge of the grievousness and danger of the disease.

Again, another argument, to prove the greatness of this evil, may be reduced from the raging anger, and impatient wrath, which ever appeared, and broke forth in these ancient Christians, who were patterns of humility, and rare examples of meekness; yet, being falsely accused of heresies, and branded with the name of heretick, could not with any patience hear and endure it. We read in the || lives of the fathers, of one Agatho, whose name speaks him, as he was, a good man, and most devout, that, having held his peace, in imitation of his meek Saviour, at the proposal of many crimes falsely objected and maliciously laid to his charge, yet at the name of heresy, (being called heretick) he was very much moved, and most wrathfully displeased.

This made Ruffinus (as he is cited by § Bishop Jewel) say, *Non est Christianus, qui notam Hærescos dissimulat*, i. e. He is no Christian, that can endure to be called heretick. To this purpose is that of St. Jerom,** *Nolo in suspitione Hærescos quemquam esse patientem*. It becomes every one with the greatest care and industry to avoid the very suspicion of heresy.

Thus a mere imagination, and false apprehension of being reputed and named hereticks, exasperated of late the spirits of some well-meaning Christians, and moved them to break through all bounds of modesty, by a publick demand of me, before the congregation ††, (in Swacy near Cambridge) to deliver my thoughts concerning heresy and hereticks. To whom (after a short preface to our ensuing conference) I thus replied with great affection to their souls, and (in obedience to the apostle's command ††) with as much meekness as I could, lest that, in the flame

* ἡ βίη συμφανὴ τοῖς δόγμασι καὶ τὰ δόγματα βίῃ, Chrys.

† Mat. xxviii. 20. I am with you.

‡ Scimus quantis olim sudoribus episcopi Catholici hæreticos redarguerint, et quantis sumptibus orthodoxi imperatores eos repræsentant. Epist. 3. ad Armand. Jesuit.

§ Part 2. de patient. et humilit. † Part 1. c. 6. Defens. Anglic. Fecl.

** Ep. 6. ad Faunmach.

†† Octob. 3d. 1652.

‡‡ Gal. vi. 1. Ye which are spiritual, restore, &c

of passion and heat of contention, truth should singe her wings (as too oft she hath done) and take her flight, leaving the parties wholly unsatisfied.

First, to avoid all needless questions, and endless disputes, we must distinguish between these two things, to be an heretick, and to embrace an heresy, or an opinion that is erroneous.

For not every one, whose opinion is heretical, is to be reckoned and listed in the black roll of hereticks, but only he, who, having been baptized in the Christian faith, shall stiffly maintain, and obstinately defend an untruth against it. By the Christian faith, we are not to understand in general the word of God in its whole latitude, viz. the prophetic and apostolical doctrine contained in the books of the Old and New Testament; for not every false interpretation of any one place of Scripture, nor every opinion, resulting from that place so interpreted, falls under the name and notion of heresy (as St. Jerom seems to assert it in his commentary upon the Galatians) but, by the Christian faith, we mean those four principles of our faith, which are the four kinds of fundamentals, the denial and opposing any one whereof with pertinacity intitles a man to the guilt of heresy, and the name of heretick.

The first of those fundamentals is placed in the Apostles Creed.

The second, in the Decalogue or Ten Commandments.

The third in the Lord's Prayer.

The fourth is the two Sacraments and the Lord's Supper.

Thus the reverend and learned Bishop Davenant determines the case, in that most judicious and schism-confounding work of his, intituled, *Ad Pacem Adhortatio* *. 'So then, he that shall perversely deny any article of the creed, which is *Christianorum fidei et sp̄i formula veritatis summa ac fundamentum* (to use the terms of the Tridentine Catechism) the form of a Christian's faith and hope; the epitome and foundation of truth; he that shall likewise wilfully err, in *principiis moralibus*, i. e. in the principles of manners, or good living; he that shall believe or maintain the contrary to any precept or moral command, as, that simple fornication is no sin, which is the opinion of the † Jews and Papists; that it is lawful to worship an image, the works of men's hands, or the like; he that shall overthrow the doctrine of the sacraments, either denying the exercise or use of the sacrament of baptism, or not baptizing, according to the tenor of Christ's ‡ injunction, In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, or not celebrating the eucharist according to our Saviour's institution, by denying the cup to the people, or the like: Lastly, He or they that err in the fundamental doctrine concerning prayer, making their addresses to any one, but God alone, through the mediation of Christ his son, by faith in whom, and being knit to them in love, we are bold to call God our Father, &c. He that shall obstinately persist both in opinion and practice against any precept or doctrine in these four kinds of fundamentals, he cannot be exempted from the number of hereticks, whose names are not regis-

* An exhortation to peace.

† Vid. Kimchi in Psal.

‡ Mat. xxviii. v. ult.

tered in the book of life, into which none shall enter that work abomination, or make a lie, Rev. xxi. 27. Such workers of inischi:f are those ἀπωλείας ἰργάται, as * Cyril rightly tells them, men that are leaders and abettors of an heresy. Such men, whom we may call *Demonice Meridiana* (as St. † Jerom once called Arius) men blown up with pride, and infected with a diabolical, daring spirit, you must decline, as you would those that have the leprosy or plague. Heresy is a catching disease, and hard to be cured; it enters into the soul by the eye and ear (when you either read the books, or hear the sermons of hereticks) and, entering thus in, it brings death and destruction, as its attendants, with it. St. Paul was not ignorant of this, as appears by his wholesome and seasonable exhortation for these times. Rom. xvi. 17. 'I beseech you, brethren,' (observe the apostle's earnest supplication, grounded upon the danger of heretical infection) 'mark them which cause divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them. Verse 18. For they, that are such, serve not the Lord Jesus Christ, but their own bellies.' They are commonly covetous and luxurious persons, given over to their appetites. They are dissembling hypocrites, for, as it follows there, with fair speeches and flatteries they deceive the hearts of their simple followers and auditors. If there come any such unto you, and bring not the doctrine of Christ (but that which is contrary to it) receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed, 2 John. 10. i. e. have nothing to do with him, neither shew him any sign of familiarity or respect, lest, under the guise or fleece of a lamb-like teacher, you meet (in the conclusion,) with devouring wolves, proud Anabaptists, or soul-murdering Jesuits; who now, like their great master, the prince of darkness go about, seeking whom they may destroy with their anti-scripture, antichristian, infectious tenets, or heresies. None, more than these grand impostors, are pleaders for conventicles, that so they may with more security open the fardal of their mass (that maze ‡ of idolatry) among themselves, and draw poor deceived souls from the love of the church, and their ministers. Σκοπεῖτε, mark with diligence, those that preach this doctrine, and conclude with yourselves, that they are either immediately sent from Rome, that antichristian synagogue, or seduced by the Romish agents, whose only aim in these times is, to blow the coal of division (using the Separatists || as his bellows for this very purpose) and to draw men's minds from the love of the truth and learning, knowing full well, that the fabrick of their superstition and idolatrous worship relies only upon the rotten pillar of ignorance, the only prop too of the pope's greatness.

For (as § that examiner of the council, or rather conventicle, of Trent, says well) *ut bonarum literarum instauratione facessere capit ignorantia*, &c. i. e. So soon as the cloud of ignorance was dispelled by the bright beams of learning, the authority of the pope began presently to fail and suffer a great diminution. Therefore I exhort you again, σκοπεῖτε, to mark those who are sowers of division, who endeavour to disjoin your hearts from the love of those, whom God hath placed over

* Cyril. l. 1. in Joh. cap. 4.

† Hieron. Apol. adversus Rufinu. lib. 2.

‡ So called

in the confutation of the Papists catechism, pag. 29.

|| Doctor Crackanthorpe, in his de-

sence of our church, does call them fitly, *fabella Jesuitarum*:

‡ Gentillet.

you, to be your guardians and watchmen *, such among the reverend fathers of the church are now (God be blessed for it) yet living, to the terror and grief of our adversaries; such likewise yet breathe (though with much discouragements) amongst the inferior ministers, who are more famous for the pulpit and schools, than for the press, and are able to wield the sword of argumentation, to the confutation and confounding of Rome's factors; who deal by us, as the hereticks of the former age by those *propugnatores fidei*, defenders of the faith, Basil, Nazianzen, Ambrose, Augustine, Jerom, &c. whom (as † Liudanus notes) the others impudently called, hereticks, *heretici hæreticos appellabant*, so they undeservedly and most uncharitably term us. To whom I shall only reply in the words of St. Augustine ‡ to the Pelagians: *Impetremus, si possumus, à fratribus nostris, ne nos insuper appellent hereticos, quod eos talia disputantes nos appellare possumus fortasse, si vellemus*, &c. i. e. We wish that we might obtain this favour of our brethren, that they would not call us hereticks, which we might (if we were so pleased to break the rule of charity, which loveth peace §) rightly call them, &c. as might be evidenced and proved by the former definition of heresy, and description of an heretick. To all which I shall subjoin this, to strengthen my assertion, that, as an error in *fundamento*, in any one of the forenamed fundamentals, so, one that is *circa fundamentum*, about, or bordering upon the foundation joined with conviction (after the testimony of the whole church, in word or writing to the contrary) and that conviction backed with contumacy, these do constitute an heretick.

He that comes boldly in a man's face, and cuts his throat, and he that steals behind his back, and knocks him on the head, are both equally guilty of murder (and would be found so, were they to be tried.) So he that directly and manifestly destroys a fundamental truth, and he that obliquely does it, teaching, or obstinately maintaining those things, which, if they be granted, by a necessary consequence overthrow the doctrines of faith, both these antiscriturists are to be reckoned amongst hereticks, although the former are far worse than the latter.

Thus the heresy of the § Marcionites, and Manichees, who destroy the human nature of Christ, by allowing him only a phantastick body, is somewhat worse than that of the Popish transubstantiators, who, by consequence, do that which is directly intended by others. For that, with the defence of this their absurd opinion, the articles of the incarnation, ascension, and session of our Lord Christ, at God's right hand, all these will fall to the ground, as the reverend and most learned bishops, **Morton, Hall, and White; also, the judicious Crakanthorpe, in his elaborate defence of our church against Spalatensis††, prove at large.

You may hereby collect what great boldness hath seized upon the tongues and pens of the proud Romanists, who dare throw that dirt upon us which covers their own faces, whilst they, with as much audacity as falsity, stile us (what they are, indeed, themselves judged by the

* Ezek. liii. 17, 18, 19.

† Prefat. in Panopliam.

‡ Aug. contr. Pelag.

§ 2 Cor. xiii. 7.

§ De hæred. Epiphani. Aug. Christ. de hæresibus. Crannet. adv. hæres.

** Ep. Mart. contra Mésam. lib. 8. cap. 2. Hall in his treat. called Rome irreconcil. White and yet Fisher, p. 19. Dr. Crakanthorpe, cap. 46. Num. 23.

†† Antonio de Dominis, arch-

bishop of Spalato in Italy. Salv. lib. 5. de guber. Dei.

learned to be) i. e. hereticks. Thus the Arians dealt by the Christians^s in the primitive times, as we find in Salvian, who complains thus of them: *In tantum se Catholicos esse judicant, ut nos titulo hæreticæ pravitatis infament*; which words would rightly fit our tongues in reference to our Romish adversaries, who (speaking and writing a mere contradiction) call themselves Catholics, when, indeed, they are not truly so. It is a term proper only to the universal church of Christ, dispersed and scattered over the face of the whole earth. They are a particular church, and therefore, whilst they stile themselves (indeed, it is *stilo loro*) Catholics, they speak as much, or, in effect, as if a man should say, a particular universal, or universal particular, which is absurd, and against the rules of logick. Therefore, in that, they appropriate to themselves the name of Catholics, they do this as falsely, as when they fasten upon us the name of hereticks, which is a term disgraceful and odious.

Lord, open their eyes, that they may see the truth, and inflame all our hearts with a greater love of it, that, knowing what we believe, and practising what we know, we may, at the last, be crowned amongst those, who, with that invincible* Athanasius, have contended earnestly for the truth, even to the loss of their lives and liberties. This is enjoined by St. Jude, ver. 3, and a clear description of such an heroick spirit we find, Heb. xi. 37. It. c. x. 34. Which things were written for our instruction, that we, being compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, should † resist even unto blood, and strive against heresy and hereticks, men of corrupt minds, and destitute of the truth; from such separate yourselves, 1 Tim. vi. 5. Converse not with such pestilentious persons. This, too, was the wise counsel of the blessed martyr Ignatius, who (as we read in ‡ Eusebius) used to go from house to house, through all the churches in the diocese, admonishing and entreating the Christians to abstain from the society of known hereticks, who, like || pitch, defile the weak, with the least touch of private conference.

§ Beware of false prophets, &c.

THE THIRD QUERY.

Whether it be lawful (or allowable by the word) for any to frequent conventicles, forsaking the publick meetings of Christians in churches.

AS there is a peevish industry in wickedness, to find or make associates, so** it is a commendable and industrious piece of virtue or goodness to oppose the attempts of wickedness, especially those of schismatics, who, not contenting themselves with the bounds of their own impieties, never rest till they have corrupted others with the poison of their ungodly tenets. And I cannot but grieve to see the once brave spirits of our nation (shewed in the subduing the Geneviseing Scots) suck in with

* Athanasius cont. Mandum. Raimund cont. Athanasium, vid. Ribadin. in vitâ ejus.
 † Heb. xii. 1. & 4. ‡ Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 30. || Eccl. xiii. 1. ‡ Mat. vii. 15.
 * Si: pertinacia insuperabiles vires habere conatur, quantas debet habere constantia! &c. Aug.
 Ep. 167. festo.

greediness the positions of the new Jesuitising Englandians, who are infected with the venom of old moth-eaten heresies, which have lain asleep for a long while, but are now awakened and revived by the prince of darkness, and transported into our church.

The ground (as I humbly conceive) of all the enormities and loose opinions amongst us, is, the discountenancing and discouraging of the publick ministry, and the crying down of churches (*vox diabolus sonat, non Deum certè*) as if there were none other, but those, that are spiritual when, as we find upon record, both in the * word and in ancient writers, there were material churches †, houses built and set a-part for the publick worship of God, wherein the Christians solemnly met at the least once a week; this was the practice of the primitive times, even in the days of the apostles‡, and continued from them to us through all ages by uninterrupted successions,

There is a fable, amongst the mythologists, of a maiden, and a lion, who fell in love with her, and she promised out of fear to yield to his desires, on condition that she might first knock out his teeth; which he presently yielded to, and was by her immediately destroyed.

Thus the only aim of the devil, and his associates, is not only to pluck out the teeth of discipline (the wall) but even the tongue of sound doctrine, which is the heart of the church. This he now endeavours, by stopping the mouths of God's lawful ministers, and sending out his † Shemaiahs, Nehelamites, his dreaming chaplains, who dream of a form of government never thought of, nor intended by Christ, and, having no commission to preach, thrust themselves into conventicles, where they vent their dreams, and propagate their fancies, to the destruction of many poor well-meaning Christians.

Concerning the unlawfulness of which private meetings (congregated by men, who have no calling to teach, and in opposition to the unity and uniformity of our national church) I shall now, in all love and tenderness to the souls good of the unlearned, enlarge my thoughts, and deliver my opinion, which I trust will be embraced by those, who shall peruse this short treatise without a partial prejudice; which, like a curtain drawn before a window, shuts out the light of truth, and keeps darkness in; it harbours errors and mistakes, which breed hatred and dissension.

First, take a conventicle, for a meeting of men and women in a private house upon the Lord's-day, then when they should join with the people of God in a church appointed for God's publick worship and service thus to convene and meet (though in times of restraint) without a lawful minister to head that body, and by enjoined prayers and preaching to sanctify the work, is held utterly unlawful. Which I shall prove both by the word of God, the practice of Christ, together with the authority of fathers, and interpreters of the holy scriptures, as also by arguments drawn from reason, which commonly (if not perverted) is a sure guide, and a good judge.

First, then, if we weigh the truth, in the balance of the sanctuary, if we look into the scriptures, we shall find a flat prohibition to the contrary, as Heb. x. 24, 25. Let us consider one another to provoke to

* 1 Cor. xiv. 35.

† xi. 22.

Distribæ.

‡ Vide a full and learned discourse of this in Mr. Mede's

¶ Jer. xxix. 24. Jude 8.

love and good works, not forsaking τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, the congregation, as the manner of some is, but let us exhort one another, &c. Upon which place Esthius (a modern and learned interpreter*) hath this gloss. *Qui conventibus ecclesiasticis, &c.* or, 'they, that withdraw themselves from the publick congregation, are in danger of an unavoidable and fearful ruin; for that thereby they make a schism in the church, (the doing whereof is most dangerous and displeasing to God) and ingender sects:' (so Esthius on the text.) Whereby they do worse by Christ, than the persecuting Jews; they divide his seamless coat, and give an occasion to the adversary, of rejoicing and triumphing over the church.

Therefore Ignatius in his epistles exhorts †, and that with much earnestness, the Christians to frequent the church, to be often present and seldom absent from the meetings of God's people there, lest that, by their continued absence, they fall at length from the faith, having first lost their love to God and his saints. Which love is commonly chilled by the cold breath of conventicles, where hatred and malice (against those of a contrary judgment) with sedition is commonly hatched and fomented, as hath been found by sad experience in this sinful nation.

I might here accumulate the testimonies of other interpreters upon this place, to confirm this truth concerning the unlawfulness of conventicles.

Cornelius à Lapide writes thus upon this text, much to our present purpose. The apostle (says he) by this word ἐκκλησίαν, *intelligit cœtus ecclesiæ et conventus fidelium ad sacram synaxim, et ad verbum Dei precesque publicas, &c.* i. e. He understands the meeting of the church in publick prayer, in receiving of the holy sacrament, and to hear the word. *Hos ergo conventus apostolus vult frequentari, &c.* 'Therefore the apostle would have these publick meetings frequented, that so men and women may make a clear and open profession of their faith, which is a great means to beget mutual love and affection in those, who agree in the same faith with us' ‡. By this open profession we likewise encourage and incite others to profess the same faith, to worship the same God, in that manner, and after that way, as it is done by us, who hereby shew ourselves to be an example of good works. And examples we know are more prevalent than words or precepts. They have a greater influence upon men's practice in a way of conformity and obedience.

Besides the forenamed Ignatius amongst the fathers, Chrysostome, Theodoret, Theophylact, and Occumenius interpret this text in the same sense with *à Lapide* and *Esthius*; who, indeed, light their candle at those bright burning tapers, whom God did set up for the good of his church, to enlighten it, and to direct it in the ways of truth. And|| he that despiseth them (with the rest of the ancient fathers) despiseth God who sent them.

The second scripture proof against private meetings, as before were defined, is this, Mat. xxiv. 26. Wherefore, if they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the desert, go not forth; behold, he is in the secret places, ἐν τοῖς ταμείοις, believe it not. Most of the ancient fathers (there-

* Qui conventibus ecclesiasticis per fastum et superbiam sese subtrahunt, proximi sunt graviori ruinæ. Est. in loc. † Ignat. in Ep. ad Ephes. & Smyrnenes. ‡ Illi publici cœtus et mutui congressus mire fovent fidem et charitatem, quæ in secessu et separatione diuturniori languescit, &c. Cornei. à Lap. ¶ Luke x. 16.

fore, now despised, because they are enemies to heresies) as Origen, Augustine, and others interpret this place of the private corners of schismatics and hereticks, who labour to draw the people's minds from the love of the public congregation, and engage them to their private meetings, whereby they commonly entangle them in their errors and heresies. Therefore if they say, as the Donatists * once did, that Christ is only amongst them in their crypts and conventicles, believe them not, for they do contrary to the precept and practice of Christ; he wills or enjoins us to † confess him and his truth before men, i. e. to make an open profession of our faith, both in times of persecution and peace. He himself ever ‡ taught publicly, as he witnessed of himself before Pilate; he || did so teach us this lesson, that truth seeks not corners, but loves the light (therefore it is sometimes called light in the holy scriptures. Eph. v. 8. Walk as children of the light, Vid. Act. xxvi. 18.) But they, that § hate the truth, delight in darkness, dare not say that in an open congregation, which they spawn and vent in a conventicle or private meeting. Therefore avoid them, join not with them, beware of making a schism in the church or making that rent wider, which was first begun of late by the presbyterians; adhere not to schismatics, whose portion, without a deep repentance for so great a sin, as wounding Christ's church, shall be after death in the land of darkness, because they loved darkness rather than light. I never read that saying of Augustine**, but with horror and dread, when I considered the common guilt. 'Foris ab ecclesiâ constitutus et separatus à communione unitatis, et vinculo caritatis, æterno supplicio punieris, etiamsi pro Christi nomine vivus combureris, i. e. 'He, or she, that out of pride or preishness, separates himself from the body of the church,' (whose members are knit together by the ligaments of one faith and bond of love) 'that man shall be punished with everlasting torments. although he should die in the flames, and be burnt for the name of Christ.' Such biting truths as these are the cause, why schismatics and hereticks love not to read the fathers, nor vouchsafe so much as to name them in their sermons or writings. 'Therefore let no man deceive you with vain words, for, for such things, cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience. Be not then companions with them: For ye were sometimes darkness, but are now light in the Lord, walk as children of light' Eph. v. 6, 7, 8. And conform yourselves to the †† example of our lord and master Jesus, who ‡‡ preached in the synagogues and the temple, notwithstanding they were places full of disorder and corruption. He |||| called the temple a den of thieves, and are there not too many in ours? §§ The doctrine of the law was then corrupted by the *duplex*, the false glosses of the scribes and pharisees, and is not the doctrine of the gospel as much corrupted by ours? Besides all this, they were loose and wicked in their lives, witness that charge of our Saviour, to his followers and auditors, against the Jewish doctors, Do not after their works, &c. *** Notwithstanding all these corruptions and deformities in the Jewish church, yet our Saviour Christ made no separation from it, but came and preached

* Vide August. Ep. 48.

† Luke xii. 8.

‡ John xviii. 19, 20.

§ Luke iv. 15. 46.

|| John iii. 19 Men love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil.

** Aug.

Ep. 404.

†† Christi actio nostri debet esse instructio.

‡‡ Luke xii. 47.

|| Mat. xxi. 13.

§§ xv. 3.

*** Matthew xxiii. 23.

in those places of publick concourse, where the seducers and false teachers were.

If this example and practice of our Saviour will not convince and startle into fear and obedience the separatists of our age (both teachers and disciples) I know not what will do it. If Christ should have trod in their steps, been led by their fond opinion, he would have made a separation, and fled from the society of the Jews, and not so much as once gone into the temple, or taught in their synagogues, but he did otherwise; and from what he did we may conclude, that the practice of those phanaticks, who separate themselves from all assemblies, or publick places of God's service, pretending either a want of gifts, or a defect of holiness in the ministers, I say, the practice of such men doth speak them to be thoes antichrists, which the apostle St. John mentions in his first epistle, Now there are many antichrists, whereby we may know it is the last time. They went out from us, &c. * i. c. They turned separatists, and therefore antichrists, because they went flat against the practice and precept of Christ, who commands us by his apostle † 'to be of one heart, and of one mind, to think and speak, and do the same thing (in good) to love as brethren,' who forsake not one another's company, and desert not their family, when they discover any infirmity in their father, or any deformity in their mother, but keep close to both in observance and humble duty. We may have communion or fellowship with men's persons in publick worship, and not partake in the guilt of their sins. 'Ille communicat malis, qui consentit factis malorum.' He communicates with the wicked, that consents to their wickedness ‡; abhor and forsake his sin, then mayest thou without fear or danger communicate with a wicked man. 'Si malos odistis, vos ipsi mutamini à scelere schismatis. Si malarum permixtionem timeretis, opatum inter vos in apertissima iniquitate viventem per tot annos non teneretis.' Thus Augustine bespeaks the Donatists; so may I the men of our times; if you hate the ungodly, shew your hatred towards yourselves by repenting and turning from your schism and heresies; and, if you fear the mixture or company of the wicked, shun the society, and abhor the persons of your leaders by whom you are seduced and corrupted.

A third argument, against such meetings in private on the Lords-day, may be deduced from the intent and scope of the fourth commandment, whose morality, in the judgment of all both fathers and modern writers, consists in this, that God be worshiped in the congregation with publick service in an open confession of our faith, and a profession of our love and thankfulness to him for all his mercies and blessings, those which concern ours ouls, and those which respect our bodies, &c. But to wave this and other arguments, which might be produced to confirm my former thesis, I proceed to reasons against conventicles.

First, Reason suggests this truth to our spirits, that our souls, being, as it were, so many sparks of the || Deity, the breath of God, are more § precious than our bodies, which are clods of earth, and by nature cages of uncleanness; by so much greater ought our care to be towards those than these mortal bodies. Now no man, that hath a treasure of

* 1 Ep. Joh. c. 2. v. 18, 19.

† Phil. i. 27. ii. 2.

§ Mark viii. 37. Matt. xvi. 26.

‡ Aug. Ep. 171.

|| Gen. ii. 7.

jewels or gold about him, will venture alone into a place which is a receptacle of thieves and robbers. None that is found in health will thrust himself, boldly without fear or wit, into the company of those who are infected with the plague, or some other noisome disease. Oh then how do they at once betray their religion, and forfeit their reason, who mingle themselves with hereticks, and resort frequently to the company of schismatics, who are thieves and robbers, for that they steal the truth out of men's hearts*, and rob their high-born souls of the love of God and goodness; whose opinions likewise are worse than the plague in the event and consequence; for, as they incurably infect the soul, so, being embraced and followed, they debar men from ever coming to the kingdom of God. See Gal. v. 19. Witness likewise that of † Ignatius, which (did our separatists understand his language) they would read with a trembling in their joints, like that great prince in Daniel, c. v. v. 6. when he read his doom on the wall. The words of Ignatius in English are these ‡: 'They that join themselves in a faction, and adhere in affection to such who separate and divide their hearts from the truth, such men shall not inherit the kingdom of God. They, who shun not the company of false teachers, shall be condemned to everlasting torments.' For as with David we must hate the congregation of the wicked, || for evil doers, such as are perverse schismatics; so must we delight in the company of the saints, who are such not only in name, but also in practice; being pure in their opinions, holy in their lives, not carnal, nor sensual; they despise not government, neither speak evil of those who are set in authority § over them by God, but are spiritual, heavenly-minded, meek and obedient; these are ¶ *קדושים*, those that excel in virtue, commended by holy David ** for our choice respect and company.

Again, in the second place, as reason fetches an argument against them from the danger of such meetings, where the devil may seize upon thee, (as he did once upon that woman in the theatre as Tertullian †† records) so my reason tells me (thus should every one argue with himself) that it is a shame and disgrace for a Christian, a brother of Christ, to follow such a teacher, to make him his master, who is *καταδούλος*, a servant to his own belly, and a slave to his lusts; the subserviency to which hath ever been the original of heresies, as Theophylact notes well upon that place of the apostle ‡‡, They serve not the Lord Jesus, but their own bellies. This is spoken of schismatics, whose private meetings end commonly in belly-cheer, in luxury and wantonness. This is too well known in these truth-denying times; and this too was confessed of late to me by a taylor here at Whethamstead to be the cause of his revolt from such private meetings, and coming again to our church; it was, (as he ingenuously said) their disorder and unseemly carriage in their conventicles, that moved him, a man of a tender spirit, to forsake their wicked company, and return to God.

* John x. 8.

† Ignat. Epist. ad Philod,

‡ *Εἴ τις χεῖρ ἂν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπαλαθεῖ,*

βασίλειαν θεῶν ἢ κληρονομήσῃ, &c. Ign. c. ibid.

§ Psal. xxvi. 4.

¶ Jude, ver. 8.

** Psal. xvi. 3.

†† Tertul. cap. 26, lib. de spectaculis. These he calls conventicles, diaboli

coetivatus, &c. ‡‡ Rom. xvi. 18. It was on the first of April last, 1651, on which day I baptiz'd two of his children in the open congregation, one newly born, the other of the age of two years and a half.

Oh therefore be persuaded in time, before you meet with destruction, to avoid such teachers and their meetings in dark cells and corners. They are nurseries of sin and corruption. Though Israel play the harlot, let not Judah offend: Come ye not to Gilgal, neither go up to Beth-aven. Hos. iv. 15. Give not up your names to be those men's disciples, who, for aught ye know, may be the Pope's legates, who broach new opinions contrary to those you have received, and repugnant to the scriptures; such men are not *doctores* but *seductores*, not doctors but seducers, not pastors but impostors*. Therefore shun their company, come not into their private assemblies, lest you be defiled with their pollutions, corrupted by their heresies, which ever end in schism; both which break the bones and bruise the flesh of Christ's church, his † spouse. And he that lives and dies in a schism, cannot hope to be saved, being severed from that body whereof Christ Jesus is the head, which body is quickened by that spirit, whereby we shall be raised. 'If the spirit of him, that raised up Jesus from the dead, dwell in you, he, that raised up Christ from the dead, shall also quicken your mortal bodies,' &c.† If then that spirit dwell not in you, you shall not be glorified: As a member that is cut off from the body dies, and by no art can be quickened, or have life put into it, being severed from the influential virtue or activity of that soul which gives life to the body, whereto, whilst it was joined, it lived and moved. I will conclude this third query with that exhortation of the apostle, 'Keep the unity of the spirit, in the bond of peace'‡, that is, in love and charity.

If this heavenly fire burns and glows in your Christian breast, you will not, from that which I have delivered, deduce this uncharitable and mistaken inference, as some once did, but are now better informed of my intentions, that I am an enemy to all kinds of meetings of God's saints and servants; I am not, I exhort them often to meet, but when? Not when they should be at church. What to do? Not to take upon them the ministers office to preach, but to repeat what they have heard from the mouths of their orthodox teachers, or to read the scriptures to the unlearned, or to do as David did, i. e. Tell what God hath done for their souls§, the manner of their conversion, the method and means God used to comfort them in their tribulation, or to pray together for the peace of Jerusalem**, for the restoration of the poor distressed church, for a blessing upon the persons and labours of their honest ministers. Let this be the end of your house meetings, and my soul shall meet with you in commendation of your holy practice, and in prayer for a blessing on your pious exercise; but if you do otherwise, i. e. forsake the church, the place where God's people, his servants, do congregate, I fear that it will happen to you, as it doth to the silly sheep that strays from the flock, which becomes a prey to the devouring wolf; or as it did to Dinah, the daughter of Leah, who, leaving her father's house to see the daughters of the land, was met, and ravished by Shechem††. So they that forsake their ministers, and out of curiosity resign and devote themselves to be followers of those, who are none, they must expect to be deflowered of their faith and manners by such seducers, who are spiritual

* Bernard. non pastores, sed impostores.
† Eph. iv. 3.

‡ Psal. lxxvi. 18.

† Cant. iv. 9, 10.
** Psal. cxxii. 6.

‡ Rom. viii. 11.
†† Gen. xxiv. 2.

adulterers and murderers, who corrupt men's judgments, and feast it with the souls of their simple disciples, whom they grind with the * tr-eth of error, and poison with that cup which they themselves have drunk of, a gilded cup of heresies, full of † abomination and filthiness. The Lord prevent us with his grace, and preserve us from these corruptions.

S. Augustine, in his fourth book *de doctrinâ Christianâ*, notes, that the word in Latin, which signifies a conventicle or place of private meeting (it is *conventiculum et tantum singulariter dicitur*) is only used in the singular number, improperly in the plural; as if by God's spirit (the prime author of words in the hearts and by the tongues of men) this was thereby intended to be implied, that there must not be more places than one, for God's people to meet in, in their several parishes, that is, each particular church, the only place allowed and appointed by God for his publick worship and service. 'Oh that men would therefore praise the Lord for his goodness, and declare his wonderful works before the sons of men! That they would exalt him in the congregation of the people' ‡, leaving their conventicles, wherein God cannot be so highly praised, nor so much honoured, as in a place of publick concourse, a church.

I must, for a close of this third query, freely vent my thoughts, which have been ever in my breast.

The classical presbyters made way for these abuses and corruptions in our church, by making an unhappy breach in it, when they brought in their motly Directory into the church, by which means, they drove many out of it into conventicles, and, like the sons of Eli §, by their unjust usurpation made men to abhor the offering of the Lord, and caused the people to trespass, ver. 14.

They too by their usurping the power of ordination, contrary to the rule of Christ, and the established order of the church, were the cause that others (in opposition to them) did and do now preach without orders.

By this we see, what good friends and servants, how dutiful sons the presbyters have been to their mother, the church. All the hurt that I wish them is this, that they were confined and doomed *Scotorum pul-tibus saginari*, § to be fellow-commoners, live, repent, and die amongst their wretched brethren the Scots, the first fomentors of our divisions, and authors of our miseries.

Heavenly Father forgive them. They know not what mischief they have done.

THE FOURTH QUERY.

Whether it be lawful for a Lay-man to preach?

I remember a saying of Isocrates, *ὅτι ἀρετὴν περὶ τῶν κοινῶν πολλὰ λεῖψας*, It is not proper for an orator, or any one, to spend many words about a business or theme, that is clear and common. Therefore seeing that

* Δικαιοσύνη τὰς τῶν ἀσεβούντων ψυχὰς, τῆς ἀπάτης ἰδέαν ἐνεργίζουσα. Cyril. in Hes.
 † Rev. xvi. 4. ‡ Paul. xvii. 31, 32. § 1 Sam. ii. 17. § Vossius Hist. Pelag.
 says of Pelagius, that he was *Scotorum pulibus saginatus*.

the query is not attended with any great difficulty, and hath been so much discussed by the pens of the learned, I shall not spend many words about it. Only this I shall say, for the benefit and conviction of the unlearned, to whose capacity I desire to fit my discourse, and suit my phrase.

If by preaching we understand (as we are to do) the * dividing of the word aright, i. e. the applying of it (according to the diversity of persons, times, and places) to the consciences of the hearers in publick; which application of it implies a reproving of sin in a judicial authoritative way, and a denouncing of judgment against sinners; and lastly, a laying forth or unfolding of sweet promises of the gospel, of pardon and forgiveness to the faithful and penitent, who renounce their own, and rely upon Christ's merits: To affirm, that to do this, in a constituted or settled church, is lawful for a lay-man, is as incongruous, and carries with it as great an absurdity, as to say (which is impious) that St. Paul was mistaken, and did not speak from Christ, when he enjoined every one to abide in that calling, to which he is called †. For one to invade the proper duty of a minister, without a special calling from the church, is altogether unlawful; so says Amesius himself, Lib. iv. de Cas. Consc. cap. 25.

Secondly, He that can maintain it lawful for a common soldier (because he hath good skill at his weapon and in the feats of war) to challenge the place of a colonel or chief commander, without the consent of the superior officers; he that can prove it that Korah and his two confederates sinned not in rising up against Moses and Aaron ‡, and usurping the priests office. (Moses I am sure checked their boldness thus ||, Ye take too much upon you, &c. it was so much, and so weighty a burthen, their usurpation so great a sin, that the earth could not bear them, but opened and swallowed up them, and all their proud associates.)

Thirdly, He that can convince my judgment, that § Uzzah sinned not in touching the ark; that the men of ** Beth-shemesh did not offend by looking boldly into it; that †† Saul and ‡‡ Uziah did not commit a great trespass in taking upon them the priests office. Thou hast done foolishly, so said Samuel to Saul, 1 Sam. xiii. 13. He lost his kingdom by it, as appears ver. 14. Now the kingdom shall not continue, &c. they are the words of the prophet. |||| 'Azariah the priest, and with him fourscore priests of the Lord, valiant men; they withstood Uziah the King, and said unto him, It belongeth not to thee, Uziah, to burn incense unto the Lord, but to the priests, the sons of Aaron, that are consecrated for to offer incense; go out of the sanctuary, for thou hast transgressed, and thou shalt have no honour of the Lord thy God.' You may read, ver. 19. How that he was punished with leprosy, a foul disease, for his foul fact, and that in the forehead, the seat of impudence, he was too bold. His open sin was punished with open shame. 'Though his zeal seemed to be good, and also his §§ inten-

* 2 Tim. ii. 15. 1 Cor. vii. 20.

† Art thou then called to be a weaver, a taylor, or a cobler? Desart not thy calling, and thrust not thyself into that which belongs to another.

‡ Num. xvi. 3. || Ver. 17.

§ 2 Sam. vi. 6.

** 1 Sam. vi. 19.

†† 1 Sam. xiii. 11.

‡‡ 2 Chr. xxvi. 18.

|||| 2 Chron. xxvi. 17, 18.

§§ To a lawful act there is required not only a good end, but also good means. A good intention, if the means be bad, will not bring a man to heaven. Many with this mistake have gone to hell. Bonum bene is the rule in divinity.

tion, yet, because they were not regulated or guided by God's word, he did wickedly, and was therefore both justly resisted [by the priests] and punished [by God.] This note you shall find in the margin of your English bibles, which I wish were well observed by our too forward zealots, who flatter and deceive themselves with their good intentions, when the means they use are not lawful but unrighteous.

Fourthly, He that can prove it by any plausible argument (as I am sure none can, though he were as powerful in invention, and witty in arguing, as * Perronius, once a cardinal of Rome) that it was lawful under the old law for any butcher, because he had skill in killing of a beast, to slay the sacrifice, which was only proper to the † Levites. And he that shall demonstrate to my understanding, that he is not guilty of great presumption, and much pride, who shall first think himself fit for that office, which St. Paul so admired, and trembled at, that he brake forth into a *τίς ικανός*; ‡, Who is sufficient for it? He that thinks himself so, is most insufficient; especially when he shall want all those gifts, which are usually seen and required in ministers, as, skill in the languages, fathers, councils, school-men, church-histories, with other modern writers; together with the arts and sciences.

Fifthly, He that shall clear this point unto me, that the practice of Christ and his apostles, together with the whole church, for sixteen-hundred years, and upwards, is not to be allowed of; especially, when that practice is confirmed and ratified by precept in the Holy Scriptures, where we find || directions to the then bishops for the laying on of hands upon those who were then, and now are to be admitted into holy orders.

And, Lastly, He that can evince it, that besides the inward testimony of a man's own conscience §, there is not, upon the former grounds required the outward call or testimony of the church, to whom he is to give trial of his gifts, and then receive the church's blessing, with solemn prayers to God to prosper the work which he is going about, i. e. that he may convert souls, and thereby enlarge the kingdom of Christ.

He, that is able (as I am sure none ever was, or will be.) to prove all these particulars, shall subdue my reason, and bring me to a confession, that it is lawful for a lay-man to preach.

Till this be proved (as it never can be expected) I shall with the authority of God's word, the consent of all antiquity, and the practice of all reformed churches, conclude and stand firmly to this position:

That no man ought to take upon him this sacred function, or office, but he that is called as Aaron was **, i. e. by God. The voice of the church is the voice of God; ergo, lay-men that call themselves by a bold intrusion, we may lawfully call usurpers of the priests office, of the stock of Korah, of the race of Jeroboam's priests. He made of the lowest of the people, priests of the high places, which thing became a sin to the house of Jeroboam, even to cut it off and destroy it from the face of the earth ††.

* Per. madebat nobis quicquid voleat, ite de Perronio Paulus Sanctus, in vita Perronii opusculis eius præfixa. † Levit. i. 4. He shall kill the bullock. ‡ 2 Cor. ii. 16. § 1 Tim.

iv. 14. v. 22. Tit. i. 5. Acts xiv. 23, &c. § That he is both willing and able to discharge the office of a minister.

** Heb. v. 4.

†† Kings xiii. 33.

And unless the divine justice shall speedily stop the mouths of the apron-rabbies, and russet-levites, by some strange judgment, and so cut them off who have kindled a flame in state and church (that hath blasted all good order, consumed all God's ordinances, and caused a general ebb of devotion and piety amongst us) who also have crept in like thieves into the church by back-ways, have secretly insinuated themselves into the society of God's people; professing themselves to be teachers of the true faith, but are, indeed, the destroyers of it, and disturbers of our peace, ungodly men, who were of old *persecutores*, ordained *, appointed (as if it had been set down in a book) to this condemnation, or to this judgment, to be *flagellum ecclesie*, to try, to † exercise and molest the church by their false doctrine; and, when they have done their worst, to receive for a recompence, or reward of their impiety and wickedness, damnation.

Till these incendiaries be suppressed and silenced, we cannot expect but this our now distracted nation, which was once the scourge of others, and the praise of all the world, shall become the scorn of all nations; whilst, as the Jews ‡ once did, we destroy ourselves at home by our multiplied divisions, and so prevent the mischievous malice of our foreign enemies: which thing will make us a derision to those that are round about us, to the men of Gath and Askalon, the uncircumcised Philistines, bloody Jesuits and papists: Which God avert, for his mercies sake, and the merits of his son Christ Jesus.

Pray for the peace of Jerusalem, Psalm cxxii. 16.



The author's prayer to God, for the suppressing of heresy, and happy composing of our unhappy divisions.

O THOU who art one and infinite in power, the center of perfection, and the God of love, collect our scattered thoughts from perverse disputes, and worldly distractions; draw in our hearts from hunting after vanities; confine them to thine heaven, and to thyself, who art the heaven of that heaven. Make us to love thy truth, which is the brightness of thy everlasting light, the undefiled mirror of thy Majesty, and the image of thy glory. And, because there is but one heaven, and one way to it, that living way of faith and obedience, oh let the bright beams of thy grace shine in the hearts of thy people, who are now turned to the by-ways of error, and wander in the desarts of sin and heresy; reduce them, good father, into the way of truth, that with one heart, and one mind, they may serve thee, the only true God, through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

Tri-uni Deo sit honos, laus, et gloria.

* Jude iv. † Idcirco doctrinam Catholicam contradicentium obsidet impugnatio, ut fides nostra non otio torpescat, sed multis exercitationibus elimetur. Aug. ‡ See Joseph. Hist.

THE LAWS DISCOVERY:

Or a brief detection of sundry notorious errors and abuses contained in our English Laws, whereby thousands are annually stripped of their estates, and some of their lives. By a well-wisher to his country.

London, printed in 1653. Quarto, containing five pages.

The author was a gentleman born to a fair estate, by degree a barrester, who, partly through sickness, and partly for conscience, deserted the profession of our laws, as epidemically evil; he spent divers of his last years in supervising the defects thereof. Amongst many grievances, wherein he desired redress, personal imprisonment for debt was one, and the insufficiency of our laws, for charging the debtor's estate, another. Therefore, several of these subsequent proposals tend chiefly for securing of creditors, out of the debtor's estate, whereby the debtor's person may go free.

I.

WHEREAS the lands of a copyholder, who is a tenant at will, according to custom, are not subject to extent in his life-time, nor liable to his debts in the hands of his heirs; it were convenient that some plenary act were made for redress hereof, securing the lord's fine, and preserving the custom of the manor.

II. That leases taken for other men's lives, whether in possession of the general or special occupant, may be subjected to payment of debts; the creditor, whose money bought the lease, or preserved it from sale, hath better right thereto, than either of these occupants. Such defects as these protect heirs in Burrough English; also when lands fall to the youngest son of a copyholder; neither of these can be charged upon ancestors bonds, because not heir-general at common-law.

III. That an heir of a tenant in tail may be liable to pay his father's debts.

IV. That some remedy be used for payment of debts, where parents purchase lands in their children's names, with other men's monies.

V. That where heirs alien lands before action brought by the creditor, they may pay such debts, and not leave the creditor to a suit in chancery in such plain cases.

VI. That the creditor, for securing his debt, have liberty to charge the heir and executor, both together; because it is uncertain which is best able to pay; if he recover of one, the other may stay his suit.

VII. That younger brothers, and grand children enjoying lands upon descent, be liable to pay debts.

VIII. That coheirs in gavelkind, where brethren inherit equally,

may all, as well as the eldest, be liable to pay debts; also that lands, left in trust for children, be liable to payment of debts.

IX. That creditors have liberty to extend more than half the debtor's lands for payment of debts, which cannot be done at present.

X. Whereas rich debtors get their lands extended by one creditor or other, thereby to defraud the rest; therefore, that, as leases, goods, and bankrupt lands are sold, so where the landed debtor will not sell, within convenient time, that the creditors should have the debtor's lands to sell and dispose of, returning the overplus to the debtor, or else that some other convenient remedy be used herein.

XI. That there were some place in every shire for registering all leases, bargains, conveyances, statutes, judgments, recognisances, and the like, which any way concern the lands in that shire; in former times, care hath been used for recording of bargains, sales, and statutes, within six months, but none at all for leases, feoffments, deeds of covenants to stand seized to uses, with leases and releases after them.

XII. That writs to take a debtor be dirigible, particularly to one, and generally to all other sheriffs or justices within England.

XIII. That the privileges and abuses of palatinces, which extremely hinder payment of debts, be laid by with us, as they are in Portugal.

XIV. That, in regard attachments prevent arrests and bloodshed, they may be used as well in other parts of England, as at London.

XV. That, as was used by the antients, against sanctuary-men, so instead of appearances, notice by justices of the peace, or the like, may be given or left; and, in case of contumacy the second or third time, process may be made against the offender. This would prevent those grievances by outlawry, also the great expences in chancery, the abuses in palatinates privilege, the exchange and fairs from arrests avoided, trials by *ejectione firme*, and abuses by under-sheriffs.

XVI. To prevent the abuses practised in wills and administrations, that, in every great town or hundred, standing commissioners should be chosen by the neighbourhood (and sworn before some justices) for seizing and selling of estates, unless executors, or the like, give sufficient security to such commissioners for the absolute payment of all debts, and that all debtors be paid alike; this course might very much help orphans, also the just payment of debts and legacies; likewise it were good some strict laws were made against imbezbling any part of such estates.

XVII. That insolvent debtors be freed from imprisonment, or else detained some short time at the creditors charge, till their cause be determined, and that their estates be seized for satisfaction of creditors.

XVIII. To help the creditor for matter of proof, that the debtor, or what others the creditor or judges think fit, may be examined upon oath, as in case of bankrupt.

XIX. For the encouragement of merchants, and some special manufactures, as at Antwerp, some immunities from arrests, at least for small sums, be conferred on the professors.

XX. Whereas poor men can seldom put in bail, for want whereof, they suffer unheard many months imprisonment, till their day of hearing comes, and are thereby often utterly ruined; therefore for preven-

tion, that the plaintiff by his own oath, or of some credible person allowed by the judge, declare the truth of the cause; wherein, if he failed, the prisoner, giving authority for his appearance, to be dismissed without bail; or which is better, that the judge be authorised to determine of law, fact, and equity, to avoid the formality and charge of pleading.

XXI. That no person be held to bail, who hath offered to pay without suit of law, neither should his person be liable to execution.

XXII. Whereas, by that barbarous and senseless law of pressing to death, rich and landed men are encouraged to steal, and accessaries wholly escape; therefore, if such manner of offenders were attainted by verdict, such inconveniences might be prevented.

XXIII. Whereas by clergy many times murderers, and notorious thieves, are but warmed a little in the hand, because they can read; and another for a sheep, or trifle, is hanged, not for his offence, but because he cannot read: Therefore it were requisite, that this senseless and barbarous character, which admits of much knavery, and cannot be read by every good and able scholar, were banished, as well as French, Latin, and Court-hand, especially in such cases which concern men's lives.

XXIV. That persons, accused for life, be permitted council, in regard their fears render them often both speechless and unadvised; bare accusations are not such sufficient condemnations, as to deprive any (though innocent) of council in such extremity.

XXV. That there may be but one statute for one matter, and repeals made total, not in part, so that men may know what is in force, what not, and live under such laws, as it is possible to know, which now they cannot.

XXVI. That reversioners have free power to dispose of their estates without the tenants consent. This would both prevent many chancery-suits, and secure purchasers.

XXVII. That the statute of Merton may be totally repealed, and thereby those ancient local customs confirmed in behalf of the tenants and inhabitants.

XXVIII. That the uncertain fines of copyholders may be reduced to a certainty, either of an easy yearly rent, or moderate fine; also that the like might be done, in servile tenures and heriots; this would prevent many chancery-suits and oppression by lords.

XXIX. That the suborner, as well as the corrupted witness, should be stigmatised and disabled for future matters; also, that whosoever unjustly takes away another's testimony, by making him a party, should lose his suit, if proved. This is an old chancery trick.

XXX. That trial by combat may be suppressed as a reasonless law, and unwarrantable by God's word.

I HAVE narrowly epitomised the author, partly because others have (especially Mr. William Leech) treated at large upon some of these grievances; and partly, that, as a compendium of many necessary *mementoes*, it might produce an active remembrance, in all true-hearted Englishmen, and worthy patriots of their country.

A NARRATION

Of the late

ACCIDENT IN THE NEW EXCHANGE,

On the twenty-first and twenty-second of November, 1653. *Stylo vet.*
Written by the most noble and illustrious Lord, DON PANTALEON SA,
brother to his excellency of Portugal, extraordinary legate in England,
to his much esteemed nobility of England, and to all of the
beloved and famous city of London from Newgate's prison.

London, printed in the year, 1653. Quarto, containing fourteen pages.

MANY will wonder, what feelings I have to be detained in a place so unsuitable to my condition; whilst few vouchsafe me their commiseration, all deem me worthy of reproof. Truly, I do acquiesce in this, to me, harsh tenor of English justice, and obey it without resistance, to this universal and undeserved hatred towards me and ours. Notwithstanding, because I am conscious of my own intentions herein, I cannot but grieve to see the whole envy and malice of this affair pursue only my part, not having given, neither the first nor the second time, any occasion for it, without permitting, that we, remote strangers from our native country, enjoy any pity at all. Much I am afflicted, that few cherish my cause, most withstand it, and, as it were, none interpose themselves, to ascribe this unhappy accident, as really it ought, to chance, rather than to malice; to the ignorance of some particulars, than to the pertinacy of all; to the reciprocal hurly-burly, than to the pretended violence of one only side. This I only say, to that end, that I may lay open the business, and intentions herein, so to be made apparent to the most beloved gentry and people of England, that all may more easily compassionate my person and condition, and restore me and ours again their love and favour, which truly, in these circumstances, I equally value with my life.

It no wise can be conceived how deeply I am struck, when I reflect that I am come to that point, that neither I, in my proper cause, nor others can be heard for me, many imagining their aim and honour to withstand me as much as is possible; yea, and that those, that assist me herein, therefore are deemed principals in the act. Whence to you all, who read this, I leave it to be judged, what an unspeakable grief I must needs inwardly feel, when I hear such strange speeches against me every where in this city, and that, only for my sake, my country-men all and nation displease them. Truly, if it were at first as it is now bruited, I might justly seem a madman towards my brother, most uncivil to all the English gentry, and ungrateful to all this city, wherein I

have so long been, and so well known. But these forerunning discourses, at first, discredited themselves by their variety, and, afterwards, totally become groundless.

1. Should I, as it is said, oppress the English, or withstand them from whom my brother, sent hither particularly by my King, demands peace and amity, and under whose protection we all are? Should I commit, by such a levity, everlastingly by me to be repented, that I should not also seem to intend what my brother, with so much pains, hitherto endeavoured to effect? I would not have been so great an enemy to myself, both in the opinion of my brother, and in the esteem of my King, in whose hands it lies to dispose of my whole life, honour, and fortune; which, since it is so, I confide none will exaggerate my cause, or accuse me beyond reason.

2. Should I hate the English gentry? Alas, I am a gentleman myself; and, indeed, I much ever desired to deserve their love and esteem. I never would have dreamed such a folly, unless I had first forgot my own birth, in which, so far I am from doing wrong, that I endeavoured to shew myself, as I was able, a true follower of my brother, whom I still perceived and noted heartily desirous to oblige all gentlemen, by whatsoever manner of civility and kindness he could afford them.

3. Should I, lastly, on set purpose, bring I know not what arms to besiege the Exchange? I witness heaven, and beg pardon first of all this common-wealth, to which I totally submit myself, then again of my dear brother, if either of them harbour such an opinion of my deportments. Nay, if by chance I had indiscreetly offended in this kind, it might have been ascribed to my unexperienced youth, and pardonable; and every indifferent judge will find me to have only sought to defend myself and honour, and not in the least to offend others. And I swear to heaven, I knew nothing of what is spoke of powder, which was found in a hackney-coach.

Some will object, Why would I go and meet the threats I might have before heard of? First, I believed no such threats, which, I conjectured, could not proceed but from a very few; especially, when I reflected on the great civilities and kindnesses which, for this year and more, had been betwixt the English and Portugal gentry, and that all differences might be decided by some other handsome mean, and not by the like threats. Again, how could I imagine any hinderance to go to so publick a place, which I see open to all nations, even to the basest sort of people? If I had been forbidden any private house, by its owner, or, by a decree of parliament, from any publick place, I had kept home, and not stirred, to manifest, with joy and promptness, my obedience thereto in this common-wealth. And thus I feared none, nor suspected, in the least, that any would assault me, when they saw me unarmed; neither did I think, that a publick place could defend me, when my brother's house is patent to all. Notwithstanding, being danger of life and honour must be provided against, I would not go totally unprepared, in case any where I should be offended.

Coming therefore to the Exchange, as I was wont to do, on the twenty-first of November, 1653, so to gain and increase love and acquaintance with the English gentlemen, I walked with a certain Eng-

lishman, new arrived from Portugal, who assured me of the civilities he enjoyed among my country-men there. As we two thus hand in hand discoursed, behold, on a sudden, an English gentleman obtrudes himself betwixt us with great violence; I regarded not this, until I heard that party and my companion at variance. At this, though I understood little, yet I very much resented it; because I earnestly wished nothing of scandal attempted where I might have any thing to do. This was my mind then, as they will easily believe, who behold me with an impartial eye. But what? Out of hand the gentleman casteth at me most contumelious words, repeating them twice or thrice in the French tongue, against me alone, who had not offended him; calling me *Jean Foutre*, *Brugher*, and *Coquin*. I pray, what flesh alive, in these conjunctures, could have contained himself from taking a just revenge? Let any speak, whether he could have patiently took the like injurious words from me? If not, why should it be my charge and only blame, not to have been then so patient as to hold my hands without repelling him, making at me in so scurvy a manner? It is true, I then rushed upon him; yet, naked as I was, without either sword, or any weapon that could do him the harm he, in that mutiny, received. Here quickly a world of English crouded about me, by whom I was unkindly, yea, harshly abused, and, by naked swords drawn against my life, compelled to withdraw myself thence as I could, especially perceiving none there so favourable as would either speak or stand in my behalf.

Upon this, I was not a little afflicted, and tenderly felt what was acted against me, a gentleman, a stranger, and innocent, if I had been rightly understood; against whom, none, in my own country, durst have attempted so much; if not for the honour of my deportment, at least for the respect and duty of my birth. I say no more, but leave it to your commiseration to reflect how deeply I resented this. I know you are well instructed all in those wholesome counsels of Holy Writ, and therefore, with greater confidence, I now, and ever, did cast myself into your arms, fearing nothing, *Levit. xix. ver. 33.* And if a stranger sojourn with thee in your land, ye shall not vex him, *Exod. xxii. ver. 21.* Thou shalt neither vex a stranger, nor oppress him, for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt. *Exod. xxiii. ver. 9.* Also thou shalt not oppress a stranger, for ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt. I am sorry that the gentleman, the cause of all this, should have been wounded; and, if any of my followers did it, I am the more sorry, although it were done in my defence. But, I call God to witness, I had not so much as a pin in my hand then, by which I could in the least harm him.

With these unhandsome injuries I thought to have rested, hoping the party, that had affronted me, would have been sensible of what he had done, and so I would have deemed myself sufficiently satisfied. But what? There were several who abused divers Portugal gentlemen, then casually walking, with blows and words. Nay, the gentleman, of whose wound was complained so much, assisted by many others, meeting a Portugal gentleman, ignorant of what had passed, rushed upon

him, and, with a blow in the face, wanted but a little to put out one of his eyes.

I was, and am, sure all this did proceed but from some few ill affected persons, and therefore, the day following, I esteemed it superfluous to look to myself more than usually.

I slighted those, who then publickly bragged, that no Portuguese should then dare to return and expatiate there again. For I should have much admired, if, from the plurality of this nation, so dear to us all, such hard speeches and prohibitions had proceeded, especially remembering how all English, and particularly gentlemen, are, and have always been loved, and honoured in my country, where Portugal against Portugal would have boldly and laudably stood for any stranger in such a rencounter, according to that polyanthea, *Verbo hospitalitatis redeo*: Do no harm, nor affront a guest and stranger; do not so much as indanger his safety, &c.

Upon these considerations, I came the next night to the Exchange, but with a far other intent than I am accused of. I, myself, brought no arms at all, nor any of those that then entered with me; so great was my confidence in the affection I hoped from the greatest part of whomever I should find there, sought for always, and deserved by my brother and myself. This I did on purpose, persuading myself, with sweet and civil language, and with my unarmed habit of both mind and body, to appease and moderate those that, by chance, might be there unsatisfied, by reason of the mistake happening the night before. I call God to witness, who searcheth the secrets of hearts, and I appeal also to all the English gentlemen there to argue me, if hitherto I flinch from the truth.

For myself, I stood not at all in awe of those threats which I was informed of; but some of our domesticks followed me of their own accord, apprehending some danger in my behalf, so to assist me, if need were, but only in a defensive way, wheresoever it were requisite. It is true, all are prone to love and respect me, to whom I will not give any thanks upon this occasion, but only resent, and grieve, that they should follow me in so great a number, whose duty, I assure them, shall be less acceptable, because it was not expected; for, I do protest, I dreamed not of half so many, as that night came after me. Although, among these, some had too many arms, as I said before, yet would not attempt any thing, if I should enjoy quietly the liberty of my accustomed walk. I confide, nothing can be laid to their charge, as done otherwise than I relate; yet, if any thing were untowardly and foolishly committed by any one of them, I beseech it may not be, or seem, my fault, who was seriously ignorant of it; and I would rigorously punish them, if my brother but granted me leave; nay, I would importune his excellency, and my king also, with bowed knees, for such a power, so excessive is my sorrow for this most unhappy accident, in which, I hear, we have displeased so many of this city, and singularly of the Exchange-merchants, who have asserted many things, wholly unknown to me, against me and ours.

It is hard to take away the first impressions so deeply grounded, yet I humbly beg of them all, that, without any partial love or aversion

each one would say no more than his conscience dictates, and he assuredly knows. I doubt not, this I demand, for none can but pity us, seeing we are so small a company, so remote from our country, and to that condition brought; that most are prone to censure and condemn us by the very name of Portuguese; especially, because the total envy of all this business, by most, is only ascribed to us. Let none, I pray, be so much our enemy, as to exaggerate our crime above truth, but let all favour us for our former affection, rather than hate us for this present event.

For you, noble English gentlemen, pardon me, if I were so touched with too quick a spur of honour, that nothing could retard me from coming to the second, yet by me unexpected broil. I never imagined what so unluckily fell out, but put a greater confidence in the civil character I framed of each one (nor was I deceived in most) of a more kind and gallant disposition, than to give an origin or provocation to all this which presseth me alone. You know, and experience, how ardent the thought of glory is in generous souls; whence, I grant, that I do not contemn my life, but I far more value my honour. Although, I protest, if I could have foreseen what befel, for all those threats, I had not come to the Exchange, but would have waved my honour, a little blemished by the indiscreet counsels and threats of some few: I would not, I say, have ventured so, before I had made my way, by my civility to you all, and procured a better understanding reciprocally betwixt both parties. But, believe me, I did not think it my duty either to fear or fly, or to be reconciled to any that justly would meet me there upon any unhandsome terms; for, indeed, I was conscious that I had peradventure received, but given no offence to any, that would aright reflect and understand me.

Let here that English gentleman speak, if he will honour and befriend me so far in these my straits, for he must needs call to mind, how I then carried myself. He first expostulated quietly with me for what befel the night before; to whom I replied, in all meekness and civility, that I was ready, if need were, to satisfy him, and all the English gentry, as was fit for me to do, and them to demand. This also I added and desired, that none should so mistake me, as to esteem it any injury, contempt, or quarrel, to them at all; for, indeed, the Portugal gentry can neither presume, nor wish, to contest with the English, from whom they seek and desire a firm and stable peace and union.

While thus things were carried, behold, all the Exchangemen, with great noise, shut up their shops, which I will not interpret to any ill intention against my person; for both I in French, as I could, and divers English gentlemen, cried out aloud, What is the business? What needs all this? To what purpose so great a change? Nevertheless, no Portuguese did hitherto endeavour any hostility at all, until such time as a pistol was discharged, upon the very ascent of the lower walk to the higher. Here began the unhappy mutiny, wherein so much ill followed, which I grieve as much as any Englishman whatever. Unhappy man! whose shot that was, a most rash action, and cause of all this; whether English or Portuguese, if taken, he deserves no light punishment. I am sorry, from the bottom of my heart, that my peo-

ple should so love me, as, for the fear they conceived of me, to have made way through that throng to seek me. I am sorry, I say, because, on both parts, blood was shed in that confusion.

For all this, tell me, I pray, why that, which so unhappily fell out, should only produce malice against me and ours? Is it, because that powder was found in a coach? I do protest, before Almighty God, I knew nothing of that; nay, I hope that my brother will not leave him unpunished who committed so indiscreet an action; not only, thereby, to give satisfaction to this deserving gentry, and loving people, but to myself also; seeing, for that, and such other inconsiderate and tumultuous actions, I suffer these no ordinary things, and very disproportionate to my person.

This I write, to shew my inclinations impartially for Portuguese and English, both whom I desire to be dear; yea, and to give the truest relation I could of all this business, with my intentions therein. I doubt not, but my brother, as the greatness of this affair required, hath made his addresses to the most excellent council, to whose prudence and safe-guard I commit myself. Nay, I trust and rely more to the piety of this nation towards strangers, and people remote from their country, than to this narration of mine, which hath no other defence for me, but naked truth; which I lay before the eyes of all this city, that none have a partial aversion for me and ours, though otherwise this business, hitherto, as I hear, in news-books related, might justly deserve.

I ask, lastly, in all humility, of all the English gentry, that they will not esteem any wrong done them by me; since even what is effected, was not, nor shall the like be ever intended by me and ours. Ascribe, I pray you, this whole accident to chance, rather than to deliberate envy, and pardon it, for the love our nation hath ever borne to yours. So I demand mine from you, gentlemen, as my brother, for his King, peace and amity, from all your common-wealth. Unless I were too long, I would compassionate many who have suffered most in this unfortunate chance; but such person, or persons, I will endeavour to comfort and satisfy, when I shall be delivered from this prison, as much inferior to my native quality, as, I hope, above my misdemeanour. In the mean time, I lament equally, and more, this sad conjuncture, than the humble and abject condition wherein I am, and so friendly subscribe myself,

To all the English gentry, and

hole city of London, in all duty,

A devoted servant,

PANTALEON SA.

Newgate, Decemb. 8, 1653.

THE

LORD GENERAL CROMWELL'S SPEECH,

Delivered in the Council-Chamber, upon the 4th of July, 1653,

To the persons then assembled and intrusted with the supreme authority of the nation. This is a true copy, published for information, and to prevent mistakes.

Printed in the year 1654. Quarto, containing twenty-eight pages.

Gentlemen,

I SUPPOSE the summons, that hath been instrumental to bring you hither, gives you well to understand the cause of your being here. Howbeit, having some things to impart, which is an instrument drawn up by the consent and advice of the principal officers of the army, which is a little (as we conceive) more significant than that other of summons: we have that here to tender you. And we have somewhat likewise further to say to you, for our own exoneration; and we hope it may be somewhat further to your satisfaction. And therefore, seeing you sit here somewhat uneasy, by reason of the scantness of the room, and the heat of the weather, I shall contract myself, with respect to that.

I have not thought it amiss, a little to mind you of that series of providence, wherein the Lord hitherto hath dispensed wonderful things to these nations, from the beginning of our troubles to this very day. If I should look much backward, we might remember the state of affairs as they were before the short, and that which was the last parliament. In what a posture the things of this nation stood, doth so well, I presume, occur to all your memories and knowledges, that I shall not need to look so far backward, nor yet to the beginning of those hostile actions that passed between the King that was, and the then parliament. And indeed, should I begin this labour, the things, that would fall necessarily before you, would rather be fit for a history, than for a discourse, at this present.

But thus far we may look back. You very well know, after divers turnings of affairs, it pleased God, much about the midst of this war, to winnow, as I may so say, the forces of this nation; and to put them into the hands of men of other principles than those that did engage at first. By what strange providences that also was brought about, would ask more time than is allotted me, to remember you of. Indeed, there are stories that do recite those transactions, and give narratives of matter of fact. But those things wherein the life and power of them lay; those strange windings and turnings of providence, those very great appearances of God, in crossing and thwarting the designs of men, that he might raise

up a poor and a contemptible company of men, neither versed in military affairs, nor having much natural propensity to them, even through the owning of a principle of godliness, of religion : Which so soon as it came to be owned, the state of affairs put upon that foot of account, how God blessed them, and all undertakings, by the rising of that most improbable, despicable, contemptible means; for that we must for ever own, you very well know.

What the several successes have been, is not fit to mention at this time neither; though I must confess I thought to have enlarged myself upon this subject, forasmuch as the considering the works of God, and the operation of his hands, is a principal part of our duty, and a great encouragement to the strengthening of our hands, and of our faith for that which is behind. And then having given us those marvellous dispensations, amongst other ends, for that was a most principal end, as to us, in this revolution of affairs, and issues of those successes God was pleased to give this nation, and the authority that then stood, were very great things brought about; besides those dints that were upon those nations and places where they were carried on, even in the civil affairs, to the bringing offenders to justice, even the greatest; to the bringing the state of this government to the name, at least, of a commonwealth; to the searching and sifting of all places and persons; the King removed, and brought to justice, and many great ones with him; the House of Peers laid aside; the House of Commons, the representatives of the people of England, itself, winnowed, sifted, and brought to a handful, as you may very well remember.

And truly, God would not rest there (for, by the way, although it be fit for us to intitle our failings and miscarriages to ourselves, yet the gloriousness of the work may well be attributed to God himself, and may be called his strange work.)

You may remember well, that, at the change of the government, there was not an end of our troubles, although that year were such things transacted, as indeed made it to be the most memorable year (I mean 1648) that ever this nation saw; so many insurrections, invasions, secret designs, open and publick attempts, quashed in so short a time, and this by the very signal appearances of God himself, I hope we shall never forget.

You know also, as I said before, that as the effect of that memorable year 1648 was to lay the foundation of bringing delinquents to punishment; so it was of the change of the government. Although it be true, if we had time to speak, the carriâges of some in trust, in most eminent trust, was such, as would have frustrated to us the hopes of all our undertakings, had not God miraculously prevented: I mean, by that closure that would have been endeavoured by the King, whereby we should have put into his hands all that cause and interest we had opposed, and had nothing to have secured us, but a little piece of paper.

But things going on, how it pleased the Lord to keep this nation in exercise, both at sea and land; and what God wrought in Ireland and Scotland, you likewise know, until the Lord had finished all that trouble, upon the matter, by the marvellous salvation wrought at Worcester.

I confess to you, I am very much troubled in my spirit, that the necessity of affairs doth require that I should be so short in these things, because I told you before, this is the leanest part of the transaction, to wit, an historical narration, there being in every dispensation (whether the King's going from the parliament, the pulling down the bishops, purging the house at that time by their going away to assist the King, or change of government) whatever it was, not any of those things, but hath a remarkable point of providence set upon it, that he that runs may read; therefore I am heartily sorry, that, in point of time, I cannot be particular in those things, which I did principally design this day, thereby to provoke and stir up your hearts and mine to gratitude and confidence.

I shall now begin a little to remember you of the passages that have been transacted since Worcester fight; whence coming with my fellow officers and soldiers, we expected, and had some reasonable confidence that our expectations should not be frustrated: That the authority, that then was, having such a history to look back unto, such a God that appeared for them so eminently, so visibly, that even our enemies many times confessed, that God himself was engaged against them, or they should never have been brought so low, nor disappointed in every undertaking; for that may be said, by the way, had we miscarried but once, where had we been? I say, we did think, and had some reasonable confidence, that, coming up then, the mercies that God had shewed, the expectations that were in the hearts of all good men, would have prompted those that were in authority to have done those good things, which might, by honest men, have been judged a return fit for such a God, and worthy of such mercies, and, indeed, a discharge of duty to those, for whom all these mercies have been shewed, that is, the interest of the three nations, the true interest of the three nations.

And, if I should now labour to be particular in enumerating some businesses, that have been transacted from that time till the dissolution of the late parliament, indeed I should be upon a theme that would be very troublesome to myself. For I must say for myself and fellow officers, we have rather desired and studied healing, than to rake into sores, and look backward, to render things in those colours that would not be very well pleasing to any good eye to look upon. Only this we must say, for our own exoneration, and as thereby laying some foundation for the making evident the necessity and duty, that was incumbent upon us, to make this last great change, I think it will not be amiss to offer a word or two in that, not taking pleasure to rake into the business, were there not some kind of necessity so to do.

Indeed, we may say, without commending ourselves, I mean myself, and those gentlemen that have been engaged in the military affairs, that, upon our return, we came, fully bent in our hearts and thoughts, to desire and use all fair and lawful means we could, to have had the nation to reap the fruit of all that blood and treasure that had been expended in this cause; and we have had many desires, and thirstings, in our spirits, to find out ways and means, wherein we might any ways be instrumental to help it forward; and we were very tender, for a long time, so much as to petition, till August last, or thereabouts; we never offered

to petition, but some of our then members, and others, having good acquaintance and relation to divers members of the parliament, we did, from time to time, solicit that, which we thought (if there had been no body to prompt them, no body to call upon them) would have been listened to, out of ingenuity and integrity in them, that had opportunity to have answered our expectations; and truly, when we saw nothing would be done, we did, as we thought, according to our duty, remind them by a petition; which petition I suppose the most of you have seen, which we delivered, either in July or August last; what effect that had is likewise very well known. The truth is, we had no return at all, that was satisfaction for us, but a few words given us. The business petitioned for, most of them, we were told, were under consideration; and those that were not, had very little or no consideration at all.

Finding the people dissatisfied in every corner of the nation, and bringing home to our doors the non-performance of those things that had been promised, and were of due to be performed, we did think ourselves concerned; we endeavoured, as became honest men, to keep up the reputation of honest men in the world; and therefore we had, divers times, endeavoured to obtain a meeting with divers members of Parliament; and truly we did not begin this till October last, and in those meetings did, in all faithfulness and sincerity, beseech them, that they would be mindful of their duty to God and man, and of the discharge of their trust to God and man. I believe these gentlemen, that are many of them here, can tell, that we had, at the least, ten or twelve meetings, most humbly begging and beseeching them, that, of their own accords, they would do those good things that had been promised, that so it might appear, they did not do them, by any suggestion from the army; but of their own ingenuity, so tender were we to preserve them in the reputation and opinion of the people, to the uttermost. And having had many of those meetings, and declaring plainly, that the issue would be the judgment and displeasure of God against them, the dissatisfaction of the people, and the putting things into a confusion, yet, how little we did prevail, we well know, and, we believe, is not unknown to you. At the last, when we saw, indeed, that things would not be laid to heart, we had a serious consideration amongst ourselves, what other way to have recourse unto; and when, indeed, we came to those close considerations, they began to take the act of the new representative to heart, and seemed exceeding willing to put it on; the which, had it been done, or would it have been done with that integrity, with that caution, that would have saved this cause, and the interest we have been so long engaged in, there could nothing have happened to our judgments more welcome than that would have been; but finding plainly, that the intentment of it was not to give the people that right of choice, although it had been but a ceding right, or the seeming, to give the people that choice intended and designed, to recruit the house, the better to perpetuate themselves. And truly divers of us being spoken to, to that end that we should give way to it, a thing to which we had a perpetual aversion, which we did abominate the thoughts of, we always declared our judgments against it, and our dissatisfaction; but yet they would not hear of a representative, before it lay three years before them, without

proceeding with one line considerably in it; they that could not endure to hear of it, then, when we came to our close considerations, then, instead of protracting, they did make as much preposterous haste on the other hand, and ran into that extremity; and finding that his spirit was not according to God, and that the whole weight of this cause, which must needs have been very dear unto us, who have so often adventured our lives for it; and we believe is so to you; when we saw plainly, that there was not so much consideration how to assert it, or to provide security for it; and indeed, to cross those, that they reckoned the most troublesome people they had to deal with, which was the army, which, by this time, was sufficiently their displeasure; when we saw this, truly, that had power in our hands, to let the business go to such an issue as this, was to throw back the cause into the hands of them we first fought with; we came to this first conclusion amongst ourselves, that, if we had been fought out of it, necessity would have taught us patience; but, to be taken from us so unworthily, we should be rendered the worst people in the world, and we should become traitors both to God and man; and, when God had laid this to our hearts, and that we found the interest of his people was grown cheap, and not laid to heart, and, if we came to competition of things, the cause even amongst themselves would even, almost in every thing, go to the ground; this did add more consideration to us, that there was a duty incumbent upon us, and truly I speak it in the presence of some that are here, that were at the close consultations; I may say, as before the Lord, the thinking of an act of violence was, to us, worse than any engagement that ever we were in yet, and worse to us than the utmost hazard of our lives, that could be, so unwilling were we, so tender were we, so desirous were we, if it were possible, that these men might have quit their places with honour. And truly, this I am the longer upon, because it hath been, in our hearts and consciences, our justification, and hath never yet been imparted thorough to the nation; and we had rather begin with you to do it, than to have done it before, and do think, indeed, that these transactions be more proper for a verbal communication, than to have put it into writing. I doubt, whosoever had put it on, would have been tempted to have dipped his pen in anger and wrath; but affairs being at this posture, that we saw plainly and evidently, in some critical things, that the cause of the people of God was a despised thing, truly then we did believe, that the hands of other men must be the hands that must be trusted with it, and then we thought it high time for us to look about us, and to be sensible of our duty. If I should take up your time to tell you, what instances we have to satisfy our judgments and consciences, that these things were not vain imaginations, and things that were petitioned for, but that fell within the compass of our certain knowledge and sense; should I repeat these things to you, I should do that which I would avoid, to rake into these things too much; only this, if any body were in competition for any place of real and signal trust, how hard and difficult a thing it was to get any thing to be carried, without making parties, without things, indeed, unworthy of a parliament. And, when things must be carried so in a supreme authority, indeed, I think, it is not as it ought to be; but, when it came

to other trials, in that case of Wales, which I must confess, for my own part, I set myself upon, if I should inform what discountenance that business of the poor people of God there had, who had watchings over them, men like so many wolves, ready to catch the lamb, as soon as it was brought out into the world; how signally they threw that business under foot, to the discountenancing of the honest people there, and to the countenancing of the malignant party of this commonwealth. I need but say, it was so; many have felt, by sad experience, it was so, who will, better impart that business to you? Which, for myself and fellow officers, I think it was as perfect a trial of our spirits as any thing, it being known to many of us, that God kindles a seed there, indeed, hardly to be paralleled since the primitive times. I would this had been all the instances; but finding which way their spirits went, and finding that good was never intended to the people of God, I mean when I say so, that large comprehension of them, under the several forms of godliness in this nation; when I saw, that tenderness was forgotten to them all (though it was very true, that, by their hands and means, through the blessing of God, they sat where they did) and affairs, not to speak it boastingly, had been instrumentally brought to that issue they were brought to by the hands of those poor creatures, we thought this an evil requital. I will not say they were at the uttermost pitch of reformation, although I could say, that one thing, the regulation of the law so much groaned under in that posture it now is in, there were many words spoken for it, we know many months together was not time enough to pass over one word called incumbrances: I say, finding that this was the spirit and complexion of them, that though these were faults, for which no man should have dared to lift his hand, simply for their faults and failings, when yet we saw their intendment was to perpetuate themselves, and men of this spirit, for some had it from their own mouths, from their own designs, who could not endure to hear of being dissolved, this was an high breach of trust, if they had been a parliament, never violated, sitting as free, and as clear as ever any sat in England; yet, if they would go about to perpetuate themselves, we did think this so great a breach of trust, as greater could not be. And we did not go by guess in this, and to be out of doubt in it, we did (having that conference amongst ourselves, whereof we gave account) we did desire once more, the night before the dissolution, and it had been in our desires, some two or three days before, that we might speak with some of the principal persons of the house, that we might, with ingenuity, open our ears to them, to the end we might be either convinced of the ground of their principles and intentions, to the good of the nation; or, if we could not be convinced, they would hear our offer, or expedient, to prevent this mischief. And indeed, we could not prevail for two or three days, till the night before the dissolution; there is a touch of this in that our declaration; we had often desired it; at that time, we attained it, there were above twenty of them who were members not of the least consideration, for interest and ability, with whom we desired to discourse those things, and had discourse with them; and it pleased the gentlemen-officers of the army, to desire me to offer their sense to them, and, indeed, it was shortly carried thus. We told them, that the reason of our desire to wait upon

them, was, that we might know from them what security lay in the way of their proceedings so hastily with their representative, wherein they had made a few qualifications, such as they were, and, how the whole business should be executed, we have no account of; and we desired them they would be pleased, and we thought we had an interest in our lives, estates, and families, as well as the worst people of the nation, and that we might be bold to ask satisfaction in that; and if they did proceed in honest ways, as might be safe to the nation, we might acquiesce therein. When we pressed them to give satisfaction in this, the answer was made, that nothing could be good to the nation, but the continuance of this parliament; we wondered that we should have such a return, we said little to that.

But seeing they would not give us that which might satisfy us, that their way was honest and safe, they would give us leave to make our objections. We did tell them, that we thought that way they were going in would be impracticable; we could not tell them how it would be brought to pass, to send out an act of parliament into the country, to have qualifications in an act to be the rules of electors and elected, and not to know who should execute this. Desired to know whether the next parliament were not like to be all presbyters? Whether those qualifications would hinder them, or neuters? And tho' it be our desire to value and esteem persons of that judgment, only they having been as we know, having deserted this cause and interest upon the King's account, and upon that closure between them and the neighbour nation, we do think we must profess we had as good have delivered up our cause into the hands of any, as into the hands of interested and byassed men; for it is one thing to live friendly and brotherly, to bear with, and love a person of another judgment in religion; another thing to have any so far set into the saddle upon that account, as it should be in them to have all the rest of their brethren at mercy. Having had this discourse, making these objections of bringing in neuters, or such as should impose upon their brethren, or such as had given testimony to the King's party, and objecting to the danger of it, in drawing the course of all people to arraign every individual person, which indeed did fall obviously in, and the issue would certainly have been the putting it into the hands of men that had little affection to this cause. The answer again was made, and it was confessed by some, that these objections did lie; but answer was made by a very eminent person, at the same time as before, that nothing would save the nation but the continuance of this parliament; this being so, we humbly proposed an expedient of ours, which was indeed, to desire that the government being in that condition it was, and things being under so much ill sense abroad, and so likely to come to confusion in every respect, if it went on; so we desired they would devolve the trust over to persons of honour and integrity, that were well known, men well-affected to religion and the interest of the nation, which we told them, and was confessed, had been no new thing when these nations had been under the like hurly-burly and distractions, and it was confessed by them, it had been no new thing; we had been at labour to get precedents to convince them of it, and we told them these things we offered out of that deep sense

we had of the good of the nation, and the cause of Christ. And being answered to that, nothing would save the nation but the continuance of that parliament, although they would not say they would perpetuate it, at that time least of all.

But, finding their endeavours did directly tend to it, they gave us this answer, that the things we had offered were of a tender and very weighty consideration; they did make objections how we should raise money, and some other objections. We told them, that that we offered as an expedient, because we thought better, than that for which no reason was, or thought would be given; we desired them to lay the thing seriously to heart. They told us, they would take consideration of these things till the morning, that they would sleep upon them, and I think that there was scarce any day that there sat above fifty, or fifty-two, or fifty-three. At the parting two or three of the chief ones, the very chiefest of them, did tell us, that they would endeavour the suspending the proceedings of the representative, the next day, till they had a further conference; and we did acquiesce, and had hope, if our expedient would take up a loving debate, the next day we should have some such issue of our debate, as would have given a satisfaction to all; they went away late at night, and the next morning we considering how to order that which we had to offer to them, when they were to meet in the evening, word was brought they were proceeding with a representative with all the eagerness they could; we did not believe persons of such quality could do it; a second and third messenger told us, they had almost finished it, and had brought it to that issue with that haste that had never been known before, leaving out the things that did necessarily relate to due qualifications, as we have heard since, resolved to make it a paper-bill, not to ingross it, that they might make the quicker dispatch of it, thus to have thrown all the liberties of the nation into the hands that never bled for it; upon this account, we thought it our duty not to suffer it, and upon this the house was dissolved.

This we tell you, that you may so know, that what hath been done in the dissolution of this parliament, was as necessary to be done, as the preservation of this cause; and that necessity, that led us to do that, hath brought us to this issue, of exercising an extraordinary way and course, to draw yourselves together upon this account; that you are men who know the Lord, and have made observations of his marvellous dispensations, and may be trusted with this cause. It remains, for I shall not acquaint you further with that that relates to your taking upon you this great business, that being contained in this paper, in my hand, which I do offer presently to you to read, having done that which we thought to have done upon this ground of necessity, which we know was not feigned necessity but real, and true, to the end the government might not be at a loss, to the end we might manifest to the world the singleness of our hearts, and integrity, who did those things not to grasp after the power ourselves, to keep it in a military hand, no not for a day, but, as far as God enables us with strength and ability, to put it into the hands that might be called from several parts of the nation; this necessity I say, and we hope may say, for ourselves, this integrity of labouring to divest the sword of the power and autho-

rity, in the civil administration of it, hath been that that hath moved us, to conclude of this course; and having done that, we think we cannot, with the discharge of our consciences, but offer somewhat unto you, as I said before, for our own exoneration, it having been the practice of others who have voluntarily and out of sense of duty divested themselves, and devolved the government into the hands of others; it having been the practice, where such things have been done, and very consonant to reason, together with the authority, to lay a charge, in such a way, as we hope we do, and to press to the duty, which we have a word or two to offer to you. Truly, God hath called you to this work by, I think, as wonderful providences, as ever passed upon the souls of men in so short a time. And truly I think, taking the arguments of necessity (for the government must not fall) take the appearances of the will of God in this thing; I am sure you would have been loth it should have been resigned into the hands of wicked men and enemies. I am sure God would not have it so. It comes, therefore, to you by way of necessity; it comes to you by the way of the wise providence of God, though through weak hands; and therefore I think, it coming through our hands, though such as we are, it may not be taken ill, if we offer to you something, as to the discharge of that trust which is incumbent upon you; and, although I seem to speak that which may have the face of a charge, it is a very humble one; and he that means to be a servant to you, who are called to the exercise of the supreme authority, to discharge that, which he conceives is his duty, in his own and his fellows names, to you, I hope, who will take it in good part. And truly I shall not hold you long in that, because I hope it is written in your hearts to approve yourselves to God; only this scripture I shall remember to you, which hath been much upon my spirit; Hosea xi. ver. 12. 'Yet Judah ruleth with God, and is faithful among the saints. It is said before, Ephraim did compass God about with lies, and Israel with deceit.' How God hath been compassed about with fastings, and thanksgivings, and other exercises and transactions, I think we have all to lament; why, truly, you are called by God to rule with him and for him, and you are called to be faithful with the saints, who have been somewhat instrumental to your call. 'He that ruleth over men, the scripture saith, he must be just ruling in the fear of God.'

And truly it is better to pray for you, than to counsel you in that, that you may exercise the judgment of mercy and truth; I say, it is better for you to do it, than to advise you to ask wisdom from heaven for you; which, I am confident, many thousands of saints do this day, and have done, and will do, through the permission of God, and his assistance to advise you. Only, truly, I thought of a scripture likewise, that seems to be but a scripture of common application to every man, as a Christian, wherein he is counselled to ask wisdom; and he is told what is that wisdom that is from above; 'it is pure, peaceable, gentle, easy to be intreated, full of good fruits, without partiality, without hypocrisy.' And my thoughts ran thus upon this, that the executing of the judgment of truth, for that is the judgment that you must have wisdom from above for, and that is pure, that will teach you to execute the judgment of truth; and then, if God give you hearts to be easy to be intreated, to

be peaceable spirits, to be full of good fruits, bearing good fruits to the nation, to men as men, to the people of God, to all in their several stations, this wisdom will teach you to execute the judgment of mercy and truth; and I have little more to say to this, I shall rather bend my prayers for you in that behalf (as I said before) and I know many others do also. Truly, the judgment of truth will teach you to be as just towards an unbeliever, as towards a believer; and it is our duty to be so. I confess, I have often said it foolishly, if I would miscarry, I would rather do it to a believer, than to an unbeliever; perhaps it is a paradox; but let us take heed of doing it to either, exercising injustice to either. If God fill our heart with such a spirit as Moses and Paul had, which was not only a spirit for the believers among the people of God, but for the whole people (he would have died for them; and so Paul to his countrymen according to the flesh, he could have died for them) truly, this will help us to execute the judgment of truth, and mercy also.

A second thing is, to desire you would be faithful with the saints; and I hope, whatever others may think, it ought to be to us all matter of rejoicing, that, as one person (our Saviour) was touched with our infirmities, that he might be pitiful, I do think this assembly, thus called, is very much touched with the common infirmity of the saints; and I hope that will teach you to pity others, that so saints of one sort may not be our interest, but that we may have respect unto all, though of different judgments; and, if I did seem to speak any thing, that might seem to reflect upon those of the presbyterian judgment, I think, if you have not an interest of love for them, you will hardly answer this faithfulness to his saints. I confess, in my pilgrimage, and some exercises I have had abroad, I did read that scripture often, in Isaiah xli. 19. when God gave me, and some of my fellows, what he would do there and elsewhere; which he performed for us; and what would he do? To what end? 'That he might plant in the wilderness the cedar, and the shittah-tree, and the myrtle tree, and the palm-tree together. To what end? That they might know, and consider, and understand together, that the hand of the Lord hath done this;' and that the Lord hath created it; that he wrought all salvation and deliverance, which he hath wrought, for the good of the whole flock; therefore I beseech you (but I think I need not) have a care of the whole flock, love all the sheep, love the lambs, all, and tender all, and cherish all, and countenance all, in all things that are good; and, if the poorest Christian, the most mistaken Christian, should desire to live peaceably and quietly under you, soberly and humbly desire to lead a life in godliness and honesty, let him be protected.

I think I need as little advise you concerning the propagation of the gospel, and encouraging such ministers, and such a ministry, as are faithful in the land, upon whom the true character is, men that have truly received the spirit for such an use; which Christians will be well able to discern, and do; men that have received gifts from him that ascended on high, and led captivity captive, for the work before-mentioned. And truly the apostle, Romans xii. when he had summoned up all the mercies of God, and the goodness of God, and hath discoursed of the foundations of the gospel, and of the several things that are the subject of his discourse, in the eleven first chapters, after he hath be-

sought them to offer up their souls and bodies a living sacrifice to God, he beseecheth them not to esteem more highly of themselves, than they ought; but that they would be humble, and sober-minded, and not stretch themselves beyond their line, but they would have a care to those, that had received gifts to the uses there mentioned. I speak not, it is far from my heart, for a ministry, deriving itself through the papacy, and pretending to that, which is so much insisted upon to be succession: The true succession is through the spirit, given in that measure that the spirit is given; and that is a right succession. But I need not discourse of these things to you; I am persuaded you are taught of God in a greater measure than myself, in these things; indeed I have but one word more to say, and that is (though in that, perhaps, I shall shew my weakness) it is by way of encouragement to you to go on in this work.

And give me leave to begin thus. I confess I never looked to see such a day as this, it may be nor you, when Jesus Christ shall be owned, as he is this day, and in this world. Jesus Christ is owned this day by you all, and you own him by your willingness in appearing here; and you manifest this (as far as poor creatures can) to be a day of the power of Christ by your willingness. I know you remember that scripture in Psalm cx. 3. The people shall be willing in the day of thy power; God doth manifest it to be a day of the power of Jesus Christ.

Having through so much blood, and so many trials as have been upon these nations, made this to be one of the great issues thereof, to have a people called to the supreme authority upon such an avowed account, God hath owned his Son by this; and you, by your willingness, do own Jesus Christ; and therefore, for my part, I confess I did never look to see such a sight. Perhaps, you are not known by face one to another; but we must tell you this, that indeed we have not allowed ourselves in the choice of one person, in whom we had not this good hope, that there was faith in Jesus Christ, and love unto all his saints and people. And thus God hath owned you in the face and eyes of the world; and thus, by your coming hither, have you owned him; as it is in Isaiah xliii. 21. It is an high expression, and look to your own hearts, whether now or hereafter God shall apply it to you. 'This people (saith he) I have formed for myself, that they might shew forth my praise.' It is a memorable place, and, I hope, not unfitly applied; God apply it to each of your hearts. I shall not descant upon the words, they are plain, you are as like the forming of God as ever people were. If any man should ask you one by one, and should tender a hook to you, you would dare to swear, that neither directly nor indirectly did you seek to come hither. You have been passive in coming hither, in being called hither, and that is an active word, 'This people I have formed.' Consider the circumstances by which you are called together; through what difficulties, through what strivings, through what blood, you are come hither. Neither you nor I, nor no man living, three months ago, had a thought to have seen such a company, taking upon them, or rather being called to the supreme authority, and therefore know now your call.

Indeed, I think, as it may be truly said, that never was a supreme authority, consisting of so numerous a body as you are, which I believe, are above one-hundred and forty, were ever in the supreme authority

under such a notion, in such a way of owning God, and being owned by him; and therefore I say also, never a people formed for such a purpose (so called: if it were time to compare your standing with those that have been called by the suffrages of the people. Who can tell how soon God may sit the people for such a thing, and who would desire any thing more in the world, but that it might be so? I would all the Lords people were prophets, I would they were fit to be called, and fit to call; and it is the longing of our hearts, to see them once own the interest of Jesus Christ. And give me leave to say, if I know any thing in the world, what is there more like to win the people to the interest and love of God? Nay, what a duty will lie upon you, to have your conversation such, as that they may love you, that they may see you lay out your time and spirits for them? Is not this the most likely way to bring them to their liberties? And do you not, by this, put it upon God to find the time and the season for it, by pouring forth his spirit; at least by convincing them, that, as men fearing God have fought them out of their thraldom and bondage, under the royal power; so men fearing God rule them in the fear of God, and take care to administer good unto them. But this is some digression. I say, own your call, for indeed it is marvellous, and it is of God, and it hath been unprojected, unthought of by you and us; and that hath been the way God hath dealt with us all along, to keep things from our eyes, that what we have acted, we have seen nothing before us, which also is a witness, in some measure, to our integrity. I say, you are called with a high call. And why should we be afraid to say, or think, that this way may be the door to usher in things that God hath promised and prophesied of, and to set the hearts of his people to wait for, and expect? We know who they are that shall war with the Lamb against his enemies. They shall be a people called, chosen, and faithful; and hath in the military way (we must speak it without flattery) I believe you know it, he hath acted with them, and for them, and now in the civil power and authority, and these are not ill prognostications for that good we wait for. Indeed, I do think something is at the door, we are at the threshold, and therefore it becomes us to lift up our heads, and to encourage ourselves in the Lord, and we have some of us thought it our duty to endeavour this way, not vainly looking on that prophecy in Daniel, 'And the kingdom shall not be delivered to another people.' Truly, God hath brought it into your hands, by his owning, and blessing, and calling out a military power; God hath persuaded their hearts to be instrumental in calling you, and this hath been set upon our hearts, and upon all the faithful in the land; it may be that it is not our duty to deliver it over to any other people, and that scripture may be fulfilling now to us. But I may be beyond my line.

But, I thank God, I have my hopes exercised in these things, and so I am persuaded are yours. Truly, seeing that these things are so, that you are at the edge of the promises and prophecies, at least if there were neither promise for this nor prophecy, you are coveting the best things, endeavouring after the best things; and, as I have said elsewhere, if I were to chuse the meanest officer in the army, or commonwealth, I would chuse a godly man that hath principles, especially

where trust is to be committed, because I know where to have a man that hath principles. I believe if any man of you should chuse a servant, you would do so; and I would all our magistrates were so chosen, that may be some effects of this. It is our duty to chuse men that fear the Lord, to praise the Lord, yea, such as the Lord forms for himself, and he expects not praises from others. This, being so, puts me in mind of another scripture, Psal. lxxviii. which indeed is a glorious prophecy, and I am persuaded of the gospel, or it may be of the Jews; also there it is prophesied, 'He will bring his people again out of the depths of the sea, as once he led Israel through the Red Sea;' and it may be, some do think God is bringing the Jews home to their station from the isles of the sea. Surely, when God sets up the glory of the gospel-church, it shall be gathering people out of deep waters, out of the multitude of waters; such are his people, drawn out of the multitudes of the nations, and people of the world. And that Psalm will be very glorious in many other parts of it, 'When he gave the word, great was the company of them that published it; Kings of the armies did fly apace, and she that tarried at home divided the spoil; and, although ye have lain among the pots, yet shall ye be as the wings of a dove covered with silver, and her feathers with yellow gold.' And, indeed, the triumph of that Psalm is exceeding high and great, and God is accomplishing it; and the close of it, that closeth with my heart, and I am persuaded will with yours also. That 'God shakes hills and mountains, and they reel; and God hath a hill too, and his hill is as the hill of Bashan, and the chariots of God are twenty-thousand of angels, and God will dwell upon this hill for ever.' Truly, I am sorry that I have troubled you, in such a place of heat as this is, so long; all that I have to say in mine own name, and in the names of my fellow-officers, who have joined with me in this work, is, that we shall commend you to the grace of God, and to the guidance of his spirit; having thus far served you, or rather our Lord Jesus Christ in it, we are, as we hope, and shall be, ready in our stations, according as the providence of God shall lead us, to be subservient to the work of God, and the authority, which we reckon, God hath set over us. And although we have no formal thing to present you with, to which the hands and outward visible expressions of the hearts of the officers of the three nations are set; yet we may say for them, and we may say also with confidence for our brethren at sea, with whom neither in Scotland, nor Ireland, nor at sea, hath any artifice been used, to persuade their approbations to this work; yet we can say, that their consent and affections hath flowed in to us from all parts beyond our expectations; and we are confident we may say with all confidence, that we have had their approbations, and full consent, unsought indeed to the other work, so that you have their hearts and affections in this; and not only they, but we have very many papers from the churches of God, throughout the nation, wonderfully both approving what hath been done in removing obstacles, and approving what we have done in this very thing. And, having said this, I shall trouble you no more; but if you will be pleased that this instrument may be read, which I have signed by the

advice of the council of officers, we shall then leave you to your own thoughts, and to the guidance of God, to order and dispose of yourselves for further meetings as you shall see cause.

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To his excellency the Lord General Cromwell, chancellor of the famous university of Oxford, &c.

Right honourable,

I have adventured upon a stormy ocean, in the discovery of a strange people, who have a storm in their countenance, and a tempest in their tongue, with boiling billows in their breast, against all that will not sail by their compass, and take that dog-star, the directory, for the pole-star of their direction; whereas, indeed, whosoever follows them, can scarce escape conscience-shipwreck. We may as well believe, with Andradius, that *Ethica virtus* was enough to save the ancient philosophers, as that their discipline is the way of our salvation. In this, the foul face of vice puts on the fair vizard of virtue; and whilst the presbyterian useth the cloke of a counsellor, he is not without the poison of a killer; as I have fully declared in this little tract, which comes in all humility to kiss your lordship's hand. And as the black statue of Memnon is said to deliver an audible voice, whensoever the mouth thereof was touched with the beams of the sun; so this monument, erected to dead presbytery, will speak freely in the ears of the people, if the beams of your gracious favour do but reflect upon it. Your excellency's favour, like the vertical sun, will abate all shadows, both of envy, and detraction. Be pleased, therefore, to let this weak testimony of my service, in the church of Christ, take life from your noble acceptance, and receive this tribute from his hand, who is ambitious of nothing, but leave to wear your cognisance, and to write your renowned name in the front of his labours. Which afforded goodness will the more strongly prompt my devotion, to send up continual supplications to the throne of grace, for all blessings internal, external, eternal, upon you and yours; that you may rejoice, like Zebulun, in

your going out; and like Issachar, in your tents; and that the Lord may be the shield of your help, and the sword of your excellency. So shall the city of our God be made glad, and therein shall my heart rejoice; who esteem it no less than a triumph, to deserve the title of,

Your excellency's most humbly devoted servant,

H. BROWN.

To the impartial reader.

As the poets feign, that the fair nymphs brought forth ill-favoured satyrs; and as Lodovicus Cælius writes of an ewe that conceived, and brought forth a lion; so the fair nymph of truth, in this little tract, will, I am confident, bring forth the foul satyrs of envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness against me; the ewe of my innocence will bring forth lions, roaring with the loudest reproaches. So that I may say, as Leah, at the birth of Gad, *venit turba*, a troop commeth, which will shoot out their arrows, even bitter words, at this white and spotless mark. But, for my part, *nil moror*, the lion of the tribe of Judah is my defence; and altho' the kirk-crocodiles would devour me alive, yet will I fear no evil, for the Lord I trust is with me, and the blast of their fury shall be as a storm against the wall. For God is my witness, I honour pure religion, and undefiled, wheresoever I find it; and as for well meaning, though somewhat seduced, Christians, I rather pity and pray for them with tears, than in the least degree vilify them with taunts; hoping, that they will one day know Christ by experience, and not by tradition; own him as sitting on the throne of glorious mysteries, and not lying in the manger of human inventions. When once their eyes are anointed, with the eye-salve of the spirit, they will cast away those spectacles with contempt, which they so much adore with reverence. They will cast anchor on the rock, Jesus Christ, and not upon the quick-sands of giddy brains. They will then go boldly to Christ, that door opened in heaven, without so much seeking for false keys on earth, whether they be popes, or presbyters. Against the errors of both, *auspice Christo*, will I fight, but, for their conversion, I will ever pray; and herein, though their malice should at any time fail me, yet I should be more than conqueror. Altho' I may be like Abraham's ram, in a thicket of thorns, pricked on every side, and at length sacrificed; yet I will forget myself, and, as it were, forget my soul, in a fiery zeal, with Moses and Paul, for my brethren's sake. For whose better information, I have written these few lines; where, if any be oblique, I desire they should be made right, by a candid interpretation. I know, as a man, I may err; but, if once convinced, I am so much a scholar in Christ's school, as to acknowledge and amend. If I should seem planetary in this revolution, as I hope I shall not, to the best judgments, yet I am fixed in this resolution, even to be led by any star that points the way to Christ; in whom I rest

Thy friend, to serve thee,

H. B.

WHEN I consider the glorious star-spangled canopy of Heaven, the uniform motion and harmony of the spheres, with the influences of those heathenish gods, the stars; I cannot but at once behold and lament the irregular motions, or, rather, commotions, of some below, who only pretend to be heavenly, how planetary they are in judgment, who judge themselves alone to be fixed in truth; as the frautick Montanists vainly held, that the Holy Ghost was not given to the Apostles, but only to them. So the spurious brood of presbytery in England account none holy, but such as are of their spirit, expelling all, by their bulls of excommunication, out of God's court, who are not of their wicked council; as if their convocation-house were the King of King's presence-chamber, and every classis his closet. These fire-spitting malecontents would fain persuade us, that now God speaks unto us only out of the flaming Scottish bush; and, as the pillar of the cloud was a cloud of darkness to the Egyptians, but gave light to the camp of Israel: so they declare, that God will be a sun and a shield to the Scots, but a black cloud of destruction to the English. Thus resembling the serpents in Caria, which kill home-bred people, but hurt not any strangers; and as we read of the dragons of Armenia, that they have cold stomachs, yet spit fire out of their mouths: so we may well conceive, that these dragons have cold stomachs to our nation's prosperity, whilst they spit out of their mouths such a fire of zeal for Scotland's glory. But no marvel, for these Hot-spits ever opposed that present government, which might any way retard their present advancement; promoting no cause, but as it may be the cause of their own promotion; not caring for the publick treasury, so they may fill their own coffers: *cuncta venalia Romæ*, is now come home to their doors. And, indeed, the Romanists and presbyterians, like Sampson's foxes, may look several ways, but tied by the tails with fire brands of sedition, able to set the whole land in combustion, both spurning at our commonwealth, as at a common foot ball. And, oh miserable England, if either win the goal!

They both play the game, yet intend, at last, to part stakes; the effecting of the one being the effecting of the other. So that we may well behold their harmony, tending to our discord; and, to shew their mutual vote for England's ruin, I shall only declare these instances:

First, As the papists are great zealots of their law, yet the bow of their mind is only bent at their gain and domination, desiring to set up their trophies on the ruins of flourishing states: So the presbyterians, pretending a zeal of God's glory, seek only their own profit and supremacy; *Res ipsa clamat, non tam pro aris ipsos, quam pro focis pugnare*: Maintaining presbytery, as the pope doth purgatory, only to keep their kitchen warm. They no sooner find that to cool, but they are hot with indignation against such as withdraw the fuel. Whilst the lightning of their rage lasts, they thunder forth ireful execrations against that state, that shall eclipse their glory, or any way mince their upstart majesty, which they intitle to God's throne, under a specious pretence of *Jus divinum*, which they buz in the people's ears, and keep such a noise, as if they were the geese that kept our capitol.

Secondly, As the pope curseth all by bell, book, and candle for

hereticks, who abhor his conclave, so the presbyterian, all for sectaries, who condemn his classis; calling them enemies of the truth, atheists, haters of good men, soul-murderers, &c.

Thirdly, As the people must believe as the church, the church as the pope, and the pope as he list; so here, the people must believe as the church, the church as the presbyterian, and this popeling as he list; saying, as Constantius, that Arian emperor, *Quod ego volo pro canone sit*, making his will the measure of their actions, and his idle fancy, the rule of the people's faith; thus making the commandment of God of no effect by their tradition. So that, had this malignant planet been in the ascendent, *Nimio traditionum onere gravata esset ecclesia*, as Augustine once complained. Their mouths, therefore, must be stopped, who subvert whole houses, teaching things which they ought not for filthy lucre's sake.

Lastly, As the pope declares it piety to establish his religion by fire and sword, setting up his idolatrous images, by destroying God's image in man: So the presbyterians, both by preaching and practice, strive to write their religion on the tables of men's hearts, in the bloody characters of their brethren's ruin: as if faith were not rather to be persuaded *palms expanded*, than compelled *pugno contracto*: Or, as if a crown of glory were set on the head of the prince of peace, by setting a crown of thorns upon his people. Indeed, the blood of holy martyrs, shed by the hand of infidels, was the seed of the church; but, I am sure, it was ever an antichristian tenet, to sow the seed of the gospel, by making deep furrows on our brethren's backs, or by beating our plough-shares into swords. Esay, prophesying of Christ's kingdom, saith, 'He shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people; and they shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.' The sword of the spirit must be the spiritual man's weapon, else he can be no true commissioner of God's militia, in the advancement of Christ's kingdom, by a blessed reformation. God is not in the strong winds, that rend the mountains, and break in pieces the rocks; not in the earthquake, that shakes the foundations of a settled faith; not in the fire of cruel persecution for tender conscience sake, but in the still small voice of an holy and humble admonition. Therefore, saith the great doctor of the gentiles, (who was *Oceanus Theologia*, as Theodoret of Moses:) 'Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore such a one in the spirit of meekness, considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted.' We ought to have an especial care of tender consciences, for to wound such is to sin against Christ. Wherefore, saith St. Paul, 'If meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend.' And the wise-man seems to give the reason, saying, A brother offended is harder to be won than a strong city, and their contentions like the bars of a castle. Yet, *horresco referens*, these presbyterians, like the scribes and pharisees, bind heavy burthens, and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders, but they themselves will not move them with one of their fingers. Witness the presbytery in Scotland, where they make a man an offender, and lay a snare for

him that reproveth in the gate, and turn aside the just for a thing of nought. There, to distaste their rigid discipline is enough to make Christ's zealots of Satan's synagogue; and not to adore the kirk is to be anathematized, as unworthy heaven; as if the way to heaven were through their kirk door: or, as if the King of glory would not admit any into his presence, without Jack Presbyter's pass; none into his favour, without the kirk's approbation. What made Montrose persecuted of late to such an ignominious death? Surely, it was not so much, because he was an enemy to the state, but excentrick to the opinion of the kirk, which domineers, pope-like, over their King and parliament; so as, in effect, the kirk is both able to turn the chair of state into a stool of repentance, and the scepter into a rod of correction. O brave kirk, which ingrosseth all jurisdiction and supremacy!

See how these reformers allow that in their ignorant selves, which they condemned in the learned bishops. It was a heinous crime in the prelates to negotiate temporal affairs, yet, in themselves, a virtue; whilst neither King must be admitted, nor army raised, but by their consent. The bishops only voted in parliament, but these controul; supposing the highest concerns of state to be like Mount Sinai, not to be touched but by their sanctified selves.

To this height they are already climbed; at this, our English jockies have long time aimed, and would soon compass, if their gun-powder zeal could but blow up the parliament house, or their pulpit granado's fire the castle of independency; which they have long besieged with their malice, but shall never overthrow by their power; notwithstanding their schismatical lectures, private fasts, and whining morning exercises. No, no, God covers himself with a cloud of displeasure towards them, and will not bear them on eagle's wings, that they may build their nests on high. Well may they attempt to soar high, but then let them take heed, lest, with Simon Magus, the father of all hereticks, as Irenæus stiles him, presuming to fly in the presence of all the people, from Mons Capitolinus, to Mons Aventinus, they fall down, to their utter destruction. For severe punishment from heaven treads on the heels of the unjust on earth, if they pitch their tent in sin. No marvel, if God discharge his dreadful artillery, in a full volley of vengeance, against them; as Paul told Elymas the sorcerer: 'O full of all subtlety and all mischief, thou child of the devil, thou enemy of all righteousness, wilt thou not cease to pervert the ways of the Lord? And now behold, the hand of the Lord is upon thee, and thou shalt be blind, not seeing the sun for a season. And immediately there fell on him a mist, and a darkness, and he went about seeking some to lead him by the hand.'

Whilst Cerinthus labours to build his own house, by pulling down Christ's, suddenly a house fell down to the ground, and slew him, with many of his adherents.

Whilst Arius, being unable to answer the strong arguments of holy Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, accused him of sorcery, and, in his high towering thoughts, intending to make a battery against the bulwark of true religion, by disputing against Alexander, a reverend bishop; in the morning, when the hour of disputation was come, as

this heretick entered among the auditory, a sudden pain in the belly began to seize him, in presence of a great multitude of bishops and common people; so that, being constrained to go to some secret place, to discharge the burden of his belly, his bowels fell from him into the privy, and there he suddenly died, as shamefully as he lived sinfully.

I wish, therefore, these new Arians to take heed, lest they hurt as much, under a colour of reforming and building up the church, as hereticks and open tyrants can do, by persecuting and pulling down. For, as Luther observes, often the greatest peril is on the right hand; in this sense we may cry out, *Omnes amici omnes inimici*, They may have the face of friendship, but not without the hearts and hands of foes; dealing with Christ, as Herod once did, who, altho' he was troubled at the report of the wise-men, which came, by the direction of a glorious star, to worship the sun of glory, then in a cloud of humanity; yet, to put a good face upon his wickedly intended fact, he pretends also to come and worship him; his full purpose being only, under that cloke, to smother the tender princely babe. As Satan, being the prince of darkness, is often transformed into an angel of light, to bring wretched men into utter darkness, thinking himself most happy, when he makes sinners, like himself, most unhappy: So the children of the devil have not seldom fair vizards to cover their foul faces. For where our enemy, the devil, cannot overthrow in open field of notorious wickedness, he labours to lie in the ambushment of dissembled sanctity; where he hangs not out bloody colours of defiance, as an open enemy, there he seeks to betray, as a seeming friend; when the lion's skin cannot, the fox's skin must then effect the design. They, that are inwardly ravening wolves, delight to come in sheep's clothing, which is indeed nothing else but precise titles of holiness, and mere outsides of Christianity, having linsley-woolsey garments, the plain web of simplicity without-side, but the subtle thread of deceit withinside; their outside is of lamb's wool, whilst their inside is of fox's fur.

In the forehead of the whore of Babylon is written a mystery. So Paul calls the working of antichrist a mystery of iniquity; because the man of sin doth covertly and cunningly, serpent-like, wind his abominations into the church of Christ. At first they may appear like Elijah's cloud, little like a man's hand; but, in a short space, the heavens become black, with clouds of displeasure against them. Corruptions in ecclesiastical matters, as diseases in natural bodies, creep in insensibly, and sometimes come to that height, that neither the malady nor the medicine can be well endured. As we may exemplify it in the presbytery, which now assumes the infallible chair; having not the patience to have the truth of their doctrines, and dictates, tried by the sure touch-stone of the word of God, which is powerful to bring down strong holds, and every imagination that exalts itself; which alone is able to square and fit the stones for the new Jerusalem, the praise of the whole earth. I dare appeal to the court of their own consciences, that spiritual chancery, whether it be not enough to incur the censure of a sectary, either to dispute their infallibility, or for a layman to exercise the gifts of the spirit, especially that of prophecy? As if the character in this kind belonged only to themselves, they maliciously deny this

liberty to others; or, as if the Lord Jesus, who ascended up on high, and gave gifts unto men, did ordain the disposing thereof only by the hands of the presbytery, which, being not washed in innocency, cannot present any to God's altar; whilst the pomegranate is wanting, their bells are out of tune.

I am sure the word of God is not bound to their mouths, neither can they be the only oracles to be consulted; though Moses and Aaron have a special mission, yet Eldad and Medad may have a special commission to prophesy in the camp.

The holy apostle, Paul, makes a paranelical oration in general terms, without the least exception, saying, 'Desire spiritual gifts, but rather that ye may prophesy; for ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted.' Peter's vote goes also with Paul's: For, saith he, 'as every man hath received the gift, even so minister the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold graces of God.'

Is the spirit of prophecy only mounted on the wings of *Mercurius*, or confined to the seven stars of the liberal sciences? Is Christ only learned in the schools of the philosophers, or only manifested by the knowledge of tongues? I tell you nay; for Paul had never been an apostle, by sitting at the feet of Gamaliel, but by casting himself down at the feet of Jesus; he was by the one a learned persecutor, by the other alone a most zealous professor. Yet I despise not human learning, acknowledging it a glorious ornament, and great instrument, where it is sanctified. But, if I should speak against it, I am confident the presbyterian clergy, for the most part, have least reason to speak against me, who little fear them, knowing, that too much learning will never make them mad. Yet I suppose them not to be well in their wits, whilst they strive to stop the mouths of God's saints, which, in a spiritual sense, are the heavens that declare the glory of God, and the firmament which sheweth his handy-work.

What, shall such as sail by Christ's compass on this sea of glass, be driven back by the north-wind of blustering presbytery? Or shall they, that are guided by the pole-star of truth, be seized on by these pirates, who would rob God of his glory, and his people of that liberty, which is Christ's legacy, and hath continual residence with his spirit, and therefore appositely stiled *glorious*? God forbid; we have not so learned Christ, as, in any such case, to fear his enemies, in the midst of whom Christ must reign, and over whom Christ will ever triumph. Though 'the Kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel against the Lord, and against his anointed; these his enemies, who will not that he should reign over them,' shall be slain before his face. What must these his friendly enemies then expect, whilst they only wear Christ's colours, and fight not under his banners for tokens? Which I intend to display, to shew the motto's of their meaning.

Before Mars's dreadful artillery, with thundering eccho's, resounded in our land, and the late King, with his bishops, were in their glory; these Goliaths of presbytery, being then under a cloud, bemoaned themselves as the persecuted (though in most things complying) party: Whereupon, no sooner did a seasonable opportunity present itself to

them, but each mouth of theirs was turned into a warlike trumpet, with a 'curse ye Meroz, curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof,' &c. Nay, some of the clergy did not only animate the people against the said King, but did lead them on, making a covenant before men to preserve him, yet an agreement with hell to destroy him; which, if praying, preaching, fighting, lying, or the like, could effect, they were resolved to want no such ammunition.

Well, when their design prospered, by the adverse fate of the King and prelatical clergy; and they, like Pharaoh's lean kine, had eaten up all the fat kine, making themselves rich by others poverty, and great by their ruin; then they were, as the prophet speaks of the inhabitants of Babylon, mad upon their idols of presbytery, compelling the people to bow the knee to Baal, even in the picture of a lay-elder; which is an image in their kirk, and a dumb-shew in their mask. He, forsooth, must be subject with silence, whilst the priest lords it with impudence, taxing all the world with Augustus Cæsar, and making his little finger heavier than the bishop's loins; each provincial classis having the platform of a High-Commission-Court, or Star-Chamber, where each petty trespass should have been looked upon in a multiplying-glass, as a most heinous crime.

The nobles and gentlemen, with the honest commoners, should have been made slaves to their idle humours, and all dissenting brethren, as tributary Canaanites, to these feigned Israelites, which deem themselves the only Joshua's and Calebs, that arrive at the Canaan of a pure reformation, out of the wilderness of cursed superstition.

But give me leave to ask you, What difference there is in the presbyters enjoining sitting at the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and the bishops commanding kneeling? I can assure you, in both you may perceive no small tyranny over the weak consciences of our dear brethren, whom we ought to receive, not to doubtful disputations; wherefore saith the holy apostle in the same place, 'Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not; and let not him that eateth not judge him that eateth; for God hath accepted and received him. Again, meat commendeth us not to God; for, neither if we eat, are we the better; neither, if we eat not, are we the worse.' If therefore, there be so much indifference in the matter of eating, surely there can be no less, but rather more in the manner thereof; the posture cannot speak so loud as the mouth, of eating.

Moreover, what distinction is there between the bishops enjoining the observation of days, and the presbyterians inhibiting it? Believe it, in both is a breach of conscience-liberty; for the apostle holds it forth unto us very clearly, saying, 'One man esteemeth one day above another, another esteemeth every day alike; let every man be fully persuaded in his own conscience.'

'He that regardeth a day, regardeth it unto the Lord; and he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it.' I therefore, suspect them to be hypocritical, who upon this account are so critical; and I fear they too much idolise their own chimera's, whilst they so much cry out against the people for, as they say, idolising certain days.

Furthermore, whilst the people are compelled to come to shrift be-

fore the priest and his lay-elders; what is this, but cousin-german to auricular confession, or at best, usurped jurisdiction over Christian souls; when they have liberty given by the apostle, to 'examine themselves, and so eat of that bread, and drink of that cup?' All which, and more, I refer to the censure of the godly-wise; and shall now declare these reformers carriage towards the parliament of England.

As Carolostadius, in Luther's age, did seem to desire the advancement of Christ's kingdom, in the flourishing of the gospel; but yet, notwithstanding his pretended zeal of God's house, he despised authority, neglected human laws, and was altogether transported with his own private humours of ambition and covetousness: So the presbyterians seeing their Dagon fallen, notwithstanding all their great flourishes of piety, and brags of reformation, despise the present authority, because they are somewhat crossed in their ambition and avarice, the two poles which turn the heaven of their zealous pretences. For they came into the ministry, as Stratocles, and Dromoclidias, into the magistracy, *tanquam ad auream messem*, as it were to a golden harvest, following rather their tythe than their text, and fishing not so much with Peter's net, as his hook: O, it is a fish with money they seek after, according to that of the prophet: 'The priests teach for hire, and the prophets divine for money; yet will they lean upon the Lord, and say, Is not the Lord among us?'

With the untimpered mortar of supposed sanctity, they raise up a Babel of presumption, from whose steep and elevated top, they precipitate their giddy followers; who shall at length, by woeful experience, find the tongues of these teachers heavier than the hands of Moses, when he was supported by Aaron and Hur. Yet, alas! How many poor creatures are seduced by them, who are honoured as the people of the Lord, though they be indeed of Korah's conspiracy?

Their mouth speaketh great swelling words, and these filthy dreamers despise dominion, and speak evil of dignities; God commanding the contrary, saying, Thou shalt not revile the gods, nor curse the ruler of thy people. Let every soul be subject to the higher powers, there is no power but of God, &c. saith St. Paul. Besides, the Lord admonisheth the Jews, saying, Bring your necks under the yoke of the King of Babylon, and serve him, and his people, and live. Nay more, they were commanded to seek the peace of the city, and pray unto the Lord for it.

They therefore that break the peace of our land, fighting with the sword of their mouth against the magistrates, thereby with the fogs of sedition to obscure their light, and with the whirlwind of reproachful words, to blow out the lamp of their glory; such, I say, have their eyes put out, with Zedekiah, and are posting to Babylon, their souls confusion.

Yet such are our blessed presbyterians, whose words are as a fire, to kindle flames of dissension, and as an hammer, to break in pieces the fabric of our present government, stirring up the people now against the parliament, as before they did against the King; altho' they covenanted to maintain the privilege thereof; yet they take so much privilege to

themselves, that, by their consent, the parliament shall have none at all.

With Absalom, they steal the hearts of the people; and, if not prevented, will at length openly rebel; such a whirlwind must we expect to reap in England, whilst they sow the wind of their prating so much for Scotland. If the people, with Ephraim, feed on the wind of their words, no marvel if their stomach be nauseous towards the States advancement.

It is observed truly, that the people are like the sea, and the preachers are like to wind. As the sea of itself would be quiet, if the winds did not move and trouble it; so the people would be tractable and peaceable, if such seditious orators did not set them in agitation. If such minstrels be permitted, no wonder if the people make a noise; if they shall be suffered to rail in the pulpits, let us not blame the people for murmuring in the streets; if they without controul may give a false alarm, the people will be too apt to take it. As the serpent Porphyrius is said to be full of poison, but wants teeth to vent it; so the presbyterian is full of malice, but wants strength to put it in execution. Their hatred is now like a subterraneous fire, and thunder in a cloud: they only wait for a fit time when it shall break forth into a flame, and affright us with a terrible clap, that they may set up their three-headed Geryon, honour, riches, and pleasure.

Some of the most crafty foxes, altho' they covertly endeavour to soil our vines, by planting their stinking elders, yet they openly pretend their preservation; so that they altogether look one way, and row another. Others not so cunning, but as malicious, stand in a diametrical opposition to all orders of parliament; and when they should fast, they will feast; and when they should feast, they will be sure to fast; turning days of thanksgiving into days of humiliation, and calling adhering to the parliament, a backsliding from the truth. Surely, they mean their covenant; for as, if the way, the truth, and the life, were exactly drawn in that libel, as the world in a map, they pressed it with rigour, as necessary to the commonwealth's well-being; and now, with bitterness of spirit, reject the engagement, as an engine of destruction. Therefore, *rebus sic stantibus*, let the world judge, who are the malignants, either they that desire to live under their vines, and under their fig-trees, in peace, or these that labour to foment a new war; some of them having not only a finger, but a whole hand in the Scottish design against us?

Yet they would fain excuse themselves, by accusing others of malignancy, saying, or rather boasting with the Pharisee, God, we thank thee, that we are not as other men are; neither indeed are they, for they are not half so honest.

As Augustine writes of Faustus the Manichee; if this were to be just, to justify themselves; assuredly, this generation of vipers had long since flown up into heaven. But, alas! they prefer themselves before others, upon no better ground than the Marcionites did extol the serpent above the Creator, because the Creator did forbid to participate of the tree of knowing good and evil, and the serpent freely did permit it.

They would fain make us believe their *entia* to be *transcendentia*, and their sots to be Solomons; but let us examine their actions, and we shall find, that they travel with iniquity, conceive mischief, and bring forth falshood. *Verbis proferunt virtutem, et factis destruunt veritatem*: In their words they may seem to advance virtue, but by their works they overthrow truth; not unlike the cunning lapidary, who sells a beryl for a diamond; but yet Christ suffereth such in his church, that the truth might break forth with brighter beams through the blackest clouds of opposition.

If Arius and Sabellius had not exceedingly vexed the church of Christ, the deep mysteries of the Holy Trinity would never have been so clearly and accurately determined by the orthodox doctors. If Manichæus had not maliciously railed upon the Old Testament, Augustine, that walking library of learning in his time, would never have taken such indefatigable pains in answering all objections against it. So, if these mongrel Geneva proselytes had not, with a storm in their countenance, and a tempest in their tongue, opposed the saints of God, the glorious mysteries of Christ's kingdom had not been so much revealed to his people. Had not these enemies come in like a flood, the spirit of the Lord had not thus lifted up his standard against them.

For brass God hath now brought gold, and for iron, silver; therefore let their stormy wind praise the Lord, and let the wrath of these men glorify his holy name. Let the antiperistasis of their malice make the fire of our zeal more intense; and altho' the interposition of these lunatics, as that of the moon, may for a very little while eclipse our sun, yet it shall never go down; for the Lord himself will be our everlasting light, we shall be ever clothed with the sun, and therefore tread the moon of variableness under our feet; insomuch that the beast, which hath horns like a lamb, and speaks as a dragon, shall never exercise his power over us, though they say, Cursed be the man that obeyeth not the words of our covenant.

Whoso then is a wise man, and endued with knowledge, among the presbyterian party, let him lay his hand upon his heart, and consider, whilst oil is yet in his lamp, and those candles of nature, his eyes, not sunk down within their sockets; let him descend into himself, and search out the error of his ways; which being once found, let him not be ashamed to cry *peccavi* from the bottom of his heart; for this will be a key to open the wounds of Christ, and give a ready passage to the mercy-seat.

This is all the harm I wish the worst of them; and, if Alexander the Great wept at the sight of Darius's dead corpse, and Julius Caesar at the spectacle of Pompey's head, certainly, as severely as they may censure me; I should turn *lunina in flumina, in fontem frontem*, eyes into tears, and face into a fountain, to behold their destruction, altogether desiring their speedy conversion; for which shall be always my fervent prayer.

And, as for me, the Lord God will help me, therefore shall I not be confounded; therefore have I set my face like a flint, and I know that I shall not be ashamed. He is near that justifieth me. Who will contend with me? Let us stand together. Who is mine adversary? Let him come near me.

THE LIFE
OF THAT
INCOMPARABLE MAN,
FAUSTUS SOCINUS SENENSIS,

Described by a Polonian Knight,

Whereunto is added an excellent Discourse, which the same author would have had premised to the works of Socinus; together with a catalogue of those works.

London, printed for Richard Moone, at the Seven Stars in Paul's Church-yard 1653. Octavo, containing forty-two pages.

TO THE READER.

THE life of Socinus is here exposed to thy view, that by the perusal thereof thou mayest receive certain information concerning the man, whom ministers and others traduce by custom, having for the most part, never heard any thing of his conversation, nor seen any of his works; or, if they have, they were either unable or unwilling to make a thorough scrutiny into them, and so no marvel, if they speak evil of him. To say any thing of him here by way of elogy, as that he was one of the most pregnant wits that the world hath produced; that none, since the apostles, hath deserved better of our religion, in that the Lord Christ hath chiefly made use of his ministry, to retrieve so many precious truths of the gospel, which had a long time been hidden from the eyes of men by the artifice of Satan; that he shewed the world a more accurate way to discuss controversies in religion, and to fetch out the very marrow of the holy scripture; so that a man may more avail himself by reading his works, than perhaps by perusing all the fathers, together with the writings of more modern authors; that the virtues of his will were not inferior unto those of his understanding, he being every way furnished to the work of the Lord; that he opened the right way to bring Christians to the unity of the faith and acknowledgment of the Son of God; that he took the same course to propagate the gospel, that Christ and the apostles had done before him, forsaking his estate, and his nearest relations, and undergoing all manner of labours and hazards, to draw men to the knowledge of the truth; that he had no other end of all his undertakings, than the glory of God and Christ, and the salvation of himself and others, it being impossible for calumny itself, with any colour, to asperse him with the least suspicion of worldly interest; that he, of all inter-

preters, explaineth the precepts of Christ in the strictest manner, and windeth up the lives of men to the highest strain of holiness: To say these and other the like things (though in themselves true and certain) would, notwithstanding, here be impertinent, in that it would forestal what the Polonian knight hath written on this subject. To him, therefore, I refer thee, desiring thee to read his words without prejudice, and then the works of Socinus himself; and though thou beest not thereby convinced that all which Socinus taught is true (for neither am I myself of that belief, as having discovered that, in some lesser things, Socinus, as a man, went awry, however in the main, he hit the truth) yet for so much of Christ, as thou must needs confess, appeareth in him, begin to have more favourable thoughts of him and his followers.

J. B.

TO pursue the life of Faustus Socinus, in a brief and perfunctory manner, would be below the dignity of so great a man; but to do it, fully and elaborately, would perhaps be above our strength. For to relate the praises of renowned men by snatches, and in a negligent fashion, is an injury to virtue; and, if there was ever any, certainly this is the man who deserveth to be described, not only with care, but also with wit. Yet since it is better, that excellent endowments should be commended below their merit, than wholly passed over in silence: It is unreasonable, either that the meanness of the relators should prove prejudicial to famous men, or the greatness of those, who are celebrated, be any prejudice to the wit of the writers. But, as for myself, pardon is due to me upon another account, being cumbered with many cares, and hurrying my discourse, within the limits prefixed, to a pittance of time.

Socinus was born in Sene, a most famous city of Tuscany. The nobility of his stock was ancient, and the splendor of his alliances exceeding the condition of a private man. His father, besides the honours of his own family, was, on his mother's side, further ennobled by the Salvetti, which family sometimes flourished with so great power amongst the Florentines, that Pandulphus Petruccius, being expelled out of Sene, was chiefly beholden to the assistance and wealth of Paulus Salvettus for the restitution of his country, and shortly after of his principedom. By which benefit, being obliged, he conferred on him the freedom of the city, and persuaded him to leave his country, and dwell at Sene. This Paulus was father to Camilla, who, being married to Marianus the younger, was mother to Alexander and Lælius Socinus, and grandmother to Faustus. His mother, born to the hope of more than a private fortune, was daughter to Burgessius Petruccius (sometimes prince of the commonwealth of Sene) and to Victoria Piccolominea, who being the daughter of Andreas Piccolomineus, lord of Castilio and Piscaria, and niece to Pope Pius the Second, and Third of that name; and either sister or kinswoman to cardinal John Piccolomineus, to the dukes of the Amalphitani, to the marquesses of Capistranum, to the earls of Calanum, and many other Italian princes, married into the house of the Petruccii, which then held the

fortune of the principedom of Sene. But Burgesius, succeeding his father Pandulphus, and not long after by a fatal change expelled out of his country, did not long survive his dignity. Nevertheless Cardinal Raphael Petruccius was his successor in the government of his country, and held for a while the helm of that commonwealth. But Victoria, being left a widow, suffered not her mind, which, in the splendor of her former height, she had never lifted up, to be quailed with so disastrous a vicissitude of things. So that, for the space of fifty-six years, wherein she survived the life and common fortune of her husband, she did with singular modesty, and approved integrity and chastity, endure the solitary condition of widowhood. Her daughter Agnes, whom, according to the dignity of so great a family, she had trained up in most holy manners, she gave in marriage to Alexander Socinus, a young man of noble extraction, but private condition. He was the father of our Faustus, and born in such a family, as had, for a long time, not by arms and power, but by wit and scholarship, seemed to hold a kind of principedom in one sort of learning. For this very Alexander was called the master of subtleties; and his father Marianus the Younger, the prince of lawyers; and Bartholomew, the uncle of Marianus the Younger, was by Angelus Politianus, stiled the Papinian of his age; finally Marianus the elder, Bartholomew's father, a most grave lawyer, is by Æneas Sylvius so highly extolled, that the narration almost exceeds belief.

The son of this Marianus was Alexander the elder; the grandchild Marianus the younger; the great grandchildren, Alexander and Lælius, the one (as we said) the father, the other, the uncle of our Faustus. Both of them, for greatness of wit, and endowments of learning, exceeded famous; but to whom that of the poet may justly be applied,

These to the earth the Fates will only show,

Causing them presently away to go.

For Alexander having a marvellous sharpness of wit, together with a divine memory and excellent eloquence, had scarce fulfilled the one and thirtieth year of his age, but he was suddenly snatched away, to the great grief of all Italy. And Lælius, having, in a short race of life, performed very great matters, exceeded not the seven and thirtieth year of his age.

The memory of this man I judge worthy to be exceedingly admired by posterity, who, in so short a space as he lived, not only smelt out so many grievous errors, which had privily crept into the church, but pulling them out of their very holes, first shewed the way how to kill them. He, being by his father Marianus put upon that study which was hereditary to his name, thought that the knowledge of human laws was to be fetched out of the very fountains of God's law. To which purpose, whilst he diligently turned over the sacred volumes, he without difficulty found that very many of those doctrines of the church, which are commonly received, are quite opposite to the divine testimonies. And that so much the more easily, because most of them are also repugnant to reason, and such principles, as nature itself hath implanted in us. Inasmuch therefore, as the height of his excellent wit and sharpness of his judgment were accompanied with a singular probity of mind, having detected the errors of the church, he did not (as the greatest part do)

abuse them to the contempt of the scripture and religion, but rather used the authority of the scripture, and of the Christian religion, to heal the diseases of the church, which could not be cured, unless the errors were detected. Wherefore, in that study, to which his sublime and pious mind was carried with inflamed speed, a great light, not without the divine assistance, suddenly broke out unto him, especially because, to fetch out the senses of the scripture, he brought with him the knowledge of the oriental tongues, the Hebrew and Greek chiefly, and also the Arabick. Whether, therefore, it were for fear of danger, as it is likely, or that he might more exactly study purer divinity, and the tongues, he soon passed out of Italy into Switzerland and Germany.

He left his country very young, not being above one and twenty years old. In the next four years, having travelled over France, Brittany, Belgium, all Germany, and Poland, he took up his dwelling at Zurich. Whereupon although he was often drawn away with publick and private affairs; yet did he spend the chiefest part of his exile there, being endeared to sundry princes in all parts, and favoured also by certain Kings.

There was not a noted scholar in that time (than which, none ever abounded more with learned men) but he had by his carriage won not only his friendship, but his familiarity also. Whereby it came to pass, that the inbred goodness of his judgment was accompanied with a singular prudence and sweetness of behaviour. Which endowments are acknowledged in him, as by very many other famous men, so chiefly by Philip Melancthon, in his commendatory letters, which he wrote to him as he was departing. And indeed what correspondence was between him and the most renowned men of that age, chiefly Calvin, Melancthon, Bullinger, Brentius, Musculus, Munster, Zanchius, Vergerius, Castellio, Beza, Martyr, Ochinus, Cœleus, and sundry others, their frequent letters unto him do testify, the copies whereof, in a great number, have come to our hands. He did not more desire to enjoy their friendship, for the safe-guard of his fortune, than to make use of the same to the benefit of the church. Wherefore he did, by his questions, much urge and exercise those redoubted doctors of the then flourishing divinity. I have a letter written with Calvin's own hand, wherein he openly professeth that he was put into choler by him, and, instead of an answer, sends him back a check and threatening.

‘It is not fit, saith he, that you should expect until I answer those portentous questions which you object. If you are disposed to fly through those airy speculations, I beseech you, suffer me, an humble disciple of Christ, to meditate on such things, as tend to the edification of my faith. And indeed I will by my silence gain what I desire, namely, that you be not henceforth troublesome to me. Now that so gallant a wit, as the Lord hath bestowed on you, should not only be unprofitably taken up with slight matters, but also corrupted with pernicious figments, is a very great grief. What I not long since testified, I again seriously warn you of. That, if you do not timely correct this itch of enquiring, it is to be feared, you will draw on yourself great torments. Should I, under a shew of indulgence, cherish such a vice, as

I know to be very hurtful, I should be perfidious and cruel towards you. Wherefore I had rather you should be a little offended with my roughness, than be drawn away, with the sweet allurements of curiosity, beyond all recovery. The time will come, I hope, when you will rejoice, that you were so boisterously awakened.'

Yours,

JOHN CALVIN.

Jan. 1, 1552.

Neither was the truth of this threatening either uncertain or contemptible. For, in the month of October, the next year, Servetus was burned at Geneva. Nevertheless, the gravity of Lælius, and his incredible modesty in the greatest endowments of learning and wit, together with his dexterity of carriage, had so disarmed the anger of those that were in a chafe, that they did not endure to hate the man, although, otherwise, they could not brook his freedom. Which thing may teach them, whom over-much freedom of truth betrayeth into needless dangers, that that very truth, which they maintain, is more secured by the circumstance mildness of prudence, than by unbridled zeal. So that they, who of their own accord meet dangers, seem to make greater haste to their own praise, than to the advancement of the publick good. And certainly, if there be any, this is the place where the simplicity of the dove is to be mingled with the subtlety of the serpent. Unless we suspect the counsel of our Saviour condemning their unadvised rashness, who oftentimes have very bad success in casting down their pearls where they cannot be estimated according to their worth. The truth is, Lælius remained intire and inviolate amongst the capital enemies of his opinion; yet did he not suffer the sense of his judgment to perish within the closet of his conscience. Wherefore, to those whom he liked, he feared not to entrust the things that had been discovered to him by God. But chiefly, he instructed his countrymen, the Italians, who, by a pious and voluntary exile, were scattered through several regions of Germany and Poland. I find, in the commentaries of the Polonian churches, that he came twice into our country: First, about the year 1551, when he was six and twenty years old, at what time he is said, not without great success, to have conversed with very many of the Polonian nobility, and to have caused Francis Lismaninus, the Corcyraean, confessor to Bona Sforzia, the queen, and who was then (if I be not mistaken) the provincial of the Minorites, and first lifted up an ensign of revolt from the Pope in this kingdom, to cast away his cowl. But then, in a few months space, departing into Moravia, he retired thence to the Switzers. His second coming into Poland I find to have happened, after the death of his father Marianus, who died at Bononia, in the year 1556. For not long after, about the years 1558 and 1559, he desired letters of recommendation from the Kings of Poland and Bohemia, that he might the more securely treat with his friends in Venice concerning his patrimony. Then, indeed, it appeared, to the greatest part of the German and Polonian nobility, in what favour he was. For, in his case, there

was very great canvassing both with Ludovicus Priulus, the doge of Venice, and Cosmus, the grand duke of Tuscany. Almost about the same time, a grievous storm, arising upon a suspicion of heresy, did with a perillous gust shake the whole house of the Socini. After the death of Alexander, Lælius had three brethren surviving, of whom Celsus lived at Bononia; Cornelius and Camillus together with Faustus, son to his brother Alexander, dwelt at Sene. Amongst these also Lælius, a marvellous artist in suggesting the truth, had scattered the seeds thereof; and, though he were separated by the remote distances of countries, yet did he by effectual industry so cherish them, that, being unknown as yet, and absent, he drew the wives of some to his party. Nor were there wanting, amongst his other familiars and friends, such as were either partners in the same design, or privy thereunto. But the fair hope of that crop was blasted in the very blade, Cornelius being taken, and the rest either scattered, or chased away. This fear drove Faustus also, then very young, not only out of his native city, but out of Italy itself: Who having lived a while at Lyons in France, Lælius was in the mean time extinguished by an untimely death at Zurich. Faustus, being certified of his death by the letters of Marius Besozzus, had much ado to prevent the snares laid for his papers, yet got the possession thereof, having been already by him informed of very many things, which he afterwards, in long progress of time, did by his sharp wit and indefatigable study polish. The death of Lælius happened on the third day after the ides of May, 1562, and in the thirty-seventh year of his age. That so great a wit was not long-lived, will not seem strange to him who shall consider how soon it was ripe. He had hardly passed the age of a stripling, when he left Italy. Within the six and twentieth year of his life, having travelled almost through all the regions of the west, he was, by his great renown, made known to most of the chief nobility in sundry parts; and perhaps to all learned men every where. It was well nigh fifteen years that he was absent from his country. Out of so small a space of life far journies challenge a great part, by means of which, his exile became profitable to many in sundry coasts of Europe. Add his perpetual commerce with so many great men, together with his continual intercourse of letters, and when you have subtracted these things, how small a pittance of time, I pray you, was left for his studies? And now, being amazed, we must enquire, what was that so profound leisure? what so vigorous industry? What so ready wit? What so vast understanding, as was sufficient to master so many tongues, so many sciences, and withal to recollect the mind to itself, and manage the greatest affairs? To premise these things touching Lælius, had I not listed of my own accord, necessity itself did require. For he it was who by his guidance and counsel drew Faustus himself and others to enter into that way, which they afterwards followed.

Now I return to Faustus, intending in the first place to relate, in brief, the course and chief occurrences of his life; then to comprise his chief actions; and lastly to add a few words concerning the habit of his mind and body, as far as I have by a cursory enquiry attained the knowledge thereof.

He was born, two hours and almost three quarters before sun-rising, on the nones of December, 1539, well nigh fourteen years younger than his uncle Lælius. He died in the year 1604, a little before the beginning of the spring, being sixty-five years old.

He first spent twenty, and a little after twelve years of age in his country; about three in his retirement at Lyons; the other thirty in voluntary exile. He seemeth to have lost his parents at that age, which is most apt for the improvement of learning and wit. For he complaineth how he employed his labour in the studies of good arts very slightly, and without the guidance of a teacher. And elsewhere, how he had not learnt philosophy, nor ever was acquainted with school-divinity; and confesseth that in logick itself he never tasted but only certain rudiments, and that very late.

It was a baffle to that proud age, to be taught by so notable an instance, that, even without those helps, which we, though not without cause, yet oftentimes without measure do admire, there may be great men, and such as will perform rare feats. Perhaps also it was expedient, that a wit, born to take cognisance of the opinions of the world, should be tainted with no prejudices; lest it should admit some string of those errors, for the rooting out of which it grew up. For divinity, being full of errors, infected also philosophy itself, and almost all good arts. And therefore not only in the cradle, but also in the very rudiments of the first learning the infancy of the world, hath now for a long time been deceived, and sucked in opinions as true, before it was able to judge whether they were false. Whereby it cometh to pass, that oftentimes it is better to be seasoned with none, than with perverse doctrines. Nor is it a wonder that sometimes learned men dote more shamefully, and the rude multitude judgeth more sincerely. Which I would not have so taken, as if I would condemn learning, but only the abuse thereof; nor give a check, but a caution to it. With such a slight tincture of learning, and, as I suppose, with the study of the civil law, the first age of Socinus was taken up, until the three and twentieth year. Yet had he before sucked in the principles of divine truth, partly by his own sharp wit, partly by the instruction of his uncle Lælius, especially when, upon the rising of a sudden tempest, he, as we before hinted, betook himself into France. Although Lælius, confiding in the wit of his nephew, did intimate more to his guess, than deliver to his understanding; concealing also some things from the young man, for the trial of his judgment, and openly presaging amongst his friends, that these things should more fully and happily by Faustus be discovered to the world. But, when after the death of Lælius he was returned into Italy, in that unsteady age of his life, his youth, floating like a ship without a pilot, and carried away with I know not what winds, almost grew old among the Sirens of the court. For, being admitted into the palace of Francis, the grand duke of Tuscany, and very much endeared to him by honourable employments, whilst he there flourished in highest favour and dignity, he spent whole twelve years in the court of Florence. Then did he lose, as he with perpetual groans complained, the most flourishing part of his life; if at least that time is to be accounted lost, wherein this sublime judgment was formed, not with the shadowy precepts of learning, but

with the substantial experiments of life; wherein also that youthful heat of his evaporated, which, for the most part, burrieth great wits to great falls. And indeed, were we not otherwise assured of it, yet, from the very force of his wit, we might conjecture with how vehement motions that nature of his was sometimes agitated. About the close of that time, his heart was touched with a serious deliberation, concerning the choice of good things; which he performed with such greatness of mind, that he determined, for the hope of heavenly things, to trample under foot all the commodities of earthly wishes; wherefore without delay, despairing to obtain from the extremely unwilling princes leave to depart, he, of his own accord, forsook his country, friends, hopes, and riches, that he might the more freely employ himself about his own and other men's salvation. That his service had not been ungrateful to the grand duke, the longing after him, being now absent and in exile, shewed. For sundry times by letters and messengers, chiefly at the motion of Paulus Jordanus Ursinus a nobleman, who had married the grand duke's sister, he solicited Socinus to return, which he with usual modesty, but resolute mind, did refuse. It was the year of our Lord 1574, and the five and thirtieth of his age, when he retired out of Italy into Germany. At his coming he was entertained by Basil, that courteous receiver of Christ's exiles, which had long since learned to cherish in her lap endangered innocency. Where he studied divinity full three years and upwards, being chiefly intent upon the sacred scriptures, to the sincere understanding whereof whilst he aspired with daily vows and prayers, he was much helped with a very few writings of his uncle Lælius, and sundry scattered notes left by him. Which thing, though it was in his power to suppress it, yet did he always ingenuously own and profess. As he lived at Basil until the year 1575, he detained not, within the closet of his private breast, the truth that had been deposited with him. And therefore, whilst he endeavoured to propagate unto others the light that was risen to himself, he proceeded by degrees, from reasoning with his friends, to discourse with strangers, and, having begun his disputation concerning Jesus Christ the Saviour by word of mouth, he afterwards comprised it in writing. Which before he could finish, being first excluded by sickness from his studies, then by the pestilence from his books left at Basil, he in the mean time dispatched at Zurich, in the beginning of the year 1578, another disputation with Franciscus Puccius; and afterwards in the same year, being returned to Basil, he put the last hand to his book, concerning the Saviour. At that time the Transylvanian churches were extremely infested with the opinion of Franciscus Davidis and others, touching the honour and power of Christ. To remedy which mischief, Georgius Blandrata, a man very powerful in those churches, and with the Bathorrean princes, who had then ruled the nation, in that very year of the Lord invited Socinus from Basil, to the end he might draw the ringleader of the faction, Franciscus Davidis, from so gross and pernicious an error; which that it might the more commodiously be effected, having at a great rate hired a lodging for Socinus, with Franciscus Davidis, he would have them both for above the space of four months to use the same house and table. But the said Franciscus took far greater care how to retain his credit amongst those of his party, than

how to seek after the truth. Whereupon adventuring not only to spread his error in private, but publickly to proclaim it in the pulpit, drew present danger on himself, being soon cast into prison by the command of the Prince of Transylvania, where he shortly after ended his life. Of whose death, though Socinus was altogether guiltless, yet did he not escape blame. As if he were not able to vanquish the said Franciscus with other weapons, when notwithstanding the disputations of both are published. Or that magistrate was so addicted to the cause of Socinus, as to employ the weapons of his authority for him, or any one of his party. But, if perhaps some person, who favoured the cause of Socinus, did incite the princes to deal roughly with the said Franciscus, whereof nevertheless I am not certain, yet let not Socinus be blamed for him, inasmuch as he could neither know his counsel, nor approve his deed. For, to omit sundry considerations, there could not happen any thing more contrary to the mind of Socinus, than that such a doctrine, as could not be defended with the words and wit of the said Franciscus, whilst he lived, should seem to be confirmed by the mute, but efficacious testimony of his death: especially because, carrying the face of a martyrdom, it presently turned the eyes of all men to it. The disputation of Socinus with him, though written, whilst the said Franciscus was alive, could notwithstanding hardly come to light fifteen years after. When this disputation was finished in May, *anno* 1579, and presented to the Transylvanian churches, Socinus could not long tarry there, by reason of a disease then raging, which they commonly call the cholick. Wherefore in the same year, being now forty years old, he travelled into Poland, where he made suit publickly to be united to the Polonian churches, which acknowledge none but the Father of the Lord Jesus Christ to be the most High God. But, not concealing his dissent in certain doctrines, here suffered a repulse very roughly and for a long time.

Nevertheless he, being composed unto patience, not so much by his natural inclination, as by the resolution of his mind, was no whit enraged with this disgrace, nor ever gave any signs of a disaffected mind; but rather undertook to repel with his wit the incursion of divers adversaries, who then infested those churches. And first of all he received the charge of Andreas Volanus, by refelling his *Parænesis*; and upon the same occasion, at the request of Niemojewius, the seventh chapter of the epistle to the Romans was explained. Afterwards it pleased him to assail Jacobus Palæologus, whose reputation and authority did at that time cherish the relicks of pernicious errors in men otherwise well-minded. Him being somewhat roughly handled, not out of hatred, but advice, he always excused. A little after, when Volanus had renewed the fight, he was again encountered, and withal an answer made to the positions of the college of Ponsa. Whilst Socinus undergoeth so much fighting and hatred for the patronage of the truth, amongst so many enemies there wanted not some calumniators. Stephanus was then King of Poland. A pickthank blows his ears with the report of a book written against the magistrate; adding, that it would be a very dishonourable thing to suffer a wandering Italian exile to escape Scot-free with so bold an enterprise. He hinted at the book.

against Palæologus. Which though it required no other testimony of its innocency, than the reading, yet did he think good to decline the danger.

Whereupon, he departed from Cracovia, where he had now lived four years, to a nobleman, named Christophorus Morstinus, Lord of Pawlicovia; in which place he defended his innocency, not so much by skulking, as by the privilege of nobility in our nation: for that suburb-farm is a few miles distant from Cracovia. It seemed a wiser course to clear himself from the crimes laid to his charge, rather out of that place, than out of prison; nor was he entertained in that hospitable house, for that nick of time only, but there cherished for above three years. And, to the end that the courtesy shewed to an exile and stranger might be more abundant, a little while after, the daughter of the family, a noble virgin, was, at his suit, given him in marriage; so that, being of a stranger become a son-in-law, he seemed to have established his security in those places, by affinities and friendships. Whilst he lived in the country, he wrote many notable pieces, and chiefly that against Eutropius, constantly defending the fame and cause of that church, which had, with most unjust prejudice, condemned him, and caused him, though innocent, continually to suffer many indignities. His daughter Agnes was born to him in the year of our Lord 1587, and forty-eighth of his age; of whom, being, after her father's death, married to Stanislaus Wiszowatius, a Polonian knight, there are as yet remaining nephews and nieces. In September the same year, he lost his wife Elisabeth; which sad and disastrous chance was followed with a grievous fit of sickness, so obstinate, that, for certain months, it caused the use of his studies to cease. And, that no kind of calamity might be wanting, almost about the same time, by the death of Franciscus, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the revenues of his estate, which he received yearly out of Italy, were quite taken away from him. Indeed, a little before, by the bitterness of accusers, and threats of popes, his estate came into danger; but, by the strenuous endeavour of Isabella Medicea, the Grand Duke's sister (who was married to the aforesaid Paulus Jordanus Ursinus) whilst she lived, and afterwards by the favour of Franciscus, the Grand Duke, it came to pass, that, during his life, Socinus received the yearly income of his estate. For, indeed, his old deserts were still so fresh in memory, that those princes, though long since forsaken, and oftentimes rejected, did yet, in a most difficult matter, gratify the letters and prayers of a condemned and exiled person. Yea, letters full of courtesy were sent unto him, and he bidden to be of good cheer for the future, as long as they lived, so that, in setting forth books, he suffered not his name to appear. But those princes were then taken away by a destiny disastrous to Socinus. And, that all things might seem to have conspired to the perplexity of the man, being a widower, sick, and stripped of all his fortunes, he was molested with the very times of our common-wealth, which were then exceeding turbulent, because divers did contend who should be the King of Poland; so that the adversaries, thereupon, took greater license to themselves. Socinus was now returned to Cracovia, and sought solace, in the midst of so many evils, from the employment,

which God had imposed on him, to purge the church of such errors as were then rife in her. Wherefore, although he had been formerly accustomed to frequent ecclesiastical assemblies, yet, in the year 1588, in the synod of Breste (which is a town on the borders of Lithuania) he disputed with greater earnestness and fruit, than before, touching the death and sacrifice of Christ, touching our justification, touching the corrupted nature of man, and, finally, with the Davidians, and Budneists, touching the invocation of Jesus Christ. This was the year, wherein the care and charge of the church at Luclavicia was committed to Petrus Stoinius, son of Petrus Statorius of Thornville; whose family, having heretofore been naturalised into the nobility of our nation, hath, even at this day, some men surviving, who have been invested with great honours, in our own country. He, being no less sharp in judgment, than ready in speech, being once admitted into the friendship of Socinus, yielded willingly to his opinion. A little before, also, he had privately drawn many of the chief ones into his opinion, and there was daily an accession made of such men as complied with them. Nevertheless, certain men of very great authority still stood off, as, Niemojevius and Czechovicus, together with the greatest part of the ancient ministers. The report is, that Securinius was the first that adventured openly to maintain the tenets of Socinus, to which he had assented; not long after, others followed: which party was exceedingly strengthened by the accession of the three Lujenecii, Andreas, Stanislaus, and Christophorus; who, being brethren of noble descent, and born to very great hopes, and brought up partly in the King's court, and partly in the society of the greatest peers, were, by a sacred instinct, transported from the midst of the allurements of this life to the care of religion. These men, as they had, by a most inflamed zeal, trodden under foot all the impediments of piety, so, with an equal candour and greatness of mind, they subscribed to the known truth.

And now others of the pastors came in a vie to the party, especially the juniors, who were less retarded with the prejudice of inveterate opinions and authority; and that, by reason of an accident very notable for the newness thereof, which gave a memorable proof, how great the force of the truth is. Amidst a great jarring of opinions, this was a laudable agreement of that church, That those men contended only with arguments, and not with hatred: and, though they detested one another's opinion, yet did they not condemn one another; and therefore, keeping mutual tolerance intire, they oftentimes disputed very eagerly; and this was the chief work of their synods.

Wherefore, anno, 1585, in the synod of Lublin, the opinion of Socinus, touching the seventh chapter of the Romans, was exceedingly agitated. There were some that defended it; but as great a number of pastors that opposed it: One whereof, named Nicolaus Zitinius, being willed by others of the same party to explain that chapter contrary to the mind of Socinus, and having, to that purpose, stoutly managed the matter, falling in his discourse upon those words, wherewith the apostle giveth thanks to God for his freedom, stood like a man amazed. And by and by, What is that freedom? saith he. What is that benefit, which drew from the apostle so great thanks? Was it, that he was of

necessity detained in so great a servitude of sin? Certainly, such a thing as this can, at no hand, gain approbation with me. I therefore, saith he, in like manner give very great thanks to the Father of Lights, in that he would have the light of his truth arise unto me, who am now freed from error. Afterwards, entering upon a contrary way of explaining, he accurately disputed for the orthodox opinion. When they, whose cause he had undertaken, being amazed, did rebuke him; his answer was, that he could not resist the judgment of a convinced mind. This business was of great moment for the propagation of the truth; nor did their endeavours less conduce thereunto, who had lifted up the standard unto others to embrace it. Amongst them the eloquence of the foresaid Petrus Stoinius did excel. That elegant tongue only had God bestowed on those churches, equal to the wit of Socinus, and able to deliver, in a popular manner, his subtle senses, that were above the ruder sort, and to commend them unto all by his flexanimous speech. Him, therefore, as the chief interpreter of his mind, did Socinus make use of, to the notable advantage of God's church. And, indeed, certain things happened, which did enforce a stricter union with him. Socinus, sojourning at Cracovia, began, long since, to be environed with such dangers on every side, as arc, for the most part, wont to accompany the faithful servants of Christ. How great an indignity was there offered to him by that insolent soldier Verneccus, he himself signifieth in a certain letter? But above all, after the printing of his book, Touching the Saviour, the adversaries again began to shew the rancour of their hatred. Whereupon, in the year 1598, the scholars, having stirred up the dregs of the rabble, took Socinus, being then sick and minding the recovery of his health, and pulling him out of his chamber half naked, drag him in a contumelious manner through the market, and the most noted streets, the greatest part, in the mean time, crying out, to have him brought to execution. At length, having been grievously handled in that furious rout, he was, with much ado, rescued out of the hands of the raging multitude, by Martinus Vadovica, professor of Cracovia. The plundering of his goods and household stuff, together with other things liable to spoil, did not so much grieve him, as the irreparable loss of certain writings, concerning which, he often did profess, that he would redeem it with the expence of his life. Then perished together a notable labour of his against atheists, which he had undertaken to refute the ingenious devices of a certain great man. But when, to so barbarous an example of cruelty, threats were also added, he departed from Cracovia to Luclavicia, unto a certain village, famous for his last habitation and death, and distant about nine miles from Cracovia; where having, for certain years, used the table and house of a nobleman, named Abrahamus Blonscius, he lived a neighbour to Stoinius. Both, therefore, affording mutual help near at hand, in chasing away the relicks of errors, had now brought almost that whole church to an unanimous consent in all opinions; for even Niemojevius himself having, in most things, already given assent to Socinus, condemned his own mistakes with such ingenuity, as can never sufficiently be extolled.

Czechovicius only could not be removed from his opinion: who, as

the better part prevailed, conniving, though with much ado, at other things, a little after began to make a stir about the opinion, concerning baptism, which nevertheless being suddenly, according to the wish of Socinus, laid asleep, did afterwards vanish of its own accord. Having thus fully purged the church from errors, as if his life had been prolonged hitherto for this purpose only, he was at the end of winter, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, taken away at Luclavicia, by a death not so untimely to himself, as sad to his followers. His last words at his death were these; namely, That he no less full of envy and troubles, than of days, did, with a joyful and undaunted hope, incline to the period of his appointed time, which shewed to him both a discharge from his sorrows, and a reward of his labours.

Petrus Stoinius, who had been the associate of his life and labours, was also the praiser, and in the year following, the companion of his funeral. For, as if he had already ended the appointed task of his life, he followed Socinus, being hardly forty years old.

Having passed over the race of Socinus's life, through which we have made a short cut, it remaineth, that we stop a while in considering what he did and performed.

No man in our memory did better deserve of all the Christian world, but chiefly of all the Polonian churches. For first, by setting out so many works, he opened the genuine meaning of the Holy Scriptures in innumerable places.

Next, he only shewed how to confirm with solid arguments, and skilfully to defend, from subtle cavils and sophisms, those opinions touching the person of God and Christ, which he found already rise in Poland. After that he happily extinguished some impious, other prophane opinions, whose deadly poison did by stealth insinuate itself into the bosom of the church. No man did more vigorously quell Judaizers. He also exploded the opinion of the Chiliasts, and many other fanatick dreams besides. As for the errors, received from the reformed churches, which did, in a great number, as yet reign in that church, he did, with a marvellous felicity, root them out. Such were that of justification, that of appeasing the wrath of God, that of predestination, that of the servitude of the will, that of original sin, that of the Lord's supper and baptism, together with other misconstrued doctrines. Finally, having taken away pernicious errors, that he might not also leave any fopperies in the church, he exterminated very many superstitions about indifferent things; of which sort was the over-much affectation of mean clothing, and the eschewing of magistracy, and refusing to prosecute ones own right, even without a desire of revenge, and what other like spots there were, caused by the inconsiderate zeal of their first fervor.

Having explained the order of his life, and his actions, it remaineth that we add a few things concerning the habit of his mind and body. To relate the praises of his wit and judgment is a superfluous labour, inasmuch as there are so many monuments thereof extant. As for his learning, the more pertinaciously he hid it, the more impatiently it breaketh out. It was somewhat late, but more solid. Nor are there wanting, in his writings, the footsteps of a happy memory also. I can-

not pass by one proof thereof, which he gave in his disputation with Christianus Francken. This fellow, in the session of the synod of Chmelnica, desiring to shew a proof of his learning and wit, did, in a more arrogant manner than was meet, challenge those pastors to dispute, slighting the mean learning of every one. And that he might with very plenty, puzzle and overwhelm him that was to dispute, having beforehand provided himself, he together proposed fifty arguments, against the adoration of Christ. This matter troubled some, and they, though the church had so often rejected Socinus, did yet enjoin him to make an answer. He, attentively hearing the man, who had on a sudden entered upon an unjust way of arguing, and did, with one breath almost, pour out so many prepared shafts, was admonished to take in writing, at least, the heads of the reasons, to which an answer was to be returned. But he, in confidence of his memory, slighted the assistance of his pen, and patiently heard the man uttering those reasons of his, as long as he pleased; and by and by, in the same order, repeating the long series of his arguments, gave such a solid answer to each of them, that the adversary had hardly any thing to mutter against him. Whereupon having professed that he was unskilled and unprepared, he went away confounded, to the admiration of all. And, because we have touched the endowments of his nature, if any man be curious to know the figure of his body also, let him know that he wanted not a form answerable to his disposition, being of such a stature, as exceeded not the just size, yet was nearer to tallness. The habit of his body was somewhat slender, yet within measure; in his countenance, the dignity of his high forehead and masculine beauty of his eyes did cast a glance. Nor did the comeliness and grace of his look diminish the vigour and majesty thereof. He was somewhat sparing of meat and sleep, and abstinent of all pleasures, without affectation; only, in the conservation of his health, he seemed strupulous, and oftentimes over-diligent; yet was he, for the most part, of a prosperous health, but that he was sometimes troubled with the pains of the stone, and with the cholick. Moreover, being grown somewhat old, he complained of the dimness of his sight, contracted with over-much watching; the genius of his life was gentle and innocent. There was a marvellous simplicity in his manners, which was so tempered with gravity, that he was free from all superciliousness. Whence it came to pass, that you would sooner reverence him, than you could fear him. He was very affable, giving honour to every one exceedingly; and would you desire to reprove any thing in him, there was nothing nearer to discommendation, than the over-much debasement of himself.

The clothing of his body was modest, but yet neat and spruce; and, though he was at a remote distance from bravery, yet was he less averse from slight ornaments. He was officious towards his friends, and diligent in all parts of his life. He had so won the affection of the princes, in whose service he spent part of his life, that neither could long absence extinguish the desire of him, nor manifest offence obliterate the favour to him. Having shewed all manner of officiousness towards his uncles, brethren, and male kindred, he chiefly regarded and revered Lælius. Amongst his female-kindred, besides his grandmother Ca-

milla, a most choice matron, he exceedingly loved his aunt Porcia, and his sister Phyllis, and that according to their deserts. The former of which twain, being, whilst she lived, an example of most commendable chastity, did by her discretion, and incredible gentleness of manners, so gain the affection of her husband, Lælius Beccius, a man of rank and quality, that he would often say with tears, that he was unworthy of such and so great a wife. The latter, by the sanctity of her manners and discipline in governing the house, had so approved herself to her husband Cornelius Marsilius, a great nobleman, that, at her death, she left behind her an immortal desire of her company. And, forasmuch, as we are long since slipped from the endowments of nature, to those which he acquired by his own industry, we must not pass over in silence some of his virtues, whereby he was eminent above many. I cannot easily say, whether there was more fire, or wit, in so vehement a disposition, so prone to choler had nature framed him, before he had allayed those violent motions with reason. Nevertheless, he did so break and tame his cholerick temper, that the mildness, which afterwards shined forth in him, seemed to very many to be the praise of nature, not of industry. The commendation of his patience likewise is enhanced, as by the indignity of his fortune and injuries, so also by his delicate, and consequently touchy disposition. No evil is wont to happen unto such persons, without an exquisite resentment; nor is it so much to be wondered at, that oftentimes a larger wit is capable of more sorrow.

But he in this fight also appeared conqueror, of his fortune and nature, after he had, with a Christian greatness of mind, borne and undergone so many calamities from strangers, so many injuries from his countrymen, perils from enemies, ingratitude from friends, envy from the learned, hatred from the ignorant, infamy from all, poverty from fortune, in fine, a continual repulse, not without ignominy from that very church which he had chiefly beautified. I have almost done an injury to fortune, in seeming to have ascribed unto her the cause of his poverty. But I have not now accused her fault, but intimated her condition; which Socinus might, perhaps, by fortune's means, have escaped, would either his conscience, or a certain generosity of mind, have permitted him. Certainly he never sought after the flame of holiness by beggary. Nevertheless, as often as he was able to sustain his condition with the smallest means, he could not be brought to take such gifts as were freely offered him. Yea, he did of his own accord, expend his means on the poor. Nor was he only conversant in every kind of alms, but in every kind of liberality also; so as you may thereby understand that his charity was inflamed with the promiscuous love of all men. Likewise he published certain books at his own charges, that he might omit nothing for the accomplishment of his ardent zeal to promote divine truth, which he had undertaken to propagate, what with so many writings, what with so many letters, what with so many private and publick disputations, what with so many informations of them, who were in all places the interpreters of his mind; what with so many long journeys, most of them from the utmost border of Silesia, to the midst of Lithuania; what with the loss of health, fame, and fortunes; what,

finally, with the hazard of his life. That very thing, which had been the only solace to sustain him in the midst of so great labours and perils, did he continually inculcate to the whole church, as the only remedy to lead a holy life, namely, a continual hope of immortality, which he thought was to be carefully and delicately cherished. So that when a certain old man shewed a tomb built for himself in token of piety, saying, that he did perpetually meditate on death: Socinus replied, that he would do more rightly, if he did meditate on the reason of the resurrection. Certainly his prudence shined forth in all the parts of his life, but chiefly in his judgment of spiritual things, and was, as it were, a certain fruit of his humility and modesty, a virtue so inbred and peculiar to his nature, that, in other virtues, he may seem to have vied with others; in this with himself. He never despised any man, never attempted any thing, but with advice and circumspection. In his very studies also he was so far from all self-confidence, that he never essayed to write any thing, but what had been concocted with long and mature meditation. And this may easily be discerned in his works. How often did he go very gingerly through those rough ways, which others would have securely trodden? So that no man seemeth to have distrusted another's wit, as he did his own; which, as we have said, was then the reward, and now the token of his singular modesty. But especially his faith did much shine forth amongst other praises. None, in the memory of men, was better furnished with all helps whereby we ascend to fame, and wealth, and the highest pitch of this life: nature, fortune, and, finally, industry, had emulously accumulated nobility of stock, splendor of friendships, grace of princes, liberal means, health, wit, eloquence, learning, and a natural reach capable of the greatest matters. Obedience to the call of God, and the pledge of truth intrusted to him, cost him the loss of so great privileges. It was a small matter to have forsaken so many pledges of the greatest hope, had he not also, as a sacrifice devoted to the publick hatred, wittingly and willingly exposed himself to infinite miseries, want, hazards, enmities, universal contempt, reproaches, contumelies, and to an execrable memory of his name in all places. Nor indeed looked he for any other reward at present, or shortly after. His wishes reached beyond the bounds of his life, yea, beyond the race of the present age; and his hope was so truly erected towards heaven, that it rested on no prop of earthly solace. I detract not from the praises due to the merits of other men; each of them hath his proper honour. Yet will I, by their good leave, say, that some famous men have perhaps made an attempt at so sublime a proof of faith, but I cannot tell whether any one hath reached it. For the greatest part wanted not helps whereby their virtue was soon relieved, so that they were not long God's creditors. The magnanimity of Luther, and others, was quickly entertained with the applause and affections of princes and people. How many others, otherwise poor and obscure, were, by the maintenance of God's cause, advanced to riches and power? Whom nevertheless this vicissitude doth not exclude from the praise of faith, if that which was the cause of their advancement did grow up to maturity, together with them.

But they cannot easily be admitted into this number, who, even with the great detriment of their estates, espouse the cause of God (whether truly such, or pretended) being now in a flourishing condition, and come to maturity. For they have what to hope for on the earth, even without respect to heaven; and, in the expectation of such present rewards, you cannot always easily discern, whether they repose greater confidence in God, than in their own industry.

But Lælius and Faustus, men of so great judgment, and so great knowledge and experience of the age wherein they lived, what solace could they promise themselves in the earth whilst they lived, yea, in the next ensuing age, for so many labours and dangers, having professed such tenets as were set off with no pomp of authority, no engagement of parties, no connivance at a more dissolute life, yea, no other blandishment whatsoever, but were rather distasteful and odious unto all, by reason of their austerity? Certainly I can here espy no crevice of earthly hope, which may detract a whit from the praise of a most noble faith, which, how great soever it was, being excluded out of all the earth, was mounted up to heaven, and there conversed with the clemency of God alone.

Ignatius also, that I may omit others, in the memory of our fathers, contemned his country, kindred, wealth, honours, and other allurements, and also underwent many labours and dangers of his own accord, having professed a zeal to God's glory, and the warfare of faith. I slight not the greatness of mind, which shewed itself in him, or some like to him. For neither did they hasten unto glory, through such a way as was altogether pleasant. Nevertheless, I do not yet here behold that difficult proof of a more noble faith, which we seek for. I assume not so much to myself, nor is it at present very material, as to pronounce sentence concerning the purpose of any one's mind, which will, at length, be performed by an infallible judge. Wherefore, I regard not what Ignatius had in his mind, since for the present business it is sufficient what he might have. It is true, he saw the Pope's affairs in some provinces afflicted, but could not be ignorant, that in most, or at least in the more powerful ones, and consequently in his country, and where he intended to fix his abode, they were well established and flourishing. Who would affirm, that the immense rewards, which that church presently repayeth to her defenders, were unknown to Ignatius? Certainly, the spur of glory is very sharp in generous minds. Wheresoever an illustrious field of glory is opened, not only pleasures and riches become sordid in comparison thereof, but very life itself is vilified. And, therefore, even martyrdoms are easily undergone for a prosperous and rich church, without a more noble proof of religious faith; nor, consequently, can they deserve more admiration, than those brave lads of Canna and Trebia, who were born for the Punick times; or, if you like not the common soldiery, than Codrus, who feared not to die for his country. Indeed, whosoever hath sought after eternity of name in the church of Rome, did wisely chuse a race for his glory. For the Roman commonwealth heretofore, although she grew great by this means chiefly, did never propose so many and so great rewards to dangers undertaken for her sake, as the Roman church doth hold forth. For those sump-

tuous beds and altars were a late invention of the commonwealth, and that to gratify the emperors only. Whereas the church doth confer upon her benefactors, not only everlasting veneration of name, but also temples and orders, and an honourable place amongst the canonised saints. What higher thing can the most ardent thirst of glory aspire unto? Wherefore, when so large offers are proposed, and almost grasped with the hand, whosoever, though with some loss of his estate, entered into that warfare, hath no great reason to boast of his faith before God. Whilst the riches of the Roman church, the power of so many princes, and the hugeness of the Spanish empire dispersed over the world, came into his aid, it was an easy matter, even in the greatest danger, to run before the ensigns. That was an essay of a human and military fortitude, not rising up to the more sacred glory of the martyrs or confessors of the primitive church. For they did so sincerely mind heaven, that they had nothing left them to be hoped for in the earth. After their example Lælius and Faustus did so trust God with those things which they lost for his sake, that they received hardly any earthly pledges of the reward to come, no human security for the divine hope, no solace. They followed the faith and clemency of God alone, in expectation to receive the same a long time after their decease. And, having been through the course of their lives perpetually despised, and inglorious, and only famous for the hatred conceived against them, they did not so much at their death receive a taste of a more honourable report. Nevertheless, the beneficence of the most faithful God did never turn bankrupt to any one that had trusted him: Nor would have that noble pair of his servants to be buried in perpetual oblivion, but shewed them to the world, on that side of them where they might be gloriously known, having brought to light so many famous monuments of their wits.

And, although the wages of their warfare consisted not in this reward, yet, nevertheless, he hath begun so bountifully to assert the very honour of their name amongst men, that it is, perhaps, more to be feared, lest posterity should confer on them too much dignity, than none at all.

A BRIEF AND PERFECT JOURNAL OF THE LATE PROCEEDINGS AND SUCCESS OF THE ENGLISH ARMY IN THE WEST INDIES,

Continued until June the 24th, 1655.

Together with some queries inserted and answered. Published for satisfaction of all such who desire truly to be informed in these particulars. By I. S. an eye-witness.

Veritas nudata celeri non potest.

London, printed 1655. Quarto, containing twenty-seven pages.

IN all records, ancient or modern, of the actions and transactions of kingdoms and nations, there are not to be seen more suitable successes, attending strange and occult proceedings, than lately in the West

Indies ; and although the managing of so grand affairs, and matters of high concernment, were committed to some, who had the repute of being well principled, valiant, and politick in war, yet there wanted not means to frustrate the design, and expectations of most men, the particulars whereof I shall deliver in as brief and true a manner as possibly I may ; but before I proceed further, it will not be amiss to insert these queries with their resolutions.

1. Whether or not the setting forth of this army were really intended for the glory of God, and propagation of the gospel ?

2. Whether those that were of this army were fit instruments to be employed in the exaltation of God's work, and pulling down of Antichrist.

3. And lastly, whether the hand of Almighty God hath not been plain and manifestly seen in opposition to their actings and proceedings ?

To the first is answered, that, after divers serious debates and results, pro and con, it was at length resolved, by the supreme authority and council of state, to send an army into the West-Indies. What preparation was made, is not unknown to most of the nation ; but for what, or against whom, was scarce understood by any, except some few superiors ; and, for this cause, divers conscientious men, who preferred the service of God, before that of men, and treasure in heaven, beyond riches and honour on earth, scrupled the design, and deserted the service. For what zealous heart would willingly embrace an unknown enterprise, which might perhaps tend to his own destruction sooner than his enemies, by endeavouring to pull that down, which God hath set up, and to set up that which he never called him unto ? Shall a multitude perish, through means of some few particular men, in fulfilling that proverb, by pinning their faith on others sleeves ? Hath not God conferred as much of the gifts of grace and nature on the mean men of the world, as on those of the greatest rank and dignity ? Doth honour add zeal, riches, valour ; or have the most eminent in office and command, always the greatest eminency of wisdom and conduct ? Certainly we have found otherwise, for oftentimes such involve themselves in eminent and irrecoverable dangers ; nor is it always pregnancy of wit, valour, and discretion, although these be famous in war, that gives the victory, but God that worketh all in all, and who can say, What dost thou ?

To conclude the design to be altogether grounded on a wrong and corrupt principle, were to accuse our grandees with folly, irreligion, and what not ; when indeed it is beyond the ability of man to pry into the secret thoughts and intents of the heart, it is only the Almighty can do it ; and although there may be a probable conjecture given of the intent of the workman, by the instrument he taketh in hand, yet God hath been sometimes pleased to make the wicked instruments of good. But it doth not therefore follow, that such should be employed in good works, neither the servants of God in bad. All created things move in their proper sphere ; the natural man acts in his natural function, and mindeth only the things of the world ; and the spiritual man (although he be in the world) is not of the world, but mindeth the things of the spirit, and the

fulfilling of the glory of God, whose power and justice are as well seen in the destruction of the wicked, as preservation of the righteous.

Now, to return to the good intent of the cause whereof I treat, if we reflect upon the consequence of actions, it will soon appear there was nothing less aimed at, than God's glory, and establishment of the gospel, nor nothing more coveted, than gain to themselves, and establishment in the rich possessions of others. But servants often disobey the command of their master, and act contrary to his will and pleasure; it is possible it might be so now, and that might cause their greater punishment.

If we look upon this expedition in reference to the lawfulness thereof (as it is in itself) we may find, by these following considerations, that it was both lawful, just, and warrantable by the word of God, and law of nations. First, in regard those they went out against were idolaters, hereticks, and members of the false church. Secondly, for that they, some years since, most wickedly, and inhumanly murdered and destroyed divers of our nation that traded peaceably with them in the West-Indies. Thirdly, there was no breach of league in the prosecution of this war, there being no articles of peace or cessation in force betwixt both nations, to the southward of the tropick. Lastly, conquest is free to all people; no law of nations can prohibit the power of the sword; it is only God that sets its bounds and limits, and where his pleasure is, it should make a final conquest, there it is free inheritance to the conqueror, and his successors. By that power did the Normans invade and conquer England, since which time there have no less than twenty-five kings and queens successively, although not successfully, reigned. By the same power was there lately a period put to that government, and a new established. By this power had the kingdom of France been subject to the crown of England, and by the same power again recovered. By this power are the Turks and Infidels, at this day, possessors of the best and and fruitfuller parts of the earth; and by the same power Julius Cæsar became conqueror of the whole world. Many and incredible are the difficulties and admirable exploits run through and performed by this power, and that sometimes by a weak hand; for, when the Omnipotent punisheth the wicked, and correcteth his own people, he often maketh choice of one and the same means to be instrumental for both.

And thus much for the legality of the cause, by which we must not measure the good intent; if we do, we may deceive ourselves, for, as hath been said, the very actions and deportments of this army were such, that no good at all might be expected from them, either in their intent or proceeding. To condemn all, because many were guilty, were an act of much injustice; some might be better principled, otherwise of all armies were they most miserable, but the byass of riches and honours many times carrieth men headlong to destruction.

A common-wealth of people is as man's body, some member may be corrupted, and yet the vitals preserved, and the head not impaired. In such cases the skilful surgeon, that takes care to keep and preserve the microcosm, dismembereth that part from the rest of the body, that might otherwise destroy the whole fabrick.

Those who are called unto high places, and bear rule and dominion over nations, ought not only to be repleat with true scal and wisdom, but

also valour and state policy ; that so, the gifts of grace and nature being united, they may (as pious patrons and good surgeons) preserve the body of the nation, in spiritual and temporal health.

God hath already begun a good work amongst us, and let not England now despair of such a governor ; there are yet some consequences to be shewn, that the primary intents of our grandees were nothing suitable to the following actings, or rather misactings of this army. Grapes could not be expected from thorns, nor figs from thistles, but rather that the bad tree should be cut down and cast into the fire. England is now very populous, and the abundance of fruitless trees so encumber the vines, that they cannot fructify. The late civil war hath yet left some species of malignancy, the sores and corruptions of the nation are not healed, because not cleansed, for the tincture of ungodliness is yet savoury in their palates ; men of desperate fortunes have desperate means of remedy, they subsist not by sweat of their own brow, but reap the fruit of others labours, sowing the seed of sedition, and abominable wickedness, in a land where they have no right inheritance. Can a Christian commonwealth flourish either in godliness, plenty, or peace, when it abounds with such profane vile caterpillars, and corrupters of all good manners ? Is it not justice in God, and wisdom in man, to expel such unworthy and unwelcome guests from among his people ? Ireland hath already a sufficient share, and Barbadoes, with the rest of those small islands, subject to this dominion, who were wont to be a receptacle for such vermin, are now so filled, that they vomit forth of their superfluities into other places.

Could there be a less cruel, and more just means used, than to employ such in a foreign war ? The Indies are spacious, pleasant, and rich, too rich indeed for either the vicious inhabitants, or no less vicious invaders. But those, whom England sent forth on this first expedition, were not many, their number was complicated elsewhere, and the design being advanced with much secrecy, even to the members of the army itself, manifestly argueth what they were which were intended for that service ; even such who willingly proceeded, although they knew not whither.

That which now remaineth, is the proof of the cause, whether really intended for God's glory, and propagation of the gospel, as was first propounded. The arguments and consequences, conducing to the confirmation hereof, are briefly comprehended in this, that, if it had pleased God in mercy, for the righteous sake, to prosper the proceedings of the wicked, and to give the Spaniards and their rich possessions into the hands of those who were more sinful than themselves, that then there would be a fair gap opened for the enriching divers good people of the nation, and utter extirpation of all idle, profane, and irreligious ones that should be sent over as soldiers and servants into this new conquered commonwealth ; that so, all impediments being removed, the glory of God, above all things else, might be exalted, and the gospel have free passage and recourse throughout the dominions.

Secondly, Whether the instruments were suitable to the work, hath been in part already resolved, but more fully will appear in the following journal, wherein is declared, what and whence they were that acted,

also what and where their actions were from time to time, together with the manner of success.

In the whole written word of God may not be seen in any one instance, that ever he employed those of his people (in his intended work and service) which remain polluted in their sins and wickedness, but always first brought them, by some means or other, unto true humiliation and repentance; and this was sometimes performed by giving part of them over to be destroyed of their enemies; in which is seen, that, by God's permission, good is sometimes acted by means of the wicked. Good consequences may be drawn from bad subjects, as in the former sense; but that ever such should persevere in any good or godly work (as to the completing thereof) is not only very improbable, but impossible, for that, which is divided against itself, cannot stand. Human reason will also tell us that any rare and curious piece of work cannot be performed by dull and unfit instruments.

But to return to the resolutions of the third and last query, that the hand of God hath been plainly and manifestly seen in opposition to their actions, doth not only appear in the manner of success, but also of proceeding, and that in so miraculous a manner, that scarcely any age may parallel. God indeed confounds the counsels of the high and mighty, and turneth their wisdom into mere foolishness. That an army so numerous, strong, and well provided should be so cowed out, beaten, and shamefully repulsed, by less than a handful of men in comparison, was certainly the work of God, and it is marvellous in our eyes. O that men could be sensible of the guilt of sin, and humble themselves by repentance, before destruction sweep them hence that they be no more seen; or that they could take ensample by the destruction of others to persist no longer in the ways of wickedness! But such were the obdurate hearts, and seared consciences of this people, that neither blessings nor cursings could mollify; the golden calf was already set up in their hearts, and, although Aaron were present with them, yet there wanted a Moses to destroy it, and supplicate the Almighty to avert his just judgments from a people that were so exceeding sinful.

Now follows the journal itself, wherein is described each proceeding and action in due place as they happened (with all things pertinent thereunto.) Whereby the judicious and impartial readers may, at leisure, give that solid and just construction of each particular matter, according as the justness or unjustness of the cause requireth, which probably (through haste, multiplicity of business, and a troubled spirit) I may not have so well performed in resolution to the former queries.

AFTER it was absolutely resolved to send an army into the West-Indies, preparations were accordingly made as well by land as sea. The generals appointed for both were his excellency Robert Venables, and the Right Honourable William Pen, men who had seen much of God's actings for his people, in going in and out before them to their deliverance, and crowning their endeavours with many glorious and triumphant victories. Divers good ships and frigates were allotted for this service, had they been but as well victualled and manned, and all seamen

that were willing to proceed in the service, received entertainment; but for want of a due complement, many fresh-water sailors, and others, were pressed. Drums were also beaten up for such voluntary soldiers as were willing to serve the commonwealth beyond sea; which gave encouragement to several who go by the name of Hectors, and knights of the blade, with common cheats, thieves, cutpurses, and such like lewd persons, who had long time lived by the sleight of hand, and dexterity of wit, and were now making a fair progress unto Newgate, from whence they were to proceed towards Tyburn; but, considering the dangerousness of that passage, very politickly directed their course another way, and became soldiers for the state. Some slothful and thievish servants likewise, to avoid the punishment of the law, and coveting a yet more idle life, followed after in the same path; there were also drawn forth, out of most of the old standing regiments, such as were newly enlisted, to compleat the number. For those who were better principled, and knew what fighting was, were, as it should seem, reserved for a better purpose, some few only excepted, which were as a mixture of little wine with much water, the one losing its proper strength and vigour, and the other thereby little bettered. And thus went on the preparation by land, whilst the ships were rigging, victualling, and manning; the general rendezvous for the navy and army was at Portsmouth and thereabouts; where, by the tenth of November, 1654, most of the ships were arrived, and such proportions of victuals and other necessities ordered to be compleated, as each vessel could conveniently store; some that was defective was also exchanged, notwithstanding there remained much in the fleet. There likewise the sailors and soldiers received some wages for better encouragement before their departure.

On the eighteenth of December following, divers companies of soldiers were shipped, and the rear-admiral, having orders, set sail accordingly with his squadron the next day. Within two days after, followed the generals with the remainder of the fleet and land-army, consisting, in all, of about three-thousand men, divided into five regiments, besides commissioners, treasurers, and other officers of the states. The next rendezvous appointed was the island of Barbadoes, whither it pleased God to grant them a fair passage and safe arrival, and that within four days one of another; so that the whole fleet, being about thirty sail, one half being victuallers, were riding together in Castle-Bay by the first day of February, there remaining behind only two ships of the commonwealth's, the Great and Little Charity; which proved afterwards prejudicial to the army, in their proceeding, not only in respect of the proper signification of their names (which indeed, in that sense, were both wanting) but quality of their loading, the one being ordered to carry mortar-pieces, granado-shells, and store of other ammunition; and the other, horses with arms and furniture for horsemen; but, through what intent or policy they were left in England, more than an ordinary capacity cannot apprehend; and, although expedition be said to be the life of action, yet, through inconsiderate rashness, many a gallant design and action are merely overthrown.

Immediately after the arrival of the fleet, as aforesaid, the soldiers were all put on shore, and distributed into several quarters on the

island, where they had allowed such diet as the country afforded, which was none of the worst. The carpenters of each ship were ordered to set up those shallops, with expedition, which were brought over in quarters out of England; and all the coopers were busied in trimming and fitting of water-casks. In the mean season, two frigates, with a commissioner and others, were dispatched to the islands of Christophers and Meaves, for the raising of as many volunteers there, as were thought convenient; neither were the colonels and other officers at Barbadoes negligent in completing their regiments and companies, and raising new; the islanders likewise contributed, of free-cost, to set forth a troop of gallant horse, for the furtherance of this service, the carcasses whereof were afterwards, at the island of Hispaniola, either eaten, for want of other food, or there left behind, for the use of the enemy. During the abode of the fleet at Barbadoes, divers Dutch vessels (near twenty in number) were made prizes; whereof some were there found at anchor; others the frigates, that were a cruising at sea, brought in, and that in regard they presumed to traffick thither with such commodities, as were prohibited by the late articles of peace concluded betwixt both nations. The victuallers taken were employed to the use of the navy, and the vessels for transportation of soldiers.

It is also remarkable, that, in the mean time, there was an order for all boys, belonging to the fleet, although not supernumeraries, to be cancelled out of the states books, and, for the future, not to have allowance of diet, or wages, notwithstanding there was no care taken for their transportation homewards, or disposal otherwise; they, still remaining in the ships, became burthensome to those, on whom they had dependency, in participating of such victuals, as they had sparingly allowed for themselves. But the hand of providence, as it should seem, willing, in part, to ease them of their burthen, a shark-fish devoured at one time two youths, belonging to a States ship, as they were swimming near the vessel. All, that may be attributed to the good intent of this rigorous order, was for the better husbanding of vital provisions, and to prolong the time of victualling. But this, with other matters, if it be not treason to speak it, might have been more seasonably performed at home.

The new shallops being launched, and the fleet furnished with fresh water, and other necessities, were in a readiness to depart; the field-army was also drawn down and shipped, they being now so numerous, that each ship's share was as many as they could well carry.

March the thirty-first, they set sail from that island, and, within two days, passed betwixt the islands of Martinico and Sancta-Lucia, where they anchored that night; the day following, they weighed from thence, and, passing by the small islands of Dominico, Guardaloupe, Monserat, and Meaves, the sixth of April, came by the lee under Christophers, where those voluntary soldiers, that came off from that island and the next adjacent, were already shipped in prizes there taken, and waited only the motion of the fleet. The number of these were about thirteen-hundred, which, together with the other barbarians (*viz.* men of Barbadoes) completed five thousand, besides women and children, whom, out of ill-grounded confidence and high presumption, they had

brought along with them; which made them seem rather as a people that went to inhabit some country already conquered, than to conquer. But for this, perhaps, they had too good a precedent.

What manner of soldiers these planters proved, may soon be imagined. For, if we look, with an impartial eye, upon the major part of those that came out of England, to be, as indeed they were, raw soldiers, vagabonds, robbers, and renegado servants, certainly these islanders must be the very scum of scums, and mere dregs of corruption, and such, upon whose endeavours it was impossible to expect a blessing.

But to return to the fleet, who now shaped their course towards the island of Hispaniola, conceiving it requisite to reduce that by the way, as well for the refreshment of the army, as to keep men in action until the long-expected arrival of more granado-shells and mortar-pieces, there being only one in the fleet, besides some wooden ones lately made, which were deemed unfit for so great an enterprise as was intended.

April the eighth, they passed by Santa Cruz, and the day following was ordered to be observed, throughout the fleet, as a day of humiliation, for the good success of the army; but one day was not effectual for the humbling of those, who had remained so many years obdurate in wickedness. The next island was that of St. John, and, having gained the length of the western end thereof, the distance to Hispaniola was two and twenty leagues.

The colonels and other officers were now ordered to get their men in readiness to land; and, to augment the number, there was drawn forth a regiment of rugged sailors, whose manners argued them better fed, than either instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, or rudiments of martial discipline.

April the thirteenth, they came fair by the island, and plainly discovered the town of Domingo; and, after some consultation had with the pretended pilots and guides, for the better landing and conduct of the army to the town, the land-general, with a squadron of ships, seven-thousand foot-soldiers, a troop of horse, and three days provision of victuals, went farther to the leeward, and landed the day following in safety, some ten leagues to the westward of the town.

No sooner were they all landed, having no opposition, but they began to promise to themselves mountains of gold. Nothing busied their minds and thoughts more, than the riches of the place. Their talk was all of the money, plate, and gallant plunder, they were like to have; but they were soon taken off from these vain hopes, proclamation being then made, in the head of the army, to this effect: 'That, when they should enter into the town (not including the pleasure of God in the business) they should not plunder any money, plate, or jewels, neither kill any tame cattle, upon pain of death.'

Thus may be seen the avaricious intents of some (more than ordinary) men, who desire rather to heap up to themselves abundance of treasure, enjoy fair houses, rich plantations, and all things suitable thereunto, than to glorify God in their actions; making the price of blood their inheritance, and that, before they know, whether they shall first obtain, or afterwards live to possess.

The chiefest part of the army, thus landed, gained but evil encouragement by the late proclamation. Yet, after some signals of discontent, on they marched, in a way that directed through woods of incredible thickness, receiving little or no opposition, except the excessive heat of the sun, and intolerable drought that oppressed them, having not had, in many miles march, one drop of water. Those, who took upon them to conduct the army in the most commodious ways and passages near water, proved but blind guides, and deceived them, so that some became exceeding faint, scarce able to march; others were necessitated to drink their own urine; and all in general so extremely weakened, that it was wonderful to behold.

The ships, that landed them, soon after turned up to windward unto the general, who continued with the fleet, plying to and again within view of the town; only one squadron was commanded into a bay, two leagues to the westward of the town of Domingo, whereinto a large fresh-water river disburtheneth itself. There the remnant of the army, being three regiments, were landed, and that within two days after the other; the place, appointed for conjunction of both parties, was at this river; notwithstanding, Colonel Bullard, with those regiments, without any farther order, marched towards the town, and, for want of water, soon retreated, performing not any thing worth the memory. By this time, the land-general, with the main body of the army came up, and, after some short refreshment at the river, proceeded also towards the town; but, before they came within three miles thereof, a small party of the enemy suddenly encountered the forlorn-hope, consisting of five-hundred men, and forced them to an unseemly retreat. The next regiment, with some others, seconding, were also repulsed, and the general himself, left in a lone condition, very hardly escaped. The body of the army coming up, the Spaniards at length retreated into a fort of theirs, not far distant from thence; and some, pursuing, were cut off with the great shot from the fort, which was situate near the sea-side, and commanded that passage through the wood to the town. In this exploit, some were lost on either part; but the greatest number were English, amongst which Captain Cox, the chief guide for that place, was one.

The general, taking into consideration the disability of the army at that time, and exceeding want of water amongst them (there being none betwixt that and the town, except in the former fort; which, as it was none of the strongest fortifications, being only a plain brick-wall, triangular, and without flankers, yet was it furnished with nine pieces of good ordnance, and about three-hundred desperate fellows to manage them; and there appeared little hopes, that those, who, even then, received so much damage by less than half that number, in the high-way, should now storm and take the place by sudden assault, without eminent loss to the whole army, being also unprovided of ladders and other necessities for that purpose;) whereupon a retreat was made unto the river in the bay, where they refreshed with water, and such provisions of victuals, as were daily brought on shore from the ships. Preparation was also made for another march. A mortar-piece was landed, with granado-shells, and two small drakes; scaling ladders were likewise made, but never used; for, being too ponderous for carriage, they were sent by

water, and so to be landed in a convenient place near the town. All things being now in readiness, as was supposed, the twenty-fourth of April, the army proceeded on their march, the guides promising to direct them in a way they had not yet known, which led to a fresh-water river, distant but two miles from the north-part of the town, whither they might pass without danger of any fort. That there was such a path, was known to be certain ; but, taking another to be it, they drew near the way they had formerly gone, advancing but slowly, by reason the mortar pieces and small drakes, for want of horses and furniture, the soldiers drew, by turns.

The day following, before noon, they approached near the fort, but with worse success than before ; for the enemy, having charged the forlorn-hope, beat them clearly to the general's regiment, and routed those also, executing them in the backs, in as great numbers as they listed.

Major-general Haines, being then in the van of the army, was most unworthily and shamefully deserted by the soldiers, notwithstanding that he earnestly intreated that, for God's sake, some few of them would stand by him, if but ten in number ; but such was their vile cowardice and baseness of spirit, that not one man would do it ; whereupon he sacrificed his life, amongst the thickest of his enemies, at as dear a rate, as became a stout soldier, and gallant commander, who, in his life-time, was as much beloved of his friends, as feared by his enemies ; such was his worthiness ; too worthy, indeed, to be a member of so antichristian an army.

The Spaniards pursued this victory, made as great a slaughter as they were able, and that, without the least resistance, near the one half of the army flying before them, to the great amaze and discouragement of the rest, that were not as then marched up. Some, having broken off the head of their lances, continued still the pursuit, knocking down some, beating and driving others along, with their lance-staves, like slaves and cow-hearted villains, until, at length, being tired with slaughter, not able to proceed farther (like as the painful workman, after a laborious and hard day's labour, goeth to rest) they returned to the town, carrying with them, as sure trophies of victory, seven English colours.

The number, at this time, slain out-right, were no less than six-hundred men, besides two hundred more that crept into bushes, and were left behind in the woods, whom the negroes and Molattoes soon after dispatched. There were also three-hundred wounded, whereof many were past recovery, most of them all receiving their hurts in their backs. As for those that did all this spoil and mischief (O miracle to believe, and shame to think of it!) exceeded not in all the number of fifty men. The pursuit now ended, these running regiments stood still, taking opportunity (with sorrow and shame) to look back on their miserable fellows, groaning with wounds, and weltering in blood.

The Spaniards manner of outset was thus. After they had fired a volley of small shot out of the woods (being assisted by negroes and Molattoes) they most desperately fell in, and charged with their sharp steel lances, which, being directed by able bodies and strong arms, found little opposition of the weak and feeble multitude, parched by the heat

of the sun, and half dead with thirst, no care being taken to supply this defect. The other disadvantages were these. The disequality betwixt the English pikes and Spanish lances was such, that the one being over long, and top-heavy, could not be managed with that dexterity, and to so good a purpose (especially in narrow ways and woods) as the lance, which is about three quarters of that length; neither are the English half-pikes of sufficient length to reach these lances. The Spaniards also (by often use and practice) become more expert and ready in the use of these weapons than Englishmen, who, although perhaps old soldiers, never made use of pike or lance, (except against horses). Divers, likewise, in the expedition, that were of more valour and strength than others, and would have fought, were so overwhelmed, and trampled under foot (by the shameful flight of the multitude that were about them) that they were not able to make resistance, but became a prey, with the rest, unto the merciless enemy. But, above all, the hand of the Almighty was much seen in the business, who struck so great a terror in their hearts, that they became the people of his wrath, fitted to destruction.

After this sad success, and lamentable loss, the army, that night, drew up nearer the fort, as if they intended to execute revenge upon that; and, having found a convenient place, within musquet-shot thereof, where the enemy could not bring any great gun to bear, the pioneers cut down the trees, and made a kind of breast-work, such as the time would permit, and there planted the mortar-piece; which being then in a readiness to do execution on the fort, speedy orders were given to mount it on another carriage, fit to be drawn off, and to burn that; which being performed, and the granado-shells buried under ground, the army began their march back to the watering-place in the bay. But, what ground there was for this action, or what the real intent of the thing signified, let those determine, who have power to punish offences and reward deserts.

In the mean season, the general of the navy, with divers ships, anchored in the road, at such a distance, as that the forts could reach them with great shot, and they both the forts and town; and, having discerned parties of men passing to and fro, without the town, conceived them to be the English army there incamped, and thereupon sent in divers boats with provision of victuals, and other necessities for their supply: who, approaching near the shore, discovered their error, and found them to be Spaniards, who, as it seems, had the leisure to cast up outworks, and so returned on board in safety, both going and coming underneath the fort and banksides, from danger of the shot, by which they manifestly found how good and convenient a place it was to have landed an army of men.

The army lying in the bay, as formerly, had not that supply of victuals from the ships as before, but were necessitated to go abroad in parties through the woods, to seek for cattle; and, oftentimes meeting with some few negroes, were by them put to the rout, and divers slain; others, casting away their arms, betook themselves to their heels, and so escaped the fury of these naked pagans; and, at some times, when neither men nor beasts were near, only the leaves of trees making some

little noise, and crabs stirring in the woods, possessed them with such eminent fear, that, leaving their weapons behind, they ran over cliffs into the sea. But at length this bold army was grown so politick, that they would no more adventure into the woods amongst these cow-killers (whose sable deformities had often struck as great a terror in their hearts, as Pluto and all his infernal rout could do, had they been there present to have tortured them) exercising their valour only on horses, asses, necoes, and such like, making a slaughter of all they met, greedily devouring skin, intrails and all, to satiate their hungers; and thus were all their troop-horses belonging to the army by them eaten, the general's own hardly escaping. This behaviour and diet they continued for some days.

What number of men had been lost in small parties, and by straggling (besides at the total rout) was not known, until, by a general muster, was found, that, of nine-thousand seven-hundred men first landed, there remained then only eight-thousand (the sea-regiment included.) Many of these were sick and wounded, and most of them faint-hearted, not fit for service. To have adventured a third time with such, in the face of the enemy, were an act of no less rashness than madness; for, had the commanders been ever so valiant, able, and worthy (except it had pleased God miraculously to perform the work by them alone, which could be as little expected as deserved,) these sheeplike soldiers (I mean in courage, not innocence) would questionless have left them in the lurch. Experience had already shewn it, and too true they should have found it; and again, to have shipped this wretched rabble, not well knowing whither to go, or how to dispose of them, would also have been the destruction and loss of the whole fleet, having provisions but for a short time, for so great a multitude. Of these two evils, it pleased Providence, that the least was chosen, and a place was now thought on, absolutely fit indeed for such an army, where they might have food without fighting, and a land to inhabit without opposition, and that within some few days sail. This being resolved upon, care was taken to ship the men, the mortar-piece, two small drakes, and two iron guns (which were placed in a small fortification by them, made at the mouth of the river, for the better securing of the watering-place). Before the performance of these things, I should have declared how adjutant-general Jackson (that great man of little courage) was cashiered for a coward, and the ceremony performed, of breaking his sword over his head, for example to others; but my opinion is, that, if all of like nature had been so dealt with, there would not have been many whole swords left in the army.

The third of May, all were shipped, except the bodies of seventeen-hundred men, most of whose arms, seven field colours, with all their honours, if any they had, were left behind. It is also observable, that as, at their landing, they had no opposition, so neither, at their shipping off; the Spaniards, with their small numbers, rather shewed themselves defensive, than offensive, resting content with what they had already done, strongly fortifying for the future; whereas, if they had taken but this last opportunity (by the disability, weakness, and cowardice of the army) to have charged in with two or three hundred able resolute men,

within few days before, or at their going off, certainly they had destroyed and spoiled the most part of them all; who were more willing and ready to run into the sea, and there perish, than to oppose or look upon their enemies.

All the benefit or good the army had found, in this place, was only, at the first, some few cattle, and a good quantity of sugar, part whereof they made use of, casting the rest into the river, to dulcify that (such was their ignorance and folly) but this sweet diet had sowre sauce.

The fleet also recruited with fresh water out of this fair and goodly river (whose golden sands had a bloody price) and, the soldiers being all on board, as aforesaid, they set sail that day before the wind, and before they had performed the least part of their intent or desires.

Having now briefly, but truly, related their manner of proceedings and success on this unfortunate island, it will not be altogether impertinent to describe the situation of the town and forts adjacent, with the nature and quality of the country; which take as follows.

The town of Sancta Domingo (metropolis of Hispaniola, and residence of the Spanish viceroy) is situate on the south-side of the island, distant from the easternmost cape or Land's-end, twenty-eight leagues, having north latitude, 18 degrees, 22 minutes. It is well watered, and, in some sort, strengthened, by a great river, which passeth near the north-east part thereof. At the mouth of this river is a harbour, which, although of no great magnitude, yet is capable of entertaining ships of good burthen. The entrance to the harbour is through a bay of reasonable latitude, where there is good anchorage, and a road for ships; on the larboard side going in, is a fort strengthened with twelve, or more, good guns, which commandeth the harbour and south-west side of the town; the other parts whereof, on the land-side, have, for their defence, an old ruined wall, encompassed thick with lime-trees, which is, now lately, well repaired, and strongly fortified. Within one mile's circumference of the town, is open ground, and plain fields, or Savinars, as they there call them, being made by industry and art, as are all their ways and passages through the woods and fields, for sugar-canes, with other open places for husbandry; the whole land being naturally overgrown and covered over with trees, amongst which, of lemon, orange, cocoa, cabbage, palmetto, cedar, mastick, and *lignum-vitæ* trees, there are good plenty.

About two miles to the westward of the town, and near the bay-side, is placed another fort, the description whereof, as also the damage it did the army in their march towards the town, I have already declared.

Four miles farther to the west from thence, is that river and bay formerly spoken of, where the army incamped, and the fleet took in fresh water; which place the Spaniards had not then fortified; but, it is to be supposed, that, in the strengthening of that, and all places else of consequence, in the West-Indies, they have not since been negligent.

The commodities these rivers afford, besides the goodness of their waters, consist in the divers sorts of dainty fish therein abounding, as also pieces of gold minerals, washed from forth their banks at certain times, together with sand-gold, a small quantity whereof was found by

some English soldiers. The discommodities these streams ingender are alligators, which, farther up in the country, are in too great plenty.

The whole land (except some hills of great ascent, is certainly very fruitful, which although it produce not such fruits and corn as England doth, and other more temperate climates (the scorching heat of the sun depriving it of that happiness) yet of sugar-canes, oranges, lemons, bonanoes, bonuist, plantanes, pine-apples, potatoe and cassadra roots (whereof they make their bread), with divers other roots and fruits, there is no scarcity.

It is also replenished with store of oxen and cows of good magnitude, as well wild as tame. Sheep there are some, not many, and abundance of hogs, and fair horses, which last are there of little use and service in war, by reason of the exceeding thick woods. But, beyond all, the inestimable mines of rich gold and silver, hid within the bowels of that land, make amends for all other defects. The north and west parts of the island are scarcely at all inhabited, except by some few cow-killers, rogues that have been thither banished for murder, or some other villainy, who make it their labour to kill and destroy many cattle, and that only for their tallow and hides, which are sent in to the Spaniards. As for the towns and villages in, the habitable parts, they are neither fair nor many, the chiefest whereof I have already mentioned; which, doubtless, at the time of the English army's being there, was very rich; for, the neighbouring villages and plantations being alarmed by their landing, they had the leisure to convey themselves, with much treasure, plate, and jewels, thither, as to a place of their best strength and refuge.

And thus much of Hispaniola. The island of Jamaica must now be the subject of my following discourse, whither the fleet approached. The seventh of May was observed as another day of humiliation, for all such, whom hunger, thirst, and the sword of the enemy had not yet given a feeling sense of their pre-umptuous wickedness, and disobedience towards God. And, considering the great cowardice that had lately possessed them, it was also proclaimed to the whole army, that whosoever should be found to turn his back to the enemy, and run away, the next officer, that brought up the rear of that division, should immediately run him through, which, if he failed to perform, himself was to suffer death without mercy. Which strict order might have wrought better effect at Hispaniola, there being little probability of engaging with an enemy in this place.

The ninth of May, they drew nigh the island, and, having sailed about sixteen leagues within the south-side thereof, the day following came to an anchor in a spacious harbour, called also *Jamaica*, where there was good ground, and deep water; and, manning all their small vessels and boats with soldiers, soon landed the army in a bay, that lay yet farther within the harbour, and that without the loss of one man; for the Spaniards, having only three or four small and slight breast-works, with some few guns, and seeing so numerous an army with readiness to land, made not many shot, but fled in haste to the town of *Oristano*, which was altogether unfortified, and distant from thence six English miles, from whence they conveyed away all things of value and

concernment, together with their families, and departed farther into the country; for such was their weakness, and disability for resistance, that their number (on that part of the island) exceeded not five-hundred men, besides some negroe slaves; but, what they could not act by force of arms, they did by policy; as too soon will appear.

The English army, being possessed of the breast works, and guns that commanded the landing-place; the forlorn-hope was drawn forth, and sent towards the town, who, that night, would not adventure to enter therein, until the morrow following; at which time they found it destitute of inhabitants, or any thing else necessary for their entertainment, or accommodation, except bare walls, bedsteads, chairs, and cow-hides. Soon after, the general, with the whole army, consisting of about seven-thousand men, marched up thither; where there then came in divers Spaniards, which seemed to be of quality, to treat, bringing with them, as presents for the general, wine, poultry, divers sorts of fruits, and other rarities that the country yielded, promising also to send in beeves, sufficient for the maintenance of the army, with other large overtures, and high compliments.

This treaty being continued for certain days, the enemy had free egress and regress as well into the town, and English quarters, as elsewhere, continuing their welcomed presents, bringing cattle for the use of the army, and behaving themselves with such civil and kind, although feigned, deportment, that they invited divers soldiers of the army to visit them in their quarters, where they had wine given them, and were much made of; by which means they gained knowledge, by some overcome with liquor, that they had been at Hispaniola, and how they were there dealt withal, as also the extremities and wants they were driven to in their marches, for want of water and other necessities, in those hot countries, whereby they were much disabled. The Spaniards understanding this, and viewing the present weak condition of the army (by which they guessed at the future, if their wants were not supplied from time to time) were now animated to put in practice their uttermost endeavours for preservation of their goods and estates, and not to stand to any articles of agreement, to depart the island, with some few cloaths only to their backs, as was expected; notwithstanding, they fairly dissembled the matter, and, to avoid all suspicion, sent their governor, as they pretended, an old decrepid seignior, full of the French-disease, and brought in betwixt two in a hammock, to sign the articles of agreement, which he, with some others, accordingly did.

In the mean season, these subtle and sly Spaniards had conveyed far away in the woods all their riches and best goods, which, in some days after the army was possessed of the town, remained in the Spanish quarters near at hand, and might have been soon intercepted; they also gathered up all the ablest and best horses, during the treaty, as well in the English quarters, as their own; and, the time limited for their departure from the island, according to the articles signed, being near expired, they drove away most of all the cattle near the town, and, following after their goods, wives, children, and servants, which were gone before at least three days journey, swept and cleared the country, as they went, of all vital provisions, leaving their old pocky governor as a hostage for their return.

And thus were they overcome by the subtlety and deceit of the Spaniards at Jamaica, as well as they had been lately vanquished by their lances at Hispaniola; and all the redress, that could be now thought on, was to send a party in pursuit of them. Colónel Bullard, with two-thousand men, was employed on the business, part of which number were shipped in small vessels and shallops, and so conveyed by water unto a bay, seventeen leagues to the eastward of that where the fleet lay, where the fleet lay, where they came in conjunction with the rest that had marched thither on foot. The politick intent of this grand design was to surprise the Spaniards and their luggage, betwixt both parties, as they were shipping off for the main, which was supposed would be at that place; but in that they deceived themselves, for the enemy had no such intent, but rather directed their passage through by-ways, thick woods, and over high hills and large mountains, of which there are plenty, having scouts and sentinels abroad, in each passable way and path, to discover the approach of any; it being almost an impossible thing for an army, except well acquainted with the country, to follow or find them out; and again, the excessive heat of the sun, the want of water in many places, with other defects and impediments, naturally incident to the place, and disagreeing to English constitutions, did more weaken and disable them in ten miles march there, than forty in their own country. But I shall now leave this pursuing party, to wander in the woods a while, and there kill cattle, if any they find, to preserve life, rather than hazard it at so great disadvantages against the Spaniards, and shew in what posture and condition those in the town were in, who, after the departure of the Spanish cators, were in so great want, that dogs and cats were the best part of their diet, with such sort of food as they had formerly tasted at Hispaniola, as horses, assneccoes, and such like; there being a strict order, that, on pain of death, none should presume to kill any cows or oxen; and, if at any time there went forth, by especial order, some small party that brought in beeves, they were distributed among the superior officers of the army, the inferior men having only inferior meat; the often use whereof made them somewhat participate of the nature of the beasts, sometimes living the life of dogs, and, at other times, bearing the burthen of asses; and what other encouragement or comfort could they have, than to ponder in their minds thus, *Solamen miscriis socios habuisse doloris*.

Jamaica harbour, May the twenty-fourth, it was resolved, at a council of war, that the general of the navy, and rear-admiral, in the ships Swift-sure and Paragon, with most of the Flemish ships, should return for England, orders being given for their speedy fitting, and recruit with fresh water and other necessaries.

May the twenty-fifth, there happened an ill accident in the fleet. The ship called the Discovery, of the States, a vessel of good force and burthen, was unhappily fired by filling brandy-wine in the steward-room; the flame of the candle, taking hold of that combustible liquor, so vehemently increased the fury of the fire, that there was no prevention. Wherefore, to avoid further danger, most of the ships boats, that could be had in readiness, towed her off on a bank of sand, some distance from the fleet, where, after she had consumed about four hours, her ma-

gazine of powder blew up, and did no more harm; the ship *Swift-sure*, being then ready to carven, had most of her best guns there on board, which were all afterwards, by industry and art, taken up, notwithstanding that they lay in above three fathom water.

June the first, Colonel Bullard, after a long march to little purpose, returned with his party to the town, bringing with him some cattle, and giving notice of great abundance that are in the more remote parts of the country; since which time there have gone forth divers parties, who have also brought in droves of cattle, and, amongst the rest, a Spanish lady, with some attendants, who, were she but as good as great, as virtuous as ponderous, and as fair as fat, certainly she would far exceed any three ladies in England, in worth, weight, and beauty.

June the sixth, the ship *Cardiff* set sail for England, as the harbinger of the rest of the fleet, which were to follow after.

And, the ninth following, a general muster was taken of the land army, whose number was found to be so much diminished of late, not so much by any pestilential or violent disease, as for mere want of natural sustenance, which, in common reason, may seem strange, that, of all men, soldiers should starve in a cook's shop, as the saying is, or perish for want of food in a country so abounding with flesh, fish, and other vital provisions; but it is to be hoped, that, for the future, they may have an allowance of better and more wholesome diet than yet they have had, if the tyranny of their commanders, or slothfulness of themselves, or both, prevent not.

There lately arrived at Jamaica divers victuallers with provisions for the fleet, also arms and ammunition for the army; but hoes and hatchets were fitter for them.

June the twentieth, there came in hither three small vessels, prizes, which were taken by the *Selby* and *Grantham* frigates, who were ordered to lie plying to and again off the island of *Hispaniola*; some Spaniards, in them taken, reported, that, at the first appearance of the English fleet before the town of *Domingo*, the inhabitants deserted the place, and went all into the woods, where they continued for three days, leaving their magazine of powder behind, which they had once intended to have blown up; but, perceiving that, in that time, neither the ships approached the harbour, which they much dreaded, nor any else came to molest them, they re-entered the town; and being much encouraged and strengthened by those of the country, who daily came in thither, fortified what they might, and, blocking up the mouth of their harbour with some vessels which they there sunk, resolved to use their uttermost endeavours to maintain the place.

Oristano, June 24. There was this day a rumour that General Venables was departed this life, which was but a rumour, not real; but his excellency hath not been current, since his being at *Hispaniola*. The grand business, that the army is now upon, is to settle each regiment in the several quarters, where they have parcels of land, equally proportioned unto them, which being subdivided amongst the officers according to their respective places, some small share is like to fall unto the common soldiers; but what improvement may be made thereof, or how it will please Almighty God farther to deal with this army, let

time and truth manifest; the good hand of providence having taken me from amongst them, that so, according to my earnest desires, I might no longer be a spectator or recorder of their actions. I shall therefore now conclude, only including a brief description of the island of Jamaica, by comparing it, in divers respects, with Hispaniola, together with some few passages by the way homeward.

The island of Jamaica is situated betwixt the main and the isle of Cuba, distant from the one 96 leagues, and from the other 20, the center whereof lieth directly in the same lat. with the town of Sancta Domingo, in Hispaniola, already described, and hath, longitude west from thence, 2 deg. 18 min. Its magnitude is scarcely one third of the said island, being in length 46, and breadth 14 leagues. Notwithstanding, for the quality and quantity of land, it is no less fruitful, and altogether as plentiful in fish, fowl, and cattle of all sorts; it is more mountainous and less woody; rivers there are divers, but the spring heads of some arising from copper mines, the water is somewhat unwholsome, and unsavoury, unless corrected by boiling, which the Spaniards used. Its chiefest defects and impediments are these: it produceth not any mines of gold and silver, as doth Hispaniola, and other parts of the Indies. It is also ill situated for traffick, lying such a distance to leeward, that it is a most difficult thing for vessels to turn up so far to windward as to get clear of the islands and rocks, which are therefore necessitated to make their passage through the Gulf of Florida, which is accounted dangerous, except at some seasons of the year.

June 25. The fleet, bound for England, set sail from Jamaica, vice-admiral Goodson, in the Torrington frigate, being left admiral of that squadron, ordered to remain in the Indies, they consisting of all the English frigates of this fleet, also three of the best sailing Flemish ships, which completed the number of twelve sail, besides victuallers and prizes there remaining.

July 8. The fleet gained the length of Cape St. Antonio, being the westernmost cape of the isle of Cuba, and the thirteenth following, they plying to windward, having a fresh gale easterly, came near under the tropick, and short of the Cape of Florida, about thirty leagues, where there happened another sad disaster. The Paragon Navy, a ship of the second rank, and, at that time rear-admiral, took fire, and consumed to her powder-room, and so blew up; the rear-admiral Dakins, and some others, with much danger and difficulty escaped, divers ships boats, which were nearest, coming in to their assistance, notwithstanding there perished about one hundred and forty men. By what means this lamentable accident was first occasioned, is not yet certainly known; but too certain it is, that the chief neglect was in the steward's room, from whence the fire broke forth, violently increasing, past remedy, as the people were assembled together at divine exercise in the forenoon.

July 19. Having hitherto had the weather variously inclined, many calms, and some storms, with diversity of winds, but all of short continuance, the fleet now entered the Gulf of Florida, and the twenty-second following, passed forth of the same, the extent thereof being, in length, from the Cape of Florida, to the uttermost islands north of

Cuba sixty-eight leagues, and in breadth, from those islands to the main, twenty leagues, the current there setting N. N. E. the swiftness or slackness whereof dependeth on the falling of the rains, which about the month of August, are constantly very great; many exceeding large American rivers being augmented thereby, the spacious Bay of Mexico becomes their receptacle, and so disburtheneth its swelling floods, through this narrow streight, into the Virgivan Ocean; it is therefore of some called the Gulf of Mexico.

August 4. The fleet gained the length of the Bermudas, since when, for the generality, being favoured with fair winds and seasonable weather, the twenty-second of this instant, they had also the length of the Western islands.

August 30. They descried the English shore, near the Lizard, and having a strong gale, S. S. W. the day following the fleet anchored at Spithead, near Portsmouth; three sail, having been separated from the rest by obscure weather in the night, before their entrance into the gulf, came in hither also this day, some few hours before the other.

And now for ever blessed be the divine Creator, who hath dealt thus mercifully with us, the unworthiest of his servants, giving us so large experience of his abundant goodness towards us, and bringing us once more unto the land of our nativity. The Lord in mercy so incline the hearts of this nation, that those grand sins of presumption and covetousness may no longer reign amongst them, lest, seeking after shadows, they lose the real substance; or coveting the good, or gold of other they incur the high displeasure of Almighty God upon themselves, and so become the scorn and derision of their enemies, and a by-word to other nations. *Avertat Deus.*

THE ENGLISH HERMIT*,

OR

WONDER OF THIS AGE.

Being a relation of the life of Roger Crab, living near Uxbridge; taken from his own mouth; shewing his strange, reserved, and unparalleled kind of life, who counteth it a sin against his body and soul, to eat any sort of flesh, fish, or living creature, or to drink any wine, ale, or beer. He can live with three farthings a week. His constant food is roots and herbs; as cabbage, turneps, carrots, dock-leaves, and grass; also bread and bran, without butter or cheese: his cloathing

* This is the 125th Number in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the Harleian Library.

is sack-cloth. He left the army, and kept a shop at Chesham, and hath now left off that, and sold a considerable estate to give to the poor, shewing his reasons from the Scripture, Mark x. 21. Jer. xxxv.

Wherefore if meat make my brother to offend, I will never eat flesh while the world stands, 1 Cor. viii. 13.

London, printed, and are to be sold in Pope's-Head Alley, and at the Exchange, 1655. Quarto, containing twenty-two pages.

The Publisher to the Reader.

Honest reader,

Before you come to the author's own epistle, and narration, I shall mention some remarkable passages, which I had from his own mouth, and find them not mentioned in his writing; and, I can assure thee, this relation is no feigned story, or fable, but thou hast it presented to thy view, as I received it from the author himself, with all the verses of his own composing.

This Roger Crab is well known to many in this city, and the county; and, while this book was printing, he staid purposely here, in the city, till it was published, and, I think, is in town still; he lodged at the Golden Anchor, in Whitecross-street, at one Mr. Carter's house, a glower, where divers people resorted to see him, where such, as doubt of it, may be satisfied. I am informed by himself, and others, how that, three years since, he was a haberdasher of hats, and kept a shop at Chesham, in Buckinghamshire; and hath since given over his trade, and sold his estate, and given it to the poor, reserving a small matter to himself, being a single man; and now liveth at Icknam, near Uxbridge, on a small rood of ground, for which he payeth fifty shillings a year, and hath a mean cottage, of his own building, to it; but that which is most strange, and most to be admired, is his strange, reserved, and hermetical kind of life, in refusing to eat any sort of flesh, who saith it is a sin, against his body and soul, to eat flesh, or to drink any beer, ale, or wine; his diet is only such poor homely food, as his own rood of ground beareth, as corn, bread, and bran, herbs, roots, dock-leaves, mallows, and grass; his drink is water; his apparel is as mean also; he wears a sackcloth frock, and no band on his neck; and this, he saith, is out of conscience, and in obedience to that command of Christ to the young man in the gospel, and in imitation of the prophets, and the Rechabites in Jer. xxxv. who neither planted vineyards, nor built houses, nor drank wine, and were highly commended by the Lord for it. I reasoned the case with him, and told him, that I conceived Christ's meaning, when he bad the young man sell all he had, and give to the poor, was, that he should part with all his dearest sins, that were as dear to him as his possessions, or else to try him for his covetousness; he answered, how can a man give that money to the poor, which he selleth his sins for? I perceive he is well read in the Scrip-

tures; he hath argued strongly, with several ministers in the country, about this, and other strange opinions which he holds; but I will not be so tedious to the reader, as to mention them all. He approves of civil magistracy, and is neither for the Levelers, nor Quakers, nor Shakers, nor Ranters, but above ordinances. He was seven years in the wars for the parliament; he is the more to be admired, that he is alone in this opinion of eating, which, though it be an error it is an harmless error. I have heard, since this was in the press, that Captain Norwood was acquainted with Roger Crab, and, inclining to his opinion, began to follow the same poor diet, till it cost him his life; *Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum*. In the primitive times, we read of such persons that were weak, who did eat herbs, and made a great scruple of eating flesh; but the apostle saith, That every creature of God is good, if it be received with thankfulness, 1 Tim. iv. 4. And in 1 Cor. viii. 13, saith he, If meat make my brother to offend, I will eat none while the world stands. And in Rom. iv. 2, 3, 4. One believeth that he may eat all things, another, who is weak, eateth herbs; let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not, &c. The reason why this man betook himself to this hermit's reserved life, he saith, was, that he might be more free from sin, as lust, pride, and because of the many lyes, swearing, and deceiving, that are too frequently used by most shopkeepers, and tradesmen, as the prophet complains in Hos. iv. 1, 2, 3. For the Lord hath a controversy with the inhabitants of the land, because there is no truth, nor mercy, nor knowledge of God, but by swearing, and lying, and killing, and stealing, and whoring, they break out, and blood toucheth blood; therefore shall the land mourn, &c. But, however, we may see how apt men are to err, both on the right hand, and on the left, and to run into extreams; yet, of the two extreams, this is the better, and more tolerable, which this English hermit hath chosen, rather than that of our English anticks, and prodigals, who give themselves over to run into all excess of riot and uncleanness, committing all sorts of wickedness with greediness; some given up to drunkenness, others to whoredom, and a third sort to gluttony, as, of late days, it was reported of one Wood, called the great eater of Kent, who could eat a whole sheep at a meal, besides other victuals; also Mr. Marriot, the great eater of Gray's-Inn, was such another glutton. Eusebius reports of one Domitius, who, receiving more meat at supper than his stomach could digest, or his belly contain, died suddenly, sitting at the table; and Doctor Taylor, that famous preacher of Aldermanbury, in his book of the Theatre of God's Judgments, makes mention of Maximinus the emperor, who was given to such excess and gluttony, that every day, for his allowance, he had forty pounds of flesh, and bread answerable, and five gallons of wine for his drink, which he constantly devoured, besides sallots, and made dishes.

Also the Emperor Bonesus would drink healths, and eat excessively; both these came to miserable ends, this emperor was hanged, and the former cut in pieces by his soldiers; see more at large in the second part of that book, page 102. I will add but one more relation he mentions, which, had I not so good an author for, I should not give credit to it. A rich citizen's son, having left him, by his father, thirty-thousand

pounds in ready money, besides jewels, plate, and houses richly furnished, was so prodigal, as to consume all his whole estate in three years; and he had a great longing to please all his five senses at once, and did accomplish it, allowing to every sense a several hundred pound; it would be too tedious to mention all the story; he grew, at last, to all debauchedness that could be named, and was forced, shamefully, to beg of his acquaintance, and was, after, pressed for a common soldier; see the last page of that book above-mentioned. I shall no longer detain the reader from the hermit's relation; these things, I thought, would be most pertinent to impart to thee, hoping thou wilt make this good use of it, by avoiding these two extreams, and walking in the golden mean of true godliness, which hath the promise of this life, and of that which is to come. Vale.

One more remarkable thing he told me: That, when he was in Clerkenwell prison, the seventeenth of this January, 1654, his keeper, having a prejudice against him, ordered the prisoners not to let him have bread with his water, and shut him down in the hole all night. The next morning, being something hungry, walking in the prison-yard, there came a spaniel, and walked after him three or four turns, with a piece of bread in his mouth. He looked upon him, and wondered why the dog walked, as he thought, with a chip in his mouth; he looked at the dog, and he laid it down, and perceived it was bread; he walked away again, and the dog walked after him with it again; then he stopped, and the dog laid it down to his hand; then he took and wiped it, and eat it.



To Mr. Godbold, preacher at Uxbridge, in Middlesex,

I dedicate this my discourse, because he was my friend to help conquer my old man. by informing my friends of Chesham, that I was a witch, and was run away, and would never come again. You, being a publick preacher, may do me great service, in helping me to dishonour him; for I have been almost three years conquering my old man by dishonour. Therefore, if you can stir up any more to forward this work, pray do, if it be not hurtful to yourself, and they that do so. I rest

Your reserved friend,

ROGER CRAB.



To the impartial reader.

IN whom malicious envy delights, to be for birds of a feather, draw together But such a constitution is not to be condemned, lest we should condemn the work of God in the flesh, but rather to be instructed with the light of the Scriptures, that thereby he may know himself, and judge himself to be undone and empty, that love and zeal may take

possession, and then he will be more valiant, and bold for God and the scripture, than he that is moderately constituted. Then let us labour for a single eye, which maketh the whole body light; I mean a single heart in single designs, which cannot stand with linsley-woolsey garments, nor with double tongues, nor varieties of fancies after meats and drinks; for Christ himself was to eat butter and honey, till he came to knowledge to chuse the good, and refuse the evil, Isa. vii. 15. And if natural Adam had kept to this single natural fruit of God's appointment, namely, fruits and herbs, we had not been corrupted. Thus we see, that, by eating and drinking, we are swallowed up in corruption; for, ever since Noah came out of the ark, the world being drowned, and no fruits nor herbs on the earth, man was ordered to eat the flesh of the creature which came out of the ark; so that, by that means, our desires were made strong after flesh; that, when the herbs and innocent food was come forth, weslighted it, calling it trash in comparison of a beast, or beastly flesh; so that, by that means, the flesh-destroying spirits and angels draw near us, and frequently attend mankind. This you may see by the angels that came to Abraham, to destroy the flesh of the Sodomites. Abraham, knowing their design, killed them a calf, and made them a fleshly feast; so that we may see, God hath all sorts of creatures for all sorts of designs, and for all sorts of food, both in heaven and in earth; innocent creatures for innocent food, and beastly creatures for beastly and fleshly food.

I rest your friend as you please,

ROGER CRABB.

From my poor cottage near
Uxbridge, Jan. 1654.

SEEING I am become a gazing-stock to the nation, and a wonderment to many friends, in this my reserved life, I shall, therefore, indite a few lines, as the Most High shall direct me; wherein I shall give an account of this my undoing, owning Christ and the prophets to be exemplary, both in prophesying and practising, as far as God shall give power to any man. I having truly examined it, and often disputed it, with all sexes and ministers in most counties in England, and most of them grant me, that the practice of Christ and the prophets is written for our learning; and if this be granted, that we ought to be imitators of their righteousness, hereby the judgment of God may be seen to a Sodomite generation, living now upon English ground. But first I shall begin with myself, who have transgressed the commands of God, and so am found guilty of the whole law; living in pride, drunkenness, and gluttony, which I upheld by dissembling and lying, cheating and cozening my neighbours. But, now, that light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world, according to John's writing, hath discovered the love of God to my understanding, which causeth me to withdraw from what I have done; and, instead of strong drinks and wines, I gave the old man a cup of water; and, instead of roast

mutton and rabbets, and other dainty dishes, I gave him broth, thickened with bran, pudding made with bran, and turnep-leaves, chopped together, and grass; at which the old man, (meaning my body) being moved, would know what he had done, that I used him so hardly. Then I shewed him his transgression, as aforesaid; so the wars began, the law of the old man, in my fleshly members, rebelled against the law of my mind, and had a shrewd skirmish; but the mind, being well enlightened, held it, so that the old man grew sick and weak with the flux, like to fall to the dust. But the wonderful love of God, well pleased with the battle, raised him up again, and filled him full of love, peace, and content in mind, and is now become more humble; for now he will eat dock-leaves, mallows, or grass, and yields, that he ought to give God more thanks for it, than, formerly, for roast flesh and wines; and certainly concludes, that this must be of God, if it be done out of love, and not out of self-ends; for, before, the old man fought with his steel sword, with his fleshly power against old men, and that envy in him begat envy in them, and both of the devil, in pretence of liberty and peace, it is easily judged of by the event; for our fighting, to regulate government in the old men, we see it still as bad, if not worse, than it was before. Therefore, let us put off the old man, with his fleshly laws, which reached no farther than the government of earthly bodies; so that every one, for their obedience to God in this fleshly law, receiveth a reward, to uphold his fleshly body here upon earth, and would go no further, than reason could reach, in the organs of flesh. Therefore, this law could never give life in the spiritual Christ, but the practisers thereof were the greatest enemies to Christ, as you shall see fully in their calling of Christ devil, and putting of him to death, Mat. x. Luk. xxiii. Far worse than bloody butchers, for they destroy their fellow-creatures for gain, and to feed their bodies; but these destroyed that innocent Lamb of God, merely out of devilish zeal and envy against innocency; this moves the butcher to the question, to know why I would forbear eating of flesh: to which I answer,

First, I do it exemplarily from the prophet Daniel, chap. i. who saith, the King's meat defileth his body, and beseecheth, that he might eat pulse, and drink water. This, first, we ought to believe, because the Scripture saith so. 2. I believe it from experience. 3. From reason.

1. I have experience, that God hath enlightened my understanding in a great measure, more than before I took this course, so that all the tithe-mongers and self-ended people, professing religion, are afraid to meet me in any publick dispute; but, lest I should judge myself wiser, in my own conceit, than my understanding will bear me out, I am here ready to be tried by any person or persons whatsoever. And so much for experience. Now I shall shew some reasons:

My first reason is, that God never accepted of any creature, for a sacrifice of flesh, that would destroy a body of flesh to feed on; and also forbade his people the Jews to feed on them; for it is a practice of dogs and wolves, bears and lions, hogs and ravens, kites and hawks, and many such like devourers of flesh; and all or any of these have no need to fear their lives, but from or of some of that same kind; no innocent

creature need ever fear his life from an innocent creature. If all birds would take the dove for an example, and all beasts take the lamb for their example, and all men take Christ for their example, then Mars and Saturn, the two chief devils, would be trampled under feet. Such a time is promised, but not yet; but God waiteth with long patience upon the vessels of wrath, whilst they prepare themselves, by thirsting after flesh and blood, which are thereby made fit to destroy each other. Therefore hearken to the doctrine of Christ, in Matth. chap. v. and vi. 'Deny yourselves, humble yourselves, undo yourselves of all righteousness of the flesh; become as little children, like lambs, like doves;' then Christ is ours, and we are his. Few words to the wise are sufficient. I shall return to the reasonable part of the law in this nation, which excludes butchers from being jurymen of life and death. Surely, if they are judged incapable of being of a jury, because they kill the creatures, they, that buy them with their money to devour them, cannot be clear; for we always count the receiver more subtle and worse than the thief; so that the buyer is worse than the butcher. But Mars, being the god of war, is the governor of these destroyers, and, while he can get flesh to feed on, he will increase his desires to destroy flesh; so that Mars, being servant to the Most High God, breeds them up with flesh, until they are full of corruption. Then he raiseth up transgressor against transgressor to destroy each other, as you have it in Isa. xxi. 2, where it saith, A grievous vision was shewed unto me, the transgressor against the transgressor, and the destroyer against the destroyer. Go up, Elam, besiege Media, &c. Had my parents been so innocent, as to have taught me this doctrine in the time of my youth, I had saved my scull from being cloven to the brain in the late war for the parliament against the King, and also saved myself from the parliament's two years imprisonment, which they gave me for my pains, and from my sentence to death in the field by my Lord Protector; but all those things wrought together for the best to me, and, in my estimation, are of more value, than an office of five hundred pounds a year; for I, in some measure, know myself, and before I neither knew God, nor devil, nor myself; but now, having found out that my body was governed by the inclination of my constitution from the starry heavens; having tried it with many sorts of food, and with much fasting and praying, according to the Scripture, which gave me light into the constitutions of others, and enabled me to administer physick to others; so that I have had a hundred, or sixscore patients at once; this gave me a great light of the evil that came by eating of flesh. If my patients were any of them wounded, or feverish, I said, eating flesh, or drinking strong beer would inflame their blood, venom their wounds, and increase their disease; so there is no proof like experience. So that eating of flesh is an absolute enemy to pure nature, pure nature being the workmanship of a pure God, and corrupt nature under the custody of the devil. Now for the objection in 1 Tim. iv. 3. where it saith thus: Forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received, with giving thanks, of them which believe and know the truth. And, ver. 4. it saith, For every creature of God is good, and nothing ought to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving. This Scripture

is very useful for the purpose, and will give much light to the adherers to this opinion, and confirm them of sound principles within themselves; for whosoever shall forbear marrying, or abstain from meat from the commandment of man, which pretends his commands to be of God, all that are obedient hereunto will serve the devil, and must needs be without the spirit of sanctification; neither are they believers, neither obey the truth; so that, if they should eat of every creature, there would a hundred be poisoned at a meal, for want of the spirit of power and sanctification, which Paul and others had by the promise, which promised them, if they drank any deadly poison, it should not hurt them; and could take away serpents; and, if they laid their hands on the sick, they should recover, as you may see in Mark xvi. 18. Another objection is alledged from that Scripture in Matth. xv. 11. where it saith these words: That which goeth into the mouth defileth not the man, but that which cometh out of the mouth, that defileth the man; which is murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false testimonies, slanders, &c. If this be meant, that any thing put into the mouth cannot defile the body, then no man can be poisoned; but there hath been many a man poisoned, by taking things into the mouth. If so, then nothing ought to be taken, but that which is nourishable to pure nature, except they have faith and power of sanctification to exclude the venom. So, in short, my judgment is of every place of Scripture, which speaks any thing of this nature, that, to him that believeth, all things are lawful, as in relation to Christ in the spirit, but some things not expedient. Now to those that will not unlink themselves from the world, as to deny father and mother, wife, children, lands, and livings, and all for Christ's sake in the spiritual essence, but will rather serve him according to the flesh in the ten commandments. Now this is the wonderful and admirable love of God, that he will give them a reward also, according to that dispensation they are under; for he hath promised them a blessing in basket and in store, and their children long life in the land for their obedience to their parents in the flesh; but no more than fleshly rewards can be given for fleshly obedience; for he, that dieth with fleshly desires, fleshly inclinations, and fleshly satisfactions (this being a composure of the spirits of darkness in this body) must rise again in the same nature, and must be taken into the center of Mars, the God of flesh, blood, and fire; so that every man shall receive the things which are done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good, or evil, 2 Cor. v. 10.

Then, how happy are they, that take Christ and the prophets for their example! Christ, being an innocent pattern to the whole world, exposed himself to all danger and difficulty, not for his own ends in the flesh, but for others sakes, even them that persecuted him, and violated him with terms of ignominy, calling him a glutton and a wine-bibber, blasphemer and a devil, and at length killed him out-right, and hanged him shamefully upon the cross. The persons that did it were the priests, counsellors, lawyers, and the rude multitude instructed by them, filled all with envy against innocency; but all this worketh together for the best to them that fear God in humbleness and meekness, with love and charity; where envy cannot be, but some glimpse of the

spiritual light, which discerneth all things, even the deep things of God, according to the Scriptures, 1 Cor. ii. 10. But reason itself will discover a glimpse of God's proceedings in these our days; he hath tried almost every sort of men, and every sort of sects, according to their pedigree in our land.

1. The king and bishops were exalted next to Christ.

2. The parliament, who found fault with them, not pulling the beam of covetousness out of their own eyes, and their sects depending, were all exalted instead of the other.

3. The army, with their trades and sects depending upon the same account, became exalted. So the gentlemen and farmers have had their turn in offices and dearth of corn, and now they will try inferior trades, as journeymen and day-labourers, and their associates depending, even to the orphan and alms-man, which now give them the fullness of bread, and cloathing, and silver, and all according to their respective place and capacity they are in. So that now we look over all their proceedings, and judge by their fruits, and it will be a hard matter for a low capacity to judge which of all these parties hath been most just; but I being of the lowest sort, and unlearned, being amongst day-labourers and journeymen, have judged myself with them the worst of all these parties, in pride, gluttony, drunkenness, lying, dissembling, swearing, cursing, covetousness, disobedient to parents, breeding up children to disobedience, and other abominations. Were not the most High wonderful and merciful to us, one of these sins are enough to bring judgment and terrors upon the whole land, namely, the sin of drunkenness, being explained, will prove it. When the all-seeing eye looks into every alehouse of this nation, and seeth of which sort are most there, and they will appear to be labouring poor men, which, in times of scarcity, pine and murmur for want of bread, cursing the rich behind his back, and before his face, cap and knee, and a whining countenance. And some are cholerick, and discontented, and will not speak at all, neither of them considering what they did in the time of plenty, when they drank in one day as much as a bushel of barley will make, which will keep two ordinary families a whole week in bread. This two men will do twice or three times a week; and, when Sunday cometh, they will hear two sermons, and have their child christened by the virtue of his faith, and receive the sacrament at Easter, and then all is well. His conscience being seared up, he returns to his companions, and falls on, as before, to drunkenness and gluttony, spoiling, backbiting his neighbours, swearing, and cursing, and reviling against the higher powers for oppressing him; making a good construction of his fellow drunkard which is drunk three or four days in the week. They will say he is an honest fellow, and no body's foe but his own, although both he, and they that do so, are the greatest oppressors under the sun, and the greatest enemies to the poor fatherless orphans, widows, and strangers, which are below them; for by their drunkenness and gluttony corn is made dear; corn being dear, land is made dear; so that the farmer must give a great rent for his farm, and is constrained to hire many more acres. By this means cattle and corn have been at a high rate, the farmer being covetous-minded to uphold his wife and children in pomp and pride, feasting and gluttony at chris-

tenings and banquetings, by which means surfeits and diseases drive them to the physicians, who wait for their prey, to get money to purchase lands and houses, that they may let it out to them again. Thus, you see, that the body of England is become a monster: God hath created eyes in us that are the feet, to discover her nakedness as far as the middle; we have a little light of her arms, and her head, which keeps her pomp by sword and violence; but our sight being weak, and most work to do at home, and most convenient for every man to pull the beam out of his own eye, according to the Scriptures, Matth. vii. 3. that we may see clearer, and justly judge the tree by its fruits, we shall try the inferior and lower sort of feasting among women, called by the name of christenings, which are these: First, to exchange upon some body that is silly, or foolish, sluttish, or covetous, or an ill husband, or a drunkard: Others be condemned for often feasting, and wearing fine cloaths, swearing and lying, so that all sorts are laughed at, and judged, but ourselves, whilst we ourselves are doing the very same things. And this is the fruit that grows upon the tree called christening, or baptizing the child into the father's faith; which is an admirable tree, if it be true, that the child can be in Christ by the father's faith, and no falling from grace. Then let us consider, whether Adam did believe in Christ; and, if it be found he did, then this baptism would have saved all the people from Adam to this day, and will do from this day forward; for the child, being baptized into the father's faith, groweth up, and begetteth children, and cannot fall away, baptizing children into their faith, and so forward. So that, if God had been as wise as we in our own conceit, he might have saved the lives of all his prophets, and apostles, and people too; but the most High is now once more beginning to break through the clouds of darkness in poor innocent forms of earth, raising them up from carpenting, fishing, and tent-making, to confound the High and Mighty, for the wisdom of man is foolishness, 1 Cor. chap. i. Now let us compare this inferiour feast, called christening, with the feast of Christ among the multitude, and see which was most exemplary to the people, and which produced most good to soul and body; and consider the example of Christ's birth in a manger, with the pomp and pride of children's births in our days. Again, consider what feast there was when Christ was baptized of John, and, I think, we shall find none at all. Then let us see what Christ had at his feast with the people; he being able to command stones to be bread, or water to be wine, was also able to command roast beef or pig; but he was to be exemplary to all people on earth, in all his actions and doctrine; made an innocent feast for the people with barley loaves and fishes, Mat. xiv. But some will object and say, he was able to work miracles, and we are not. To which I answer; if we, as he, were able to command all things, and yet would have nothing at our feast but barley loaves and fishes, what advantage would our power be to this feast? The feast being innocent, without hurting any creature on earth; but, on the contrary, he endeavoured to preserve, and to reconcile the people to God with sound words of instructions, uttered with love, peace, and meekness, with motions of healing all people that were brought to him: So that you may see a great difference betwixt his feast and the other.

Again, he often went to the feast of the Jews, and to a wedding, to shew forth the power of his Father, in turning water into wine; but we never find that ever he was drunk, or eat a bit of flesh at any of their feasts, or weddings. The passover was his own feast, and did belong to the fulfilling of the law of the Father in his flesh, even for a disobedient people, which the Lord, by Moses, brought out of Egypt from their flesh pots, into the wilderness, to purify their bodies with angels food, called manna, which they ground in mills, or beat in mortars, to make in cakes: But they, losing their grossness, grew lean and hungry, and murmured, and rebelled against the Lord, lusting after the flesh-pots of Egypt. Their desires being much and strong, the Lord granted them flesh, even as he granted them a king, and his wrath and plague came with it, as you may see in Numb. xi. 33. and Psal. lxxviii. 31. While the flesh was yet between their teeth, before it was chewed, even then the wrath of the Lord was kindled against the people, and the Lord smote the people with an exceeding great plague. Thus, you see, what miserable creatures we are, being bred up with flesh and blood, onions and garlick, all under Mars, whom God hath made governor all over that humour that lusteth after flesh and blood, which is made strong in us, by feeding of it, as I myself may speak by experience. For, if God had commanded me to forbear flesh before I had knowledge of this my discourse, although he had sent an angel, or a man working miracles, I doubt I should have judged all to be of the devil, for the lust I had after the sweetness of flesh; even as the rich men, in these our days, will deny the Scripture, wherein Christ commanded the rich man in the gospel, to sell his goods, and give to the poor. But they will say, it reached no farther, than that one rich man should; for, say they, if we should believe this Scripture extended to us, we should make the poor richer than ourselves. So it seems by this, that they had rather deny this Scripture, and many more that speak to this purpose, even Christ and all, rather than to part from their riches; this would have been my condition in ignorance.

Therefore let not the rich men mistake me, and think that I would have them sell their goods, before God hath enlightened their understandings, and let them see the danger of keeping it, for then they would play the hypocrites, and do as bad to themselves, as if they had kept it, although good to others. This would be the condition of every one that shall forbear flesh, or beer, as in relation to God, because it is a sin against the body, or bodies and souls of men: Except any man think he sins against God in eating, to him it is sin, because he is weak and doubteth: So he ought to forbear, because of his scruple; as you shall see in Rom. xiv. 8. 1 Cor. viii. 10. For if any man see thee, which hath knowledge, sit at table in the idol's temple, shall not the conscience of him which is weak, be imboldened to eat those things which are sacrificed to idols? You may observe from this, that he that walketh by another man's light, before he is fully convinced in himself, if he buildeth on sand, he will fall in the tempest, because he hath lost his tender light of his scruple, which Paul endeavoured to strengthen in every one of his brethren, let them be of what opinion they would in matter of conscience. It is very plain in Rom. xiv. and very few

in these days believeth it; for we all cry out against many opinions, yet every one would have his own opinion justified. We may as well cry out and condemn every one his neighbour, because they differ in physiognomy, and so condemn the work of God without us, as well as within us; but this is rebellion against our Maker: for the Scripture commandeth us not to judge one another in matter of conscience towards God, but for the sin against our brethren and neighbours. We ought to know the tree by its fruits. So that any man or men in countries, towns, or cities, that shall defraud their brethren, and shall advance themselves in pride by oppression and tyranny, imitating Sodom and Gomorrah in all manner of abominations; if any see this imitated in England, it is high time for us, or them that do so, to become imitators of Christ and the prophets; first, in order of the prophets that came before Christ, who were ordered by their practice to shew Israel their transgressions, in drinking water by measure, and in making bread; for Ezekiel took of wheat, barley, and beans, and lentils, and millet, and fishes, and put them in a vessel, and made bread thereof; and, instead of butter and spice, he was to take cow's dung instead of men's dung, to prepare his bread with, and he was to have his portion by weight, Ezek. iv. 9. Thus, the prophet was to shew them their error in matter of food; and for cloathing, you may see in Isa. xx. who was a prophet of God, ordered not only to wear sackcloth, but to go naked, and without shoes three years. If these Scriptures are written for our learning, imitation, and practice, then we are to judge which are the prophets of God, by this practice in Scripture; and if so, where shall we find prophets of God? But some will say, we are to follow Christ and the apostles, in the New Testament; and, if you will have it so, then we must exactly see what orders they had in their commission, that we know them from hirelings. We find in the commission, that they were to go and preach without money, or scrips, or shoes on their feet, but to be shod with sandals, Mark vi. 8. So we may doubt whether we shall find any apostles too, if we shall judge by Christ's commission; but, if you will not own these Scriptures, neither let us try them that mark out the false apostles and teachers, namely John x. where he saith, the hireling is not his shepherd; and Mat. vii. where he saith, ye shall know them by their fruits, inwardly they are ravening wolves. Many more Scriptures to this purpose there are; but, if you have a mind to your hireling still, you will believe no Scripture that is against him, neither is there any for him; so that all true practical part of Scriptures must be laid aside; only talk of it and dispute of it a little, and pick out of it a few places to preach out of, and to write, to get some money to uphold their pride and honour in this world, to please the old man in the flesh. Surely if John the Baptist should come forth again, and call himself leveller, and take such food as the wilderness yielded, and such cloathing, and preach up his former doctrine, 'He that hath two coats should give away one of them, and he that hath food should do likewise;' how scornfully would our proud gentlemen and gallants look on him, that hath gotten three or four coats with great gold and silver buttons, and half a score dainty dishes at his table, besides his gallant house, and his furniture therein;

therefore this Scripture must be interpreted some other way, or else denied; and this is our condition, if the Scripture will not serve for our own ends to fulfil selfish desires, to uphold the old man in his fleshly honour, which belongeth to the magistrate only, whom God hath made a minister for thy wealth's sake, and doth not at all belong to innocency, nor Christ in the spirit; for there is small sign of the old man's dying or putting off, whilst he smites his fellows for the liberty of his fleshly desires; and this is our condition, that love the world, in whom the love of God cannot be, 1 John ii. 15, 16. 'Love not the world, neither the things of the world: If any man love the world, the love of the father is not in him; for all that is in the world, as the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the father, but is of the world.' These Scriptures have I endeavoured formerly to interpret some other way, by absurdities and consequences; how that, if we should not wear superfluous things, thousands of people would starve for want of trading, and so by consequence bring greater evil upon us: So I, being not willing to lose my pride and worldly pomp, I questioned the truth of the Scriptures, and even God himself, and all for want of some glimpse of spiritual light, which my natural eyes in reason could not discern. Therefore, the most High was pleased to convince me with natural forms, namely, birds of the air, which every day brought me intelligence according to my worldly occasions; for almost three years space I have observed them, for they would foretel me of any danger or cross, or any joy from friends; I mean any danger or dishonour to my person, or loss of cattle, or corn, or any other disadvantage to my advancement in the world; and this clearly convinced me, that there was a power above man. Then I considered the wise man's saying, Eccles. x. 20. 'Curse not the king, no not in thy thought, neither curse the rich in thy bed-chamber, for the fowls of heaven shall carry the voice, and that which hath wings shall declare the matter.' Also I considered that God made use of a bird to feed Elias the prophet; by this I saw, that he made use of natural causes to fulfil natural desires, so I came to know God in nature. Moreover, I considered the Scriptures where the Lord speaks against the sooth-sayers, and against astrologers, sorcerers, and wizards; all these I found to be the spirits of darkness, and will reach no further then the old man in the flesh, yet very necessary to be known, that we may avoid the evil thereof. Christ and the prophets knew all these things, or else they would never have spoken against them, but we in the old man have often spoken against things that we knew not, out of blind zeal, but not according to knowledge:

Therefore let the Scripture rule us, that we judge no man's heart, which belongeth to God only in the spirit, but our judgment must be external of every tree according to their fruits; for by their fruits we ought to know them. So to reprove every man his neighbour to his face, leave off backbiting and slandering one another, and making up our laughter in deriding the actions of others, which we cannot do, unless we think ourselves wiser than they. This sad thing have I observed in many families, when they have happened in any discourse, it seldom or never ended without backbiting, or deriding one another behind

their backs with their tongues, which causeth envy, and sets on fire every man that useth it against his neighbour, according to the Scripture, Jam. iii. and this cometh for want of mortifying the old man in the flesh, Rom. viii. 13. These and many other helps there are in the Scriptures, if we will believe it, to overcome the flesh; for Christ saith, Mat. vii. 8. 'Whosoever asketh receiveth, and he that seeketh findeth, and to him that knocketh it shall be opened.' This Scripture seems to reach further than the disciples in some cases; for some that did not believe made use of his name to cast out devils, and it seems the power of God assisted them therein; for they could not do it by the power of the devil, for then they would not have made use of Christ's name. Again, Christ himself saith, 'If Satan cast out Satan, his kingdom cannot stand,' Mat. xii. 26. And it is contrary to any reason, that God should cast out God, or the devil cast out the devil. So we find according to the whole tenour of Scripture, that God answereth all sorts of people according to that dispensation they are under, if their desires are fervent, whether it be for their good, or their hurt, as I have proved sufficiently in my discourse concerning the flesh given to the children of Israel, 1 Sam. viii. 7. where God saith to Samuel, 'Hear the voice of the people in all that they shall say unto thee.' So God condescended to the desires of the people for the hurt of their bodies in granting them a king; but if any out of zeal towards God in the spirit will pray unto him, and yet would uphold the righteousness of God in the flesh; God answering them with such spirits as may dishonour them in this world, by lying or false prophesying, to destroy the honour of the old man in them, that they may be brought forth as tried in the fire, more pure in the spirit of light; but if any shall enquire after God at the mouth of his prophets, only to uphold the honour and ambition of the old man in this world, God will send them false spirits to preach lyes, on purpose to destroy them; and this will come upon those that are for their own ambitious ends, as you may see in 1 Kings xxii. where the false spirits wait on God for their message, and God sends them forth, and bids them prosper, to please Ahab in his request. Thus we see for the love of this world people are destroyed. Then let us conclude, that it is high time to cast off the old man with his rudiments, with his malice and envy, and entertain light, love, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. That this may be our treasure, leading us up to that throne of grace, full of unspeakable joys, where Christ sitteth in the council of his father, with all his angels, entertaining all with fulness of joy, that enter in at this narrow gate, wiping away all tears, and all desires shall cease, and sorrow shall never more come near them; and instead thereof such joy, that neither tongue of men or angels can express.

If men and angels do prove silent, then
 Why should not I, an inferior man;
 Now am I silent, and indite no more,
 Pray use no violence then against the poor.

O Mortal form, what dost thou mean,
 To make such long delay;
 Keeping thy soul so poor and lean,
 Against the dreadful day?
 To which we all must once appear,
 To receive our sentence deep;
 The sorrowing heart, and terrible fears,
 Making our souls to weep.
 Two things there are to us propos'd,
 Whilst we on earth do dwell;
 In chusing one, the other's lost,
 Let it be heaven or hell.
 Then must our choice be circumspect,
 Without a worldly mind:
 Lest God one day do us reject,
 And we no mercy find.
 If heaven we choose, then hell is lost,
 We cannot it embrace;
 But to the glory of joy we must,
 Swallowed be in endless grace.
 If hell we choose, the world is gain'd,
 Which is that flesh desires:
 Then need we nothing to refrain,
 That pride and lust requires.
 Such are our lusts and covetousness,
 The belly and back to please;
 With selling and buying, dissembling and lying,
 Yet we cannot live at ease.
 But still in discontent abide,
 Desiring after more:
 Our envy would that all had died,
 That loved not the whore.
 Her merchants they do howl and weep,
 Their traffick none will buy:
 They wishing now to sow or reap,
 One year before they die.
 In Revelation, Chap. nineteen,
 In truth there you may read;
 Who 'tis shall bear the scepter,
 When the old whore is dead.
 Thus to the wise in their conceit,
 As I myself have been:
 They now shall know that once they might,
 Have left the greatest sin.
 O England then repent
 For the misery thou art in,
 Which have all, by consent,
 Liv'd on each others sin.
 If pride should banish'd be away,
 Then tradesmen out would cry,

Come let us kill, eat, and slay,
 Or else for want we die.
 Then would the gentry mourn,
 Without pride they cannot live;
 And slaves to get them corn,
 Whilst they themselves deceive.
 Thus pride becomes our God,
 And dear to us as life;
 Whose absence makes us sad,
 And cannot please our wife.
 If the poor labouring men,
 Live of their own increase;
 Where are your gentry then,
 But gone among the beasts?
 If any would know who is the author,
 Or ask whose lines are these,
 I answer, one that drinketh water,
 And now a liver at ease.
 In drinking cannot be drunk,
 Nor am I mov'd to swear:
 And from wenching am I sunk,
 My bones are kept so bare.
 For it is the grossness of the flesh
 That makes the soul to smart,
 And is the cause of his own lust,
 That commits adultery in his heart.



A

CENTURY OF THE NAMES AND SCANTLINGS

Of such inventions, as at present I can call to mind to have tried and perfected, which, my former notes being lost, I have, at the instance of a powerful friend, endeavoured now, in the year 1655, to set these down in such a way as may sufficiently instruct me to put any of them in practice.

Artis & naturæ proles.

London, printed by J. Grismond in 1663. Twenty-fours, containing ninety-one pages.



To the King's most excellent Majesty.

SIR,

Scire meum nihil est, nisi me scire hoc sciat alter, saith the poet, and I most justly in order to please your majesty, whose satisfaction is my

happiness, and whom to serve is my only aim, placing therein my *summum bonum* in this world: Be therefore pleased to cast your gracious eye over this summary collection, and then to pick and chuse. I confess I made it but for the superficial satisfaction of a friend's curiosity, according as it is set down; and if it might now serve to give aim to your majesty, how to make use of my poor endeavours, it would crown my thoughts, who am neither covetous nor ambitious, but of deserving your majesty's favour upon my own cost and charges; yet, according to the old English proverb, 'It is a poor dog that is not worth whistling after.' Let but your majesty approve, and I will effectually perform, to the height of my undertaking: Vouchsafe but to command, and with my life and fortune, I shall chearfully obey, and maugre envy, ignorance, and malice, ever appear

Your majesty's

Passionately devoted,

Or otherwise disinterested,

Subject and servant,

WORCESTER.

To the right honourable, the lords spiritual and temporal, and to the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the honourable House of Commons, now assembled in parliament.

My lords and gentlemen,

BE not startled if I address to all, and every of you, this century of summary heads of wonderful things, even after the dedication of them to his most excellent majesty; since it is with his most gracious and particular consent, as well as indeed no ways derogating from my duty to his sacred self, but rather in further order unto it, since your lordships, who are his great council, and you gentlemen, his whole kingdom's representative, most worthily welcome unto him, may fitly receive into your wise and serious considerations, what doth, or may publicly concern both his majesty, and his tenderly beloved people.

Pardon me if I say, my lords and gentlemen, that it is jointly your parts to digest to his hand these ensuing particulars, fitting them to his palate, and ordering how to reduce them into practice in a way useful and beneficial, both to his majesty and his kingdom.

Neither do I esteem it less proper for me to present them to you, in order to his majesty's service, than it is to give into the hands of a faithful and provident steward, whatsoever dainties and provisions are intended for the master's diet; the knowing and faithful steward being best able to make use thereof to his master's contentment, and greatest profit, keeping for the morrow, whatever should be overplus, or needless for the present day, or at least to save something else in lieu thereof. In a word, my lords and gentlemen, I humbly conceive this simile not

improper since you are his Majesty's provident stewards, into whose hands I commit myself, with all properties fit to obey you; that is to say, with a heart harbouring no ambition, but an endless aim to serve my King and country. And if my endeavours prove effectual, as I am confident they will, his Majesty shall not only become rich, but his people likewise, as treasurers unto him; and his peerless Majesty, our King, shall become both beloved at home, and feared abroad; deeming the riches of a King to consist in the plenty enjoyed by his people.

And the way, to render him to be feared abroad, is to content his people at home, who then, with heart and hand, are ready to assist him; and whatsoever God blesseth me with to contribute towards the increase of his revenues in any considerable way, I desire it may be employed to the use of his people; that is, for the taking off such taxes or burthens from them, as they chiefly groan under, and by a temporary necessity only imposed on them; which being thus supplied, will certainly best content the King, and satisfy his people; which, I dare say, is the continual tendency of all your indefatigable pains, and the perfect demonstrations of your zeal to his Majesty, and an evidence that the kingdom's trust is justly and deservedly reposed in you. And if ever parliament acquitted themselves thereof, it is this of yours, composed of most deserving and qualified persons; qualified, I say, with your affection to your prince, and with a tenderness to his people; with a bountiful heart towards him, yet a frugality in their behalfs.

Go on therefore cheerfully, my Lords and gentlemen, and not only our gracious King, but the King of Kings, will reward you, the prayers of the people will attend you, and his Majesty will with thankful arms embrace you. And be pleased to make use of me and my endeavours to enrich them, not myself; such being my only request unto you, spare me not in what your wisdoms shall find me useful, who do esteem myself not only by the act of the water-commanding engine, which so cheerfully you have past, sufficiently rewarded, but likewise with courage enabled to do ten times more for the future; and my debts being paid, and a competency to live according to my birth and quality settled, the rest shall I dedicate to the service of our King and country by your disposals; and esteem me not the more, or rather any more, by what is past, but by what is to come; professing really from my heart, that my intentions are to out-go the six or seven-hundred-thousand pounds already sacrificed, if countenanced and encouraged by you, ingeniously confessing that the melancholy, which hath lately seized upon me, the cause whereof none of you but may easily guess, hath, I dare say, retarded more advantages to the publick service than modesty will permit me to utter. And now, revived by your promising favours, I shall infallibly be enabled thereunto in the experiments extant, and comprised under these heads, practicable with my directions by the unparalleled workman both for trust and skill, Casper Kaltoff's hand, who hath been these thirty-five years, as in a school under me employed, and still at my disposal, in a place by my great expences made fit for publick service, yet lately like to be taken from me, and consequently from the service of King and kingdom, without the least regard of above

ten-thousand pounds expended by me, and through my zeal to the common good ; my zeal, I say, a field large enough for you, my Lords and gentlemen, to work upon.

The treasures buried under these heads, both for war, peace, and pleasure, being inexhaustible ; I beseech you, pardon me if I say so ; it seems a vanity, but comprehends a truth ; since no good spring but becomes the more plentiful, by how much more it is drawn ; and the spinner, to weave his web, is never stinted, but further inforced.

The more then that you shall be pleased to make use of my inventions, the more inventive shall you ever find me, one invention begetting still another, and more and more improving my ability to serve my King and you ; and as to my heartiness therein there needs no addition, nor to my readiness a spur. And therefore, my lords and gentlemen, be pleased to begin, and desist not from commanding me till I flag in my obedience and endeavours to serve my King and country.

For certainly you'll find me breathless first t'expire,
Before my hands grow weary, or my legs do tire.

Yet abstracting from any interest of my own, but as a fellow-subject and compatriot, will I ever labour in the vineyard, most heartily and readily obeying the least summons from you, by putting faithfully in execution, what your judgments shall think fit to pitch upon, among this century of experiences, perhaps, dearly purchased by me, but not frankly and *gratis* offered to you. Since my heart, methinks, cannot be satisfied in serving my King and country, if it should cost them any thing ; as I confess when I had the honour to be near so obliging a master as his late Majesty of happy memory, who never refused me his ear to any reasonable motion. And as for unreasonable ones, or such as were not fitting for him to grant, I would rather to have died a thousand deaths, than ever have made any one unto him.

Yet whatever I was so happy as to obtain for any deserving person, my pains, breath, and interest employed therein satisfied me not, unless I likewise satisfied the fees ; but that was in my golden age.

And even now, though my ability and means are shortened, the world knows why my heart remains still the same, and be you pleased, my lords and gentlemen, to rest most assured, that the very complacency, that I shall take in the executing your commands, shall be unto me a sufficient and an abundantly satisfactory reward.

Vouchsafe, therefore, to dispose freely of me, and whatever lieth in my power to perform ; First, in order to his Majesty's service ; Secondly, for the good and advantage of the kingdom ; Thirdly, to all your satisfactions for particular profit and pleasure to your individual selves, professing, that in all, and each of the three respects, I will ever demean myself as it best becomes,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Your most passionately bent fellow subject in his Majesty's service, compatriot for the publick good and advantage, and a most humble servant to all and every of you,

WORCESTER.

A Table referring to the figures of this treatise.

S SEALS abundantly significant	1
Private and particular to each owner	2
An one-line cypher	3
Reduced to a point	4
Varied significantly to all the twenty-four letters	5
A mute and perfect discourse by colours	6
To hold the same by night	7
To level cannons by night	8
A ship-destroying engine	9
How to be fastened from a-loof and under water	10
How to prevent both	11
An unsinkable ship	12
False destroying decks	13
Multiplied strength in little room	14
A boat driving against wind and tide	15
A sea-sailing fort	16
A pleasant floating garden	17
An hour-glass fountain	18
A coach-saving engine	19
A balance water work	20
A bucket-fountain	21
An ebbing and flowing river	22
An ebbing and flowing castle-clock	23
A strength-increasing spring	24
A double drawing engine for weights	25
A to and fro lever	26
A most easy level draught	27
A portable bridge	28
A moveable fortification	29
A rising bulwark	30
An approaching blind	31
An universal character	32
A needle-alphabet	33
A knotted string-alphabet	34
A fringe-alphabet	35
A bracelet-alphabet	36
A pinked glove-alphabet	37
A sieve-alphabet	38
A lanthorn-alphabet	39
An alphabet by the { Smell	40
{ Taste	41
{ Touch	42
A variation of all and each of these	43
A key-pistol	44
A most conceited tinder-box	45
An artificial bird	46
An hour water-ball	47
A scrued ascent of stairs	48

410 A CENTURY OF NAMES AND SCANTLINGS, &c.

A tobacco-tongs engine	49
A pocket-ladder	50
A rule of gradation	51
A mystical jangling of bells	52
An hollowing of a water-scrue	53
A transparent water-scrue	54
A double water-scrue	55
An advantageous change of centers	56
A constant water-flowing and ebbing motion	57
An often discharging pistol	58
An especial way for carbines	59
A flask-charger	60
A way for musquets	61
A way for a harquebus, a crock	62
For sakers and minions	63
For the biggest cannon	64
For a whole side of ship-musquets	65
For guarding several avenues to a town	66
For musquettoons on horse-back	67
A fire water-work	68
A triangle key	69
A rose key	70
A square key with a turning scrue	71
An escutcheon for all locks	72
A transmittible gallery	73
A conceited door	74
A discourse woven in tape or ribbon	75
To write in the dark	76
A flying man	77
A continually-going watch	78
A total locking of cabinet-boxes	79
Light pistol barrels	80
A comb-conveyance for letters	81
A knife, spoon, or fork conveyance	82
A rasping mill	83
An arithmetical instrument	84
An untoothsome pear	85
An imprisoning chair	86
A candle-mould	87
A brazen head	88
Primero gloves	89
A dicing box	90
An artificial ring-horse	91
A gravel engine	92
A ship-raising engine	93
A pocket engine to open any door	94
A double cross-bow	95
A way for sea-banks	96
A perspective instrument	97
A semi-omnipotent engine	98

A most admirable way to raise weights	99
A stupendous water-work	100

A century of the names and scantlings of inventions by me already practised.

1. SEVERAL sorts of seals, some shewing by scrues, others by gages, fastening or unfastening all the marks at once; others by additional points and imaginary places, proportionable to ordinary escutcheons and seals at arms, each way palpably and punctually setting down, yet private from all others, but the owner, and by his assent, the day of the month, the day of the week, the month of the year, the year of our Lord, the names of the witnesses, and the individual place where any thing was sealed, though in ten-thousand several places, together with the very number of lines contained in a contract, whereby falsification may be discovered, and manifestly proved, being upon good grounds suspected.

Upon any of these seals a man may keep accounts of receipts and disbursements from one farthing to an hundred millions, punctually shewing each pound, shilling, penny, or farthing.

By these seals likewise any letter, though written but in English, may be read and understood in eight several languages, and in English itself to a clean contrary and different sense, unknown to any but the correspondent, and not to be read or understood by him neither, if opened before it arrive unto him; so that neither threats, nor hopes of reward, can make him reveal the secret, the letter having been intercepted, and first opened by the enemy.

2. How ten-thousand persons may use these seals to all and every of the purposes aforesaid, and yet keep their secrets from any but whom they please.

3. A cypher and character so contrived, that one line, without returns and circumflexes, stands for each and every of the twenty-four letters; and as ready to be made for the one letter as the other.

4. This invention refined, and so abbreviated, that a point only sheweth distinctly and significantly any of the twenty-four letters; and these very points to be made with two pens, so that no time will be lost, but as one finger riseth the other may make the following letter, never clogging the memory with several figures for words, and combination of letters; which with ease, and void of confusion, are thus speedily and punctually, letter for letter, set down by naked, and not multiplied points. And nothing can be less than a point, the mathematical definition of it being *cujus pars nulla*. And of a motion no swifter imaginable than semiquavers or releshes, yet applicable to this manner of writing.

5. A way by a circular motion, either along a rule or ring-wise, to vary any alphabet, even this of points, so that the self-same point individually placed, without the least additional mark or variation of place, shall stand for all the twenty-four letters, and not for the same letter

412 A CENTURY OF NAMES AND SCANTLINGS, &c.

twice in tensheets writing; yet as easily and certainly read and known, as if it stood but for one and the self-same letter constantly signified.

6. How at a window, as far as eye can discover black from white, a man may hold discourse with his correspondent, without noise made or notice taken; being, according to occasion given or means afforded, *ex re natâ*, and no need of provision before-hand; though much better if foreseen, and means prepared for it, and a premeditated course taken by mutual consent of parties.

7. A way to do it by night as well as by day, though as dark as pitch is black.

8. A way how to level, and shoot cannon by night as well as by day, and as directly; without a platform or measures taken by day, yet by a plain and infallible rule.

9. An engine, portable in one's pocket, which may be carried and fastened on the inside of the greatest ship, *tunquam aliud agens*, and at any appointed minute, though a week after, either of day or night, it shall irrecoverably sink that ship.

10. A way from a mile off, to dive and fasten a like engine to any ship, so as it may punctually work the same effect either for time or execution.

11. How to prevent and safeguard any ship from such an attempt by day or night.

12. A way to make a ship not possible to be sunk, though shot an hundred times betwixt wind and water by cannon, and should lose a whole plank, yet in half an hour's time should be made as fit to sail as before.

13. How to make such false decks, as in a moment should kill and take prisoners as many as should board the ship, without blowing the decks up, or destroying them from being reducible, and in a quarter of an hour's time, should recover their former shape, and to be made fit for any employment without discovering the secret.

14. How to bring a force to weigh up an anchor, or to do any forcible exploit in the narrowest or lowest room in any ship, where few hands shall do the work of many; and many hands applicable to the same force, some standing, others sitting, and by virtue of their several helps, a great force augmented in little room, as effectual as if there were sufficient space to go about with an axle tree, and work far from the center.

15. A way how to make a boat work itself against wind and tide, yea both without the help of man or beast; yet so that the wind or tide, though directly opposite, shall force the ship or boat against itself; and in no point of the compass, but it shall be as effectual, as if the wind were in the poop, or the stream actually with the course it is to steer, according to which the oars shall row, and necessary motions work and move towards the desired port or point of the compass.

16. How to make a sea-castle or fortification cannon-proof, and capable of a thousand men, yet sailable at pleasure to defend a passage, or in an hour's time to divide itself into three ships as fit and trimmed to sail as before. And even whilst it is a fort or castle, they shall be

unanimously steered, and effectually driven by an indifferent strong wind.

17. How to make upon the Thames a floating garden of pleasure, with trees, flowers, banqueting-houses, and fountains, stews for all kind of fishes, a reserve for snow to keep wine in, delicate bathing-places, and the like; with musick made with mills; and all in the midst of the stream, where it is most rapid.

18. An artificial fountain to be turned like an hour-glass by a child in the twinkling of an eye, it holding a great quantity of water, and of force sufficient to make snow, ice, and thunder, with a chirping and singing of birds, and shewing of several shapes and effects usual to fountains of pleasure.

19. A little engine within a coach, whereby a child may stop it, and secure all persons within it, and the coachman himself, though the horses be never so unruly in a full career; a child being sufficiently capable to loosen them, in what posture soever they should have put themselves, turning never so short; for a child can do it in the twinkling of an eye.

20. How to bring up water balance-wise, so that as little weight or force as will turn a balance will be only needful, more than the weight of the water within the buckets, which counterpoised empty themselves one into the other, the uppermost yielding its water, how great a quantity soever it holds, at the self-same time the lower-most takes it in, though it be an hundred fathom high.

21. How to raise water constantly with two buckets only day and night, without any other force than its own motion, using not so much as any force, wheel, or sucker, nor more pullies than one, on which the cord or chain rolleth, with a bucket fastened at each end. This, I confess, I have seen and learned of the great mathematician Claudius's studies at Rome, he having made a present thereof unto a cardinal; and I desire not to own any other men's inventions, but if I set down any, to nominate likewise the inventor.

22. To make a river in a garden to ebb and flow constantly, though twenty feet over, with a child's force, in some private room or place out of sight, and a competent distance from it.

23. To set a clock in a castle, the water filling the trenches about it; it shall shew, by ebbing and flowing, the hours, minutes, and seconds, and all the comprehensible motions of the heavens, and counter-libration of the earth, according to Copernicus.

24. How to increase the strength of a spring to such an height, as to shoot bumbasses and bullets of a hundred pounds weight, a steeple height, and a quarter of a mile off, and more, stone-bow-wise, admirable for fire-works, and astonishing of besieged cities, when without warning given by noise, they find themselves so forcibly and dangerously surprised.

25. How to make a weight that cannot take up an hundred pounds, and yet shall take up two-hundred pounds, and at the self-same distance from the center; and so proportionably to millions of pounds.

26. To raise weight as well and as forcibly with the drawing-back of

414 A CENTURY OF NAMES AND SCANTLINGS, &c.

the lever, as with the thrusting it forwards; and by that means to lose no time in motion or strength. This I saw in the arsenal at Venice.

27. A way to remove to and fro huge weights with a most inconsiderable strength from place to place. For example, ten ton, with ten pounds, and less; the said ten pounds not to fall lower than it makes the ten ton to advance or retreat upon a level.

28. A bridge portable in a cart with six horses, which in a few hours time may be placed over a river half a mile broad, whereon with much expedition may be transported horse, foot, and cannon.

29. A portable fortification able to contain five-hundred fighting men, and yet, in six hours time, may be set up, and made cannon-proof, upon the side of a river or pass, with cannon mounted upon it, and as compleat as a regular fortification, with half-moons and counter-scarps.

30. A way, in one night's time, to raise a bulwark twenty or thirty feet high, cannon proof, and cannon mounted upon it, with men to overlook, command, and batter a town; for though it contain but four pieces, they shall be able to discharge two-hundred bullets each hour.

31. A way how safely and speedily to make an approach to a castle or town-wall, and over the very ditch at noon-day.

32. How to compose an universal character methodical and easy to be written, yet intelligible in any language; so that, if an English-man write it in English, a French-man, Italian, Spaniard, Irish, Welsh, being scholars, yea, Grecian or Hebritian, shall as perfectly understand it in their own tongue, as if they were perfect English, distinguishing the verbs from nouns, the numbers, tenses, and cases as properly expressed in their own language as it was written in English.

33. To write with a needle and thread, white, or any colour upon white, or any other colour, so that one stitch shall significantly shew any letter, and as readily and as easily shew the one letter as the other, and fit for any language.

34. To write by a knotted silk-string, so that every knot shall signify any letter with a comma, full-point, or interrogation, and as legible as with pen and ink upon white paper.

35. The like by the fringe of gloves.

36. By stringing of bracelets.

37. By pinked gloves.

38. By holes in the bottom of a sieve.

39. By a lattin or plate lankhorn.

40. By the smell.

41. By the taste.

42. By the touch.

By these three senses, as perfectly, distinctly, and unconfusedly, yea as readily as by the sight.

43. How to vary each of these, so that ten-thousand may know them, and yet keep the understanding part from any but their correspondent.

44. To make a key of a chamber-door, which to your sight hath its wards and rose-pipe but paper thick, and yet at pleasure in a minute of an hour shall become a perfect pistol, capable to shoot through a

breast-plate commonly of carbine proof, with prime, powder, and fire-lock, undiscoverable in a stranger's hand.

45. How to light a fire and a candle at what hour of the night one awaketh, without rising or putting one's hand out of the bed. And the same thing becomes a serviceable pistol at pleasure; yet by a stranger, not knowing the secret, seemeth but a dexterous tinder-box.

46. How to make an artificial bird to fly which way, and as long as one pleaseth, by, or against the wind, sometimes chirping, other times hovering, still tending the way it is designed for.

47. To make a ball of any metal, which thrown into a pool or pail of water shall presently rise from the bottom, and constantly shew, by the superficies of the water, the hour of the day or night, never rising more out of the water, than just to the minute it sheweth, of each quarter of the hour; and, if by force kept under water, yet the time is not lost, but recovered as soon as it is permitted to rise to the superficies of the water.

48. A scrued ascent, instead of stairs, with fit landing-places to the best chambers of each story, with back stairs within the noel of it, convenient for servants to pass up and down to the inward rooms of them unseen and private.

49. A portable engine, in way of a tobacco tongs, whereby a man may get over a wall, or get up again being come down, finding the coast proving unsecure unto him.

50. A compleat, light, portable ladder, which, taken out of one's pocket, may be by himself fastened an hundred feet high, to get up by from the ground.

51. A rule of gradation, which with ease and method reduceth all things to a private correspondence, most useful for secret intelligence.

52. How to signify words, and a perfect discourse, by jangling of bells of any parish church, or by any musical instrument within hearing, in a seeming way of tuning it; or of an unskilful beginner.

53. A way how to make hollow and cover a water-scrue, as big and as long as one pleaseth, in an easy and cheap way.

54. How to make a water-scrue tight, and yet transparent, and free from breaking; but so clear, that one may palpably see the water or any heavy thing, how, and why it is mounted by turning.

55. A double water-scrue, the innermost to mount the water, and the outermost for it to descend more in number of threads, and consequently in quantity of water, though much shorter than the innermost scrue, by which the water ascendeth, a most extraordinary help for the turning of the scrue to make the water rise.

56. To provide and make that all the weights of the descending side of a wheel shall be perpetually further from the center, than those of the mounting side, and yet equal in number and heft to the one side as the other. A most incredible thing, if not seen, but tried before the late King, of blessed memory, in the Tower, by my directions, two extraordinary ambassadors accompanying his Majesty, and the Dukes of Richmond and Hamilton, with most of the court, attending him. The wheel was fourteen feet over, and forty weights of fifty pounds a-piece. Sir William Balfour, then lieutenant of the Tower, can justify it, with

several others. They all saw, that no sooner these great weights passed the diameter-line of the lower side, but they hung a foot further from the center, nor no sooner passed the diameter-line of the upper side, but they hung a foot nearer. Be pleased to judge the consequence.

57. An ebbing and flowing water-work in two vessels, into either of which, the water standing at a level, if a globe be cast in, instead of rising, it presently ebbeth, and so remains until a like globe be cast into the other vessel, which the water is no sooner sensible of, but that vessel presently ebbeth, and the other floweth, and so continueth ebbing and flowing until one or both of the globes be taken out, working some little effect besides its own motion, without the help of any man within sight or hearing. But if either of the globes be taken out with ever so swift or easy a motion, at the very instant the ebbing and flowing ceaseth; for if during the ebbing you take out the globe, the water of that vessel presently returneth to flow, and never ebbeth after, until the globe be turned into it, and then the motion beginneth as before.

58. How to make a pistol to discharge a dozen times with one loading, and without so much as once new priming requisite, or to change it out of one hand into the other, or stop one's horse.

59. Another way as fast and effectual, but more proper for carbines.

60. A way with a flask appropriated unto it, which will furnish either pistol or carbine with a dozen charges in three minutes time, to do the whole execution of a dozen shots, as soon as one pleaseth, proportionably.

61. A third way, and particular for musquets, without taking them from their rests to charge or prime, to a like execution, and as fast as the flask, the musquet containing but one charge at a time.

62. A way for a harquebuss, a crock, or ship-musquet, six upon a carriage, shooting with such expedition, as without danger one may charge, level, and discharge them sixty times in a minute of an hour, two or three together.

63. A sixth way, most excellent for sakers, different from the other, yet as swift.

64. A seventh, tried and approved before the late King, of ever blessed memory, and an hundred Lords and Commons, in a cannon of eight inches half-quarter, to shoot bullets of sixty-four pounds weight, and twenty-four pounds of powder, twenty times in six minutes; so clear from danger, that after all were discharged, a pound of butter did not melt being laid upon the cannon-breech, nor the green oil discoloured that was first anointed and used between the barrel thereof, and the engine, having never in it, nor within six feet, but one charge at a time.

65. A way that one man in the cabin may govern the whole side of ship musquets, to the number, if need require, of two or three thousand shots.

66. A way that, against several avenues to a fort or castle, one man may charge fifty cannons playing, and stopping when he pleaseth, though out of sight of the cannon.

67. A rare way likewise for musquettoons fastened to the pummel of the saddle, so that a common trooper cannot miss to charge them, with twenty or thirty bullets at a time, even in full career.

When first I gave my thoughts to make guns shoot often, I thought there had been but one only exquisite way inventible, yet by several trials and much charge I have perfectly tried all these.

68. An admirable and most forcible way to drive up water by fire, not by drawing or sucking it upwards, for that must be as the philosopher calleth it, *intra spharam activitatis*, which is but at such a distance. But this way hath no bounder, if the vessels be strong enough; for I have taken a piece of a whole cannon, whereof the end was burst, and filled it three quarters full of water, stopping and scruing up the broken end; as also the touch-hole; and making a constant fire under it, within twenty-four hours it burst and made a great crack. So that having a way to make my vessels, so that they are strengthened by the force within them, and the one to fill after the other, I have seen the water run like a constant fountain-stream forty feet high; one vessel of water, rarified by fire, driveth up forty of cold water. And a man that tends the work is but to turn two cocks; that one vessel of water being consumed, another begins to force and re-fill with cold water, and so successively, the fire being tended and kept constant, which the self-same person may likewise abundantly perform in the interim between the necessity of turning the said cocks.

69. A way how a little triangle-scrued key, not weighing a shilling, shall be capable and strong enough to bolt and unbolt round about a great chest and an hundred bolts through fifty staples, two in each, with a direct contrary motion, and as many more from both sides and ends, and at the self-same time shall fasten it to the place beyond a man's natural strength to take it away; and in one and the same turn both locks and opens it.

70. A key with a rose-turning pipe, and two roses pierced through endwise, the bit thereof, with several handsomely contrived wards, which may likewise do the same effects.

71. A key perfectly square, with a scrue turning within it, and more conceited than any of the rest, and no heavier than the triangle-scrued key, and doth the same effects.

72. An escutcheon to be placed before any of these locks with these properties.

1. The owner, though a woman, may with her delicate hand vary the ways of coming to open the lock ten millions of times, beyond the knowledge of the smith that made it, or of me who invented it.

2. If a stranger open it, it setteth an alarm a-going, which the stranger cannot stop from running out; and besides, though none should be within hearing, yet it catcheth his hand, as a trap doth a fox; and though far from maiming him, yet it leaveth such a mark behind it, as will discover him if suspected; the escutcheon or lock plainly shewing what monies he hath taken out of the box to a farthing, and how many times opened since the owner had been in it.

73. A transmittible gallery over any ditch or breach in a town-wall, with a blind and parapet cannon-proof.

74. A door, whereof the turning of a key, with the help and motion of the handle, makes the hinges to be of either side, and to open either

418 A CENTURY OF NAMES AND SCANTLINGS, &c.

inward or outward, as one is to enter, or to go out, or to open in half.

75. How a tape, or ribbon weaver may set down a whole discourse, without knowing a letter, or interweaving any thing suspicious of other secret than a new-fashion ribbon.

76. How to write in the dark, as straight as by day or candle-light.

77. How to make a man to fly; which I have tried with a little boy of ten years old in a barn, from one end to the other, on an hay-mow.

78. A watch to go constantly, and yet needs no other winding from the first setting on the cord or chain, unless it be broken, requiring no other care from one than to be now and then consulted with, concerning the hour of the day or night; and if it be laid by a week together, it will not err much, but the oftener looked upon, the more exact it shews the time of the day or night.

79. A way to lock all the boxes of a cabinet, though never so many, at one time, which were by particular keys appropriated to each lock opened severally, and independent the one of the other, as much as concerneth the opening of them, and by these means cannot be left opened unawares.

80. How to make a pistol barrel no thicker than a shilling, and yet able to endure a musquet proof of powder and bullet.

81. A comb-conveyance, carrying of letters without suspicion, the head being opened with a needle-screw drawing a spring towards them; the comb being made but after an usual form carried in one's pocket.

82. A knife, spoon, or fork, in an usual portable case, may have the like conveyances in their handles.

83. A rasping-mill for harts-horn, whereby a child may do the work of half a dozen men, commonly taken up with that work.

84. An instrument whereby persons, ignorant in arithmetick, may perfectly observe numerations and subtractions of all sums and fractions.

85. A little ball made in the shape of plum or pear, being dexterously conveyed or forced into a body's mouth, shall presently shoot forth such, and so many bolts of each side, and at both ends, as without the owner's key can neither be opened nor filed off, being made of tempered steel, and as effectually locked as an iron chest.

86. A chair made *alamode*, and yet a stranger, being persuaded to sit in it, shall have immediately his arms and thighs locked up, beyond his own power to loosen them.

87. A brass mould to cast candles, in which a man may make five-hundred dozen in a day, and add an ingredient to the tallow which will make it cheaper, and yet so that the candles shall look whiter, and last longer.

88. How to make a brazen or stone head, in the midst of a great field or garden, so artificial and natural, that though a man speak never so softly, and even whispers into the ear thereof, it will presently open its mouth, and resolve the question in French, Latin, Welsh, Irish, or English, in good terms uttering it out of its mouth, and then shut it until the next question be asked.

89. White silk knotted in the fingers of a pair of white gloves, and so contrived without suspicion, that playing at Primero at cards, one may without clogging his memory keep reckoning of all sixes, sevens, and aces which he hath discarded.

90. A most dexterous dicing-box, with holes transparent, after the usual fashion, with a device so dexterous, that with a knock of it against the table, the four good dice are fastened, and it looseneth four false dice made fit for his purpose.

91. An artificial horse, with saddle and caparisons fit for running at the ring, on which a man being mounted, with his lance in his hand, he can at pleasure make him start, and swiftly to run his career, using the decent posture with *bon grace*; may take the ring as handsomely, and running as swiftly as if he rode upon a barb.

92. A scrue made like a water-scrue, but the bottom made of iron-plate spade-wise, which at the side of a boat emptieth the mud of a pond, or raiseth gravel.

93. An engine, whereby one man may take out of the water a ship of five-hundred tons, so that it may be calked, trimmed, and repaired without need of the usual way of stocks, and as easily let it down again.

94. A little engine portable in one's pocket, which placed to any door, without any noise, but one crack, openeth any door or gate.

95. A double cross-bow, neat, handsome, and strong, to shoot two arrows, either together, or one after the other, so immediately that a deer cannot run two steps, but, if he miss of one arrow, he may be reached with the other, whether the deer run forward, sideways, or start backward.

96. A way to make a sea-bank so firm and geometrically strong, that a stream can have no power over it; excellent likewise to save the pillar of a bridge, being far cheaper and stronger than stone-walls.

97. An instrument whereby an ignorant person may take any thing in perspective, as justly and more than the skilfullest painter can do by his eye.

98. An engine so contrived, that working the *primum mobile* forward or backward, upward or downward, circularly or cornerwise, to and fro, straight, upright, or downright, yet the pretended operation continueth, and advanceth, none of the motions above-mentioned hindering, much less stopping the other; but unanimously, and with harmony agreeing, they all augment and contribute strength unto the intended work and operation. And therefore I call this 'a semi-omnipotent engine,' and do intend that a model thereof be buried with me.

99. How to make one pound weight to raise an hundred as high as one pound falleth, and yet the hundred pound descending doth what nothing less than one-hundred pound can effect.

100. Upon so potent a help as these two last mentioned inventions, a water-work is by many years experience and labour so advantageously by me contrived, that a child's force bringeth up an hundred feet high an incredible quantity of water, even two feet diameter, so naturally, that the work will not be heard even unto the next room; and with so great ease and geometrical symmetry, that though it works day and

night from one end of the year to the other, it will not require forty shillings reparation to the whole engine, nor hinder one day's-work. And I may boldly call it, 'The most stupendious work in the whole world;' not only with little charge to drain all sorts of mines, and furnish cities with water, though never so high seated, as well to keep them sweet, running through several streets, and so performing the work of scavengers, as well as furnishing the inhabitants with sufficient water for their private occasions; but likewise supplying rivers with sufficient to maintain and make them portable from town to town, and for the bettering of lands all the way it runs; with many more advantageous, and yet greater effects of profit, admiration, and consequence. So that deservedly I deem this invention to crown my labours, to reward my expences, and make my thoughts acquiesce in way of further inventions. This making up the whole century, and preventing any further trouble to the reader for the present, meaning to leave to posterity a book, wherein under each of these heads the means to put in execution and visible trial and every of these inventions, with the shape and form of all things belonging to them, shall be printed by brass-plates.

In bonum publicum, et ad majorem Dei gloriam.

THE

PROTECTOR'S DECLARATION

AGAINST

THE ROYAL FAMILY OF THE STUARTS,

And the true worship of the church of England. Printed and published by his Highness's special commandment.

London, printed by Henry Hills and John Field, printers to his Highness.
From a folio page.

HIS Highness the Lord Protector, upon advice with his council, finding it necessary, for the reasons and upon the grounds expressed in his late declaration, to use all good means to secure the peace of the nation, and prevent future troubles within the same, hath thought fit to publish and declare, and by and with the consent of his council, doth publish, order, and declare, That no person or persons whatso-

ever, in England or Wales, whose estates have been sequestered for delinquency, or who were actually in arms for the late King against the then parliament, or for Charles Stuart his son, or have adhered to, abetted, or assisted the forces raised against the said parliament, do, from and after the first day of December, 1655, buy, use, or keep in his or their house, or houses, or elsewhere, any arms offensive, or defensive, upon pain, that every person and persons, so offending, shall forfeit and lose such arms, and be otherwise proceeded against, according to the orders of his highness and the council, for securing the peace of the commonwealth. And his highness, by the advice of his council, doth also publish, declare, and order, That no person or persons aforesaid, do, from and after the first day of January, 1655, keep in their houses and families, as chaplains or schoolmasters, for the education of their children, any sequestered or ejected minister, fellow of any college, or schoolmaster, nor permit any of their children to be taught by such, upon pain of being proceeded against in such sort, as the said orders do direct in such cases. And that no person, who hath been sequestered or ejected out of any benefice, college, or school, for delinquency or scandal, shall, from and after the first day of January, keep any school, either publick or private, nor any person, who after that time shall be ejected for the causes aforesaid.

And that no person, who, for delinquency or scandal, hath been sequestered or ejected, shall, from and after the first day of January aforesaid, preach in any publick place, or any private meeting of any other persons than those of his own family, nor shall administer baptism, or the Lord's Supper, or marry any persons, or use the Book of Common-Prayer, or the forms of prayer therein contained, upon pain, that every person, so offending in any of the premisses, shall be proceeded against, as, by the said orders, is provided and directed. And to the end all persons concerned may take notice hereof, and avoid the danger of any of the said penalties, his highness doth charge and command all sheriffs within their respective counties, cities, and towns, to cause this declaration to be proclaimed and published. Nevertheless, his highness doth declare, that, towards such of the said persons as have, since their ejection or sequestration, given, or shall hereafter give, a real testimony of their godliness and good affection to the present government, so much tenderness shall be used, as may consist with the safety and good of this nation.

Given at Whitehall, this fourth day of October, 1655.

THE MOST LAMENTABLE
AND
DREADFUL THUNDER AND LIGHTNING

In the County of Norfolk, and the City of Norwich,

On July 20, being the Lord's day in the afternoon: the whirlwind and thick darkness, and most prodigious hailstones, which, being above five inches about, did so violently batter down the windows of the city, that three-thousand pounds will hardly repair them. Diverse men and women struck dead. The firing of some towns, and whole fields of corn, by lightning, which also destroyed the birds of the air, and beasts of the field.

Together with another most violent storm, which, happening on Saturday last in the same county, for almost thirty miles together, performed the like terrible effects. Attested by ten-thousand witnesses, who were either spectators, or partakers of the loss. Entered according to order, the 31st of July 1656.

London, printed by R. I. for F. Grove on Snow-hill, 1656. Quarto, containing five pages, with a wooden cut in the title-page, representing Jupiter in the clouds, with a thunder-bolt in his right hand.

WE have had too many sad examples of the anger of the Almighty, for our great and crying sins. How long shall the land mourn, and the herbs of every field wither for the iniquity of them that dwell therein? saith the prophet Jeremiah, ch. xii. 4. whilst we do sin, and sin, and persevere in sin; whilst we continue despising the ministers and ordinances of God*, whilst we will not weep for our own impieties. Behold, the earth is become as brass, and the clouds as marble; whilst, lulled in the lap of security, we wilfully do stop our ears, and refuse to hear the words of the preacher; heark! How God doth speak in thunder to us, and he speaks to us on his own day, to declare unto us how jealous he is of his honour, which he will not have given to another; he will not be served on his own day by those, whom he hath not called to his work; by those, who, with unwashed hands, and brains, as sick of ignorance, as presumption, will thrust themselves into the temple of God, and venture to expound the highest mysteries.

Certainly where the ordinances of God have been most despised, there will his judgements be most visible; even the birds and the beasts

* Alluding to the state of rebellion in which the kingdom had then been almost sixteen years.

† In those days, the learned and stated ministry was deprived; and every whimsical or hypocritical mechaick assumed the doctor's chair; and, in defiance to the justice of God, who, for the like usurpation, visibly punished Core, Dathan, and Abiram, dared to administer God's word and sacraments to a deceived people.

will be made sensible of his displeasure, as he hath declared by his prophet. The beasts are consumed with the birds, Jer. xii. we need not travel far to give you an example of this. The following narration is as full of truth as wonder, and may serve to make our hearts to melt, if they were not made of marble.

On the twentieth of July, being the sabbath day, about four of the clock in the afternoon, there was a great and sudden tempest in the city of Norwich, and the country thereabouts; the flashes of lightning were most dreadful and violent, and the loud claps from the clouds did so amaze and affright the people, that they thought the spheres came thundering down in flames about their ears. About an hour afterwards, there appeared to the view of many a black cloud of smoke, like unto the smoke of a furnace, and ever and anon it did cast forth flames of fire; it was attended with a white cloud, which, sailing along the air, did seem to labour for all the advantages of the wind, to overtake the other; but, the black cloud being first come, and covering the face of the city, there arose a sudden whirlwind, which in the streets of the city did raise such a dust, that it was almost impossible for one man to discern another, but only at a little distance; and, to increase this wonderful darkness, the clouds grew thicker and thicker, especially at the south, and the south-west, when behold the lightning from them did leap forth again, and the thunder chid, and there followed such a rattling storm of stupendious hail, that, being afterwards measured, the hail stones were found to be five inches about, and some more; all the glass-windows that were on the weather side of the city were beaten down.

Some letters from Norwich do affirm, that three-thousand pounds will not repair the windows. This which I now speak may in other countries seem incredible, and so it might in our own also, were it not to be attested by above ten-thousand witnesses. And surely it is well worth the observation of the best philosophers to take notice, that those hail-stones (as they exceeded all others in their bigness, so they were unlike them in their form) for many of them were meer pieces of flat ice, and had not the least similitude of roundness in them. But why should we, in so great a wonder, expect to be satisfied with reason from philosophy? He only knows what they were, who in the book of Job doth propound the query as the subject of our admiration, and is pleased himself to acknowledge them to be of his own armoury, 'which is the armoury of God.' It is to be admired besides, that, in many of these hail-stones, there was to be seen the figure of an eye, resembling the eye of a man, and that so perfectly, as if it had been there engraved by the hand of some skillful artificer.

If your eyes, possessed with these unusual spectacles, have yet the leisure to look into the country, in hope there to behold some more comfortable objects, you will find in some places whole fields of corn destroyed by the lightning; you will behold the tempest wrestling with the trees, and, having torn them up by the roots, to lay them on their backs with their heels higher than their heads; the burrows could not protect the listening conies, nor the trees the birds, but on the next morning the travellers found them dead in great numbers on the

ground, and in some places a horse, or a cow, lying by them. The lightning whirled through the whole country, and, passing through some houses where the windows were made one against the other, it was seen afterwards to run all along, and to lick the ground; many houses were fired by it, and, had it not pleased God to send an extraordinary shower of rain, some towns, that had taken fire, had been undoubtedly destroyed. It struck some men and women dead for the present, whom it pleased God to recover again to life, to magnify his mercies, and to declare his wonders.

This relation is most true, and seriously we ought to lay it to our hearts, for undoubtedly God there did speak unto us all. You have read in the Gospel, how our Saviour did check the vain presumption of those men, who thought themselves more righteous than those on whom the tower of Siloam fell. Though this thunder and lightning were in the county of Norfolk, yet we ought to fear that the first exhalations did arise from this city*, where so much pride, oppression, hypocrisy, and prophaneness do reign; let us therefore endeavour to humble ourselves before the Almighty, lest he strike us with his forked thunder, and there be none to deliver us; lest our houses and our bodies be humbled by fire†, by the hand of God; for, although he delights in mercy, and his mercies are spread over all his works, yet to those who presume to overwit God, and do desperately run on in their impieties, 'our God is a consuming fire.'

And because we are slow to hear, although God himself is our admonisher, it hath pleased him to give us a second alarm in the same county on Saturday last, being the twenty-sixth of this present month, where was again another storm of lightning and thunder, which, passing almost thirty miles, performed the like terrible effects.

THE GRAND IMPOSTOR EXAMINED:

OR,

The Life, Trial, and Examination of James Nayler, the seduced and seducing Quaker; with the manner of his riding into Bristol.

We have a law, and by our law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God. Joh. xix. 7.

But these are written, that ye might believe, that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that, believing, ye might have life through his name. Joh. xx. 31.

London, printed for Henry Brome, at the Hand in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1656. Quarto, containing fifty-six pages.

TO THE READER.

Courteous Reader,

I do here give thee an account of what passed between James Nayler and his judges, as thinking it a part of my duty, towards God and

* London.

† As it came to pass ten years after, when London was burnt.

man; that thereby, thou mayest see and know, there is but one only God, and one only Jesus, which is the Christ, who was crucified by the Jews at Jerusalem; which whosoever denies, let him be accursed.

It hath been the custom, in former times, to immure, stone, or otherwise punish with death, such as did falsely stile themselves the only sons of the Most High God; as thou mayest see in that faithful chronologer, John Speed; who affirmeth, That, in the reign of King Henry the Third, there appeared a grand impostor, somewhat, in wickedness, resembling this, of whom we are to treat. This man (or rather devil) thinking himself to be somebody, boasted himself to be nobody in the eyes of the world, but as being sent from heaven; and, having a grave and impudent aspect, pretended himself to be no less than the Saviour of mankind. And, to strike a belief into the easily seduced people, he had wounded his hands, feet, and side; affirming these to be the wounds, which the Jews had given him at Jerusalem. For which blasphemous and horrid doctrine, he was sentenced to be starved to death, between the walls of a strong prison, where he and his doctrine died. Even so let all thine enemies perish, O Lord.

Thou wilt, in his examination, discover some difference to be between him and George Fox; but I suppose they are again reconciled.

I shall not trouble thee with all the many letters, which were conveyed from him to others, or from them to him, lest I make my relation swell too big; I shall only give thee two or three of the chiefest; out of which if thou canst pick but a little sense, and less truth, thou canst do more than

Thy loving friend.

December 16,
1656.

Reader,

THINKING it a very good foundation to my building, to give you the manner of his progress, before you come to his confession, or before his blasphemy aspires to the stool of repentance, I shall thus begin: James Nayler of Wakefield, in the county of York, a deluded and deluding Quaker and impostor, rode October last, through a village called Bedminster, about a mile from Bristol, accompanied with six more, one whereof, a young man, whose head was bare, leading his horse by the bridle, and another uncovered before him, through the dirty way, in which the carts and horses, and none else, usually go: and with them, two men on horseback, with each of them a woman behind him, and one woman walking on the better way or path. In this posture, did they march; and in such a case, that one George Witherley, noting their condition, asked them to come in the better road, adding that God expected no such extremity. But they continued on their way, not answering in any other notes, but what were musical, singing, 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth,' &c. Thus continued they, till, by their wandering, they came to the alms-house, within the suburbs of Bristol, where one of the women alighted, and

she, with the other of her own sex, lovingly marched on each side of Nayler's horse. This Witherley saith, he supposes, they could not be less deep in the muddy way, than to the knees; and, he saith, they sang, but sometimes with such a buzzing mel-odious noise, that he could not understand what it was. This the said Witherley gave in, upon his oath. Thus did they reach Ratcliff-gate, with Timothy Wedlock of Devon bare-headed, and Martha Symonds with the bridle on one side, and Hannah Stranger, on the other side of the horse; this Martha Symonds is the wife of Thomas Symonds, of London, book-binder; and Hannah Stranger is the wife of John Stranger of London, comb-maker, who sung 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Israel.' Thus did he ride to the High Cross in Bristol, and after that, to the White Hart in Broad-street, where there lie two eminent Quakers, by name Dennis Hollister and Henry Row; of which the magistrates hearing, they were apprehended and committed to prison.

Long it had not been, after their confinement in the gaol at Exeter, from whence, passing through Wells and Glassenbury, this party bestrewed the way with their garments. But, to be short, they were searched, and letters were found about them, infinitely filled with profane nonsensical language; which letters I shall not trouble you with, only some of the chief, lest your patience should be too much cloyed. We shall haste now to their examinations; and, because Nayler was the chief actor, it is fit he have the pre-eminence of leading the way in their examinations; we shall therefore give you a full account of what passed between the magistrate and him, which take as followeth:

The Examination of James Nayler, and others.

BEING asked his name, or whether he was not called James Nayler, he replied, The men of this world call me James Nayler.

Quest. Art not thou the man that rid on horse-back into Bristol, a woman leading thy horse, and others singing before thee, 'Holy, holy, holy, Hosannah,' &c.?

Ans. I did ride into a town, but what its name was I know not, and, by the Spirit, a woman was commanded to hold my horse's bridle, and some there were that cast down clothes, and sang praises to the Lord, such songs as the Lord put into their hearts; and it is like it might be the song of 'Holy, holy, holy,' &c.

Quest. Whether or no didst thou reprove those women?

Ans. Nay, but I bade them take heed, that they sang nothing but what they were moved to by the Lord.

Quest. Dost thou own this letter (whereupon a letter was shewed him) which Hannah Stranger sent unto thee?

Ans. Yea, I do own that letter.

Quest. Art thou (according to that letter) the fairest of ten-thousand?

Ans. As to the visible, I deny any such attribute to be due unto me; but if, as to that which the Father has begotten in me, I shall own

it. But now, reader, before I pass further, I hold it not impertinent to deliver you the words of the same letter, with another, which were these:

A letter to James Nayler at Exeter, by Hannah Stranger.

J. N.

IN the pure fear and power of God, my soul salutes thee, thou everlasting son of righteousness, and prince of peace. Oh! how my soul travelleth to see this day, which Abraham did, and was glad, and so shall all that are of faithful Abraham. O! suffer me to speak what the Lord hath moved, there is one temptation near, the like unto the first, and is like the wisdom of God, but it is not, and therefore it must be destroyed. Oh! it defileth and hateth the innocent; I beseech thee wait, my soul travelleth to see a pure image brought forth, and the enemy strives to destroy it, that he may keep me always sorrowing, and ever seeking, and never satisfied, nor never rejoicing. But he in whom I have believed will shortly tread Satan under our feet, and then shalt thou and thine return to Zion with everlasting rejoicings and praises. But, till then, better is the house of mourning than rejoicing, for he that was made a perfect example, when he had fasted the appointed time of his Father, was tempted to eat, and to shew a miracle, to prove himself to be the Son of God. But man lives not by bread, said he, and now no more by that wisdom shall he live, on which he hath long fed, as on bread; and, as his food hath been, so must his fast be, and then, at the end, temptation, to as low a thing as a stone, that, if it were possible, the humility and the miracles would deceive the elect, innocent, and righteous branch of holiness. But, be his wills never so many, the time comes he shall leave thee, for he is faithful, who hath promised he will not leave the throne of David without a man to sit thereon, which shall judge the poor with righteousness, and the world with equity. This shall shortly come to pass, and then shall the vision speak, and not lye. O! let innocency be thy beloved, and righteousness thy spouse, that thy father's lambs may rejoice in thy pure and clear unspotted image of holiness and purity, which my soul believeth I shall see, and so in the faith rest. I am in patience, wait, and the power will preserve from subtlety; though under never so zealous a pretence of innocent wisdom it be, yet shall the Lord not suffer his Holy One to see corruption, nor his soul to lie in hell, but will cause the mountains to melt at his presence, and the little hills to bring him peace. O! I am ready to fear as a servant, and to obey as a child. If I have spoken words too high, love hath constrained me, which is as strong as death; and with the same spirit cover them as they are spoken with, and then shall the spirit of David be witnessed, who refused not words, though from his servant's mouth; if they were in the fear, I am his servant, and he my master, whom I love and fear, and trust I shall do unto the end.

HANNAH STRANGER.

From London, 16th day
of the 7th month,

Another of the same.

OH! thou fairest of ten-thousand, thou only begotten Son of God, how my heart panteth after thee? O stay me with flaggons, and comfort me with wine. My beloved, thou art like a roe, or young hart, upon the mountains of spices, where thy beloved spouse hath long been calling thee to come away, but hath been but lately heard of thee. Now it lies something upon me, that thou mindest to see her, for the spirit and power of God is with her; and there is given to her much of excellent and innocent wisdom arisen, and arising in her, which will make all the honest-hearted to praise the Lord alone, and no more set up self. And therefore let not my lord and master have any jealousy again of her, for she is highly beloved of the Lord, and that shall all see who come to know the Lord. And now he doth bless them that bless his, and curse them that curse his; for this hath the Lord shewed me, that her portion is exceeding large in the Lord; and, as her sorrow hath been much, so shall her joy be much more; which rejoiceth my heart, to see her walk so valiantly and so faithfully in the work of the Lord, in this time of so great trials as hath been laid upon her especially.

And I am

HANNAH STRANGER.

The Postscript.

Remember my dear love to thy master. Thy name is no more to be called James but Jesus.

JOHN STRANGER.

This John Stranger is husband to this Hannah Stranger; and this was added as a postscript by him to his wife's letter, as is acknowledged.

Remember my love to those friends with thee. The seventeenth day of the eighth month, superscribed this to the hands of James Nayler.

We shall now return to his examination.

Quest. Art thou the only Son of God?

Answ. I am the Son of God, but I have many brethren.

Quest. Have any called thee by the name of Jesus?

Answ. Not as unto the visible, but as Jesus, the Christ that is in me.

Quest. Dost thou own the name of the King of Israel?

Answ. Not as a creature, but, if they give it Christ within, I own it, and have a kingdom but not of this world; my kingdom is of another world, of which thou wotst not.

Quest. Whether or no art thou the prophet of the Most High?

Answ. Thou hast said, I am a prophet.

Quest. Dost thou own that attribute, the judge of Israel?

Answ. The judge is but one, and is witnessed in me, and is the Christ, there must not be any joined with him. If they speak of the spirit in me, I own it only as God is manifest in the flesh, according as God dwelleth in me, and judgeth there himself.

Quest. By whom were you sent?

Answ. By Him who hath sent the spirit of his Son in me to try, not as to carnal matters, but belonging to the kingdom of God, by the

indwelling of the Father and the Son, to judge of all spirits, to be guided by none.

Quest. Is not the written word of God the guide?

Answ. The written word declares of it, and what is not according to that is not true.

Quest. Whether art thou more sent than others, or whether others be not sent in that measure?

Answ. As to that I have nothing at present given me of my Father to answer.

Quest. Was your birth mortal or immortal?

Answ. Not according to the natural birth, but according to the spiritual birth, born of the immortal seed.

Quest. Wert thou ever called the Lamb of God?

Answ. I look not back to things behind, but there might be some such thing in the letter; I am a lamb, and have sought it long before I could witness it.

Quest. Who is thy mother, or whether or no is she a virgin?

Answ. Nay, according to the natural birth.

Quest. Who is thy mother according to thy spiritual birth?

Answ. No carnal creature.

Quest. Who then?

Answ. ——— To this he refused to answer.

Quest. Is the hope of Israel in thee?

Answ. The hope is in Christ, and, as Christ is in me, so far the hope of Israel stands; Christ is in me the hope of glory.

Quest. What more hope is there in thee than in others?

Answ. None can know but them of Israel, and Israel must give an account.

Quest. Art thou the everlasting Son of God?

Answ. Where God is manifest in the flesh, there is the everlasting son, and I do witness God in the flesh; I am the Son of God, and the Son of God is but one.

Quest. Art thou the prince of peace?

Answ. The prince of everlasting peace is begotten in me.

Quest. Why dost thou not reprove those that give thee these attributes?

Answ. I have said nothing unto them, but such things are written.

Quest. Is thy name Jesus?

Answ. ——— Here he was silent.

Quest. For what space of time hast thou been so called?

Answ. ——— And here.

Quest. Is there no other Jesus besides thee?

Answ. These questions he forbore either to confirm or to contradict them.

Quest. Art thou the everlasting Son of God, the King of righteousness?

Answ. I am, and the everlasting righteousness is wrought in me; if ye were acquainted with the Father, ye would also be acquainted with me.

Quest. Did any kiss thy feet?

Answ. It might be they did, but I minded them not.

Quest. When thou wast called the King of Israel, didst thou not answer, thou sayest it?

Answ. Yea.

Quest. How dost thou provide for a livelihood?

Answ. As do the lillies without care, being maintained by my Father.

Quest. Whom dost thou call thy father?

Answ. He whom thou callest God.

Quest. What business hadst thou at Bristol, or that way?

Answ. I was guided and directed by my Father.

Quest. Why wast thou called a judge to try the cause of Israel?

Answ. ——— Here he answered nothing.

Quest. Are any of these sayings blasphemy or not?

Answ. What is received of the Lord is truth.

Quest. Whose letter was that which was writ to thee, signed T. S.?

Answ. It was sent me to Exeter goal by one the world calls Tho.

Symonds.

Quest. Didst thou not say, if ye had known me, ye had known the Father?

Answ. Yea, for the Father is my life.

Quest. Where wert thou born?

Answ. At Anderslow, in Yorkshire.

Quest. Where lives thy wife?

Answ. She, whom thou callest my wife, lives in Wakefield.

Quest. Why dost thou not live with her?

Answ. I did, till I was called to the army.

Quest. Under whose command didst thou serve in the army?

Answ. First, under him they call Lord Fairfax.

Quest. Who then?

Answ. Afterwards, under that man called Col. Lambert. And then I went into Scotland, where I was a quartermaster, and returned sick to my earthly habitation, and was called into the north.

Quest. What wentest thou for to Exeter?

Answ. I went to Lawson, to see the brethren.

Quest. What estate hast thou?

Answ. I take no care for that.

Quest. Doth God in an extraordinary manner sustain thee, without any corporal food?

Answ. Man doth not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Father. The same life is mine that is in the Father; but not in the same measure.

Quest. How art thou cloathed?

Answ. I know not.

Quest. Dost thou live without bread?

Answ. As long as my heavenly Father will: I have tasted of that bread, of which he that eateth shall never die.

Quest. How long hast thou lived without any corporal sustenance, having perfect health?

Answ. Some fifteen or sixteen days, sustained without any other food except the word of God.

Quest. Was Dorcas Erbury dead two days in Exeter, and didst thou raise her?

Answ. I can do nothing of myself. The Scripture beareth witness to the power in me which is everlasting; it is the same power we read of in the Scripture. The Lord hath made me a sign of his coming: and that honour that belongeth to Christ Jesus, in whom I am revealed, may be given to him, as when on earth at Jerusalem, according to the measure.

Quest. Art thou the unspotted Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world?

Answ. Were I not a lamb, wolves would not seek to devour me.

Quest. Art thou not guilty of horrid blasphemy, by thy own words?

Answ. Who made thee a judge over them?

Quest. Wherefore camest thou in such an unusual posture, as, two women leading thy horse; others singing 'Holy, holy,' &c. with another before thee bare-headed, knee-deep in the highway mud, when thou mightest have gone in the causey; and at such a time, that, it raining, thy companions received the rain at their necks, and vented it at their hose and breeches?

Answ. It tended to my Father's praise and glory, and I ought not to slight any thing which the Spirit of the Lord moves.

Quest. Dost thou think the Spirit of the Lord moved, or commanded them?

Answ. Yea.

Quest. Whom meant they by 'Holy, holy, holy,' &c.;

Answ. Let them answer for themselves, they are at age.

Quest. Did not some spread their cloaths on the ground before thee, when thou riddest thorough Glastonbury and Wells?

Answ. I think they did.

Quest. Wherefore didst thou call Martha Symonds mother, as George Fox affirms?

Answ. George Fox is a liar and a firebrand of hell; for neither I, nor any with me, called her so.

Quest. Thou hast a wife at this time?

Answ. A woman I have, who by the world is called my wife; and some children I have, which according to the flesh are mine.

Quest. Those books which thou hast writ, wilt thou maintain them, and affirm what is therein?

Answ. Yea, with my dearest blood.

Martha Symonds's Examination.

She confesseth, she knew James Nayler formerly; for he is now no more James Nayler, but refined to a more excellent substance; and so she saith she came with him from Bristol to Exeter.

Quest. WHAT made thee lead his horse into Bristol, and sing 'Holy, holy, holy,' &c.? And to spread thy garments before him?

Answ. I was forced thereto by the power of the Lord.

432 THE GRAND IMPOSTOR EXAMINED, &c.

Quest. He is stiled, in Hannah Stranger's letter, 'the fairest of ten-thousand, the hope of Israel, and the only begotten son of God.' Dost thou so esteem him?

Answ. That James Nayler, of whom thou speakest, is buried in me, and he hath promised to come again.

Quest. Dost thou like of that attribute, as given to him?

Answ. I cannot tell, I judge them not.

Quest. Whether didst thou kneel before him?

Answ. What I did was in obedience to a power above.

Quest. Dost thou own him to be the prince of peace?

Answ. He is a perfect man; and he, that is a perfect man, is the prince of peace.

Quest. Hast thou a husband?

Answ. I have a man, which thou callest my husband.

Quest. What made thee to leave him, and to follow James Nayler in such a manner?

Answ. It is our life to praise the Lord, and the Lord my strength, (who filleth heaven and earth) is manifest in James Nayler.

Quest. Oughtest thou to worship James Nayler upon thy knees?

Answ. Yea, I ought so to do.

Quest. Why oughtest thou so to do?

Answ. He is the Son of Righteousness; and the new man within him is the everlasting Son of Righteousness; and James Nayler will be Jesus, when the new life is born in him.

Quest. By what name callest thou him?

Answ. Lord.

Quest. Why dost thou call him Lord?

Answ. Because he is the Prince of Peace, and Lord of Righteousness.

Quest. What reason canst thou shew for thy calling him King of Israel!

Answ. He is so anointed.

Quest. Who hath anointed him?

Answ. A prophet.

Quest. What prophet was that?

Answ. I will not tell thee.

Quest. Thou confessest that thou didst spread thy cloaths?

Answ. Yea, I did.

Quest. Tell me; doth that spirit of Jesus, which thou sayest is in Nayler, make him a sufficient Jesus to others?

Answ. I tell thee, there is seed born in him, which above all men I shall (and every one ought to) honour.

Quest. Is he King of Israel, as thy husband saith?

Answ. If he saith so, thy testimony is double.

Hannah Stranger's examination.

She saith, she came from Bristol to Exeter with James Nayler; and that she flung her handkerchief before him, because commanded so of the Lord, and that she sung Holy, &c. and that the Lord is risen in him.

Quest. WHEREFORE didst thou sing before James Nayler?

Answ. I must not be mute when I am commanded of the Lord.

Quest. Wherefore didst thou sing to him ?

Answ. My conscience tells me I have not offended any law.

Quest. Was that letter thine ? and didst thou spread thy garments before him ?

Answ. Yea, and my blood will maintain it.

Quest. Dost thou own him for the Prince of Peace ?

Answ. Yea, he is so.

Quest. What dost thou call his name ?

Answ. It hath been said already, I have told of his name.

Quest. Dost thou not know it to be blasphemy to give him such and such attributes ?

Answ. If I have offended any law, &c.

Quest. Didst thou send him that letter wherein he was called the Son of God ?

Answ. Yea, I do own the whole letter.

Quest. Didst thou call him Jesus ?

Answ. ————She would not answer.

Quest. Didst thou kiss his feet ?

Answ. Yea.

Thomas Stranger's examination.

HE owneth the postscript of the letter, in which he calleth James Nayler Jesus ; but could not be got to answer to any more questions, any further, than, If I have offended any law. He confesseth he called James Nayler Jesus, and saith he was thereto moved of the Lord.

Timothy Wedlock's examination.

Quest. DOST thou own James Nayler to be the only Son of God ?

Answ. I do own him to be the Son of God.

Quest. Wherefore didst thou and the rest sing before him, ' Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Israel ?'

Answ. I do own the songs of Sion.

Quest. Thou wilt go through a great rain bare-headed, why then wilt thou not be uncovered to a magistrate ?

Answ. What I did was as the Lord commanded.

Quest. What is your opinion concerning religion ?

Answ. I own no opinions, nor any judgements.

Quest. Wherefore didst thou honour him in towns, and not elsewhere.

Answ. We did as well in Commons ; but in both, as the spirit of the Lord directed us.

Quest. Wherefore didst thou kneel before him ?

Answ. The truth.

Dorcas Erbury, the widow of William Erbury, once a minister, but a seducing quaker, her examination.

Quest. WHERE dost thou live ?

Answ. With Margaret Thomas.

Quest. Wherefore didst thou sing 'Holy, &c.

Answ. I did not at that time; but those that sang did it in discharging of their duty.

Quest. Dost thou own him that rode on horse-back to be the holy one of Israel.

Answ. Yea, I do; and with my blood will seal it.

Quest. And dost thou own him for the Son of God?

Answ. He is the only begotten Son of God.

Quest. Wherefore didst thou pull off his stockings, and lay thy cloaths beneath his feet?

Answ. He is worthy of it; for he is the holy Lord of Israel.

Quest. Knewest thou no other Jesus, the only begotten Son of God?

Answ. I know no other Saviour.

Quest. Dost thou believe in James Nayler?

Answ. Yea, in him whom thou callest so, I do.

Quest. By what name dost thou use to call him?

Answ. The Son of God; but I am to serve him, and to call him Lord and Master.

Quest. Jesus was crucified; but this man you call the Son of God, is alive?

Answ. He hath shook off his carnal body.

Quest. Why, what body hath he then?

Answ. Say not the Scriptures, Thy natural body I will change, and it shall be spiritual?

Quest. Hath a spirit flesh and bones?

Answ. His flesh and bones are new.

Quest. Christ raised those that had been dead; so did not he.

Answ. He raised me.

Quest. In what manner.

Answ. He laid his hand on my head, after I had been dead two days, and said, Dorcas, arise; and I arose, and live as thou seest.

Quest. Where did he this?

Answ. At the gaol in Exeter.

Quest. What witness hast thou for this?

Answ. My mother, who was present.

Quest. His power being so much, wherefore opened he not the prison doors, and escaped?

Answ. The doors shall open, when the Lord's work is done.

Quest. What apostles hath he?

Answ. They are scattered, but some are here.

Quest. Jesus Christ doth sit at the right-hand of the Father, where the world shall be judged by him.

Answ. He, whom thou callest Nayler, shall sit at the right-hand of the Father, and shall judge the world with equity.

Here followeth a relation concerning one of his companions.

ONE of James Nayler's disciples, having attained to some knowledge in the French tongue, went over into France to a city called Bourdeaux, where, after entering into a congregation of the Protestants, he be-

gan, after his wonted manner here in England, to cry out, in the open congregation, against the minister, calling him conjurer, liar, impostor, deceiver; and the elders and people being astonished at the novelty, and reputing him a madman, came and told him, That they had laws in France to protect the congregations, either of papists or protestants, from any disturbance; and thrust him forth of their church.

Upon which, he went into the church yard, and, upon a stone, continued his discourse, which drew the whole congregation out of the church, after him, and caused the minister to give over; and the elders, coming again to him, told him, that, he being a stranger, they were willing to favour him; but, seeing he did continue his disturbance, they would commit him to justice; he told them, justice was never in that place until his appearance.

Upon that, they took him away to the governor; where, being brought, with his hat on, he asked the governor what he was; who told him, he was the governor of that place under the King of France. He said, that he would not answer him as governor, his government being carnal. And a certain bishop being with the governor, who was a papist, desiring that he might question him, and demanding what he was, he told him, he was an Englishman, and sent of the Lord to prepare his way. He demanded of the bishop what he was; who told him, he was a bishop; whereupon he replied, that against him he was sent, who was one of the locusts that was sent forth of the bottomless pit; and that the weapons he had with him were fitted to destroy him and the whole kingdom of Antichrist, who was held in darkness and blindness; and that he was to pour out vials of the Father's wrath upon him. The governor of Bourdeaux, perceiving several of the people to be infected with his doctrine, demanded if there was any ship ready to sail for England; which being informed of, he therein shipped him, being not willing to use extremity to a stranger, but caused some six or seven, who had been infected with his doctrine, to be whipped through the streets.

A relation concerning some others of the same tribe.

SEVEN or eight others went over in a vessel to New-England, where, being arrived, they began to spread themselves; but the governor, having notice, caused them to be clapped up close in a castle, and would not suffer any one to come to see them under penalty of five pounds. In the mean time, he sent for the master of the ship that brought them, and commanded him immediately to carry them back into old England, which, he refusing, was also clapped up close prisoner, until he consented, and took them a-board again.

Now, reader, I shall close up all with a word or two of his life and actions.

JAMES NAYLER is a man of so erroneous and unsanctified a disposition, that it is hard to say, whether heresy or inapudency beareth the greater rule in him; as will appear.

First, In what he testifieth before sufficient witnesses ; see the 'Brief relation of the Northern Quakers,' page 22, That he was as holy, just, and good, as God himself. And,

Secondly, That he, in a letter to one in Lancaster, expressly saith, That, he that expected to be saved by Jesus Christ that died at Jerusalem, shall be deceived. See Mr. Billingsly's Defence of the Scriptures, page 16. The perfect Pharisee, page 8. And so said another of that sect: He was not such a fool, as to hope to be saved by Jesus Christ that died at Jerusalem sixteen-hundred years ago. See Mr. Farmer's Mystery of Godliness and Ungodliness. Thus they glory in their ignorance, and count that foolishness which is the true wisdom.

Thirdly, In a letter I had in my possession, but now lent to a friend, subscribed by the pastor, and other members of that congregation in the north, whereof Nayler once was a member, till, for his apostasy, he was excommunicated, it is offered to be proved, and by them testified to be true, that one Mrs. Roper, her husband being gone on some occasion from her, a long voyage, this Nayler frequented her company, and was seen to dandle her upon his knee, and kiss her lasciviously; and, in that time of his society with her, she was brought to bed of a child, when her husband had been absent seven and forty weeks, to a day, from her; and, on a time, he was seen to dance her in a private room; and, having kissed her very often, she took occasion to say, Now, James, what would the world say if they should see us in this posture? To which he said somewhat, but he was so low, that it could not be heard. This was objected against him, but he denied to answer it before the said church; objecting, That he would not speak to them, that spoke not immediately by the spirit.

Fourthly, In that, when I had discourse with him concerning perfect perfection, at the Bull and Mouth, he said, I was a liar to say he owned it; then I proved it from his own writings, as that he said, they that say they have faith, and their life is not the life of Christ, and them that say they have faith, and yet they cannot be saved from their sins but in part in this world, them and their faith I deny, &c. To which he hypocritically said, that I was a liar to say that he owned it in himself, though he disowned it in others. And, when I had objected any thing against what he said, he would deny it as soon as he had spoke it; which, to convince the people of his lying deceits, I desired them that stood by me, to remember that he said, All that are in the world are of the world, in direct opposition to that saying of Christ, John xvii. 'I pray not, holy Father, that thou shouldest take them out of the world, but preserve them from the evil of the world'; which I presently accused him with, for which he called me liar; for he said, he said not so. I then desired them that heard him to testify to the truth, against the liar and his deceit, which they did; but his scared impudence was such, that he said, should a thousand say so, they were all liars; with much more to the like effect.

For his character.

HE is a man of a ruddy complexion, brown hair, and slank, hanging a little below his jaw-bones; of an indifferent height; not very long vi-

aged, nor very round; close shaven; a sad down look, and melancholy countenance; a little band, close to his collar, with no band strings; his hat hanging over his brows; his nose neither high nor low, but rising a little in the middle.

Something concerning some others of them also.

DISBOROUGH, not much inferior to Nayler himself, attempting to lie with one Rebecca (who was first seduced to be, and then was of their heresy) she asked him, what his wife would say if she should know what he attempted? Disborough replied, that he gave her the same liberty that he took himself (that was, to be a whore, as he was a whore-master) but, in short, he having obtained his desire of her, she asked him, how if she should prove with child? He answered, she must be content to be numbered with the transgressors, and to make her grave with the wicked (so that he followed not that light which is pure, but sinned against knowledge) as she, the said Rebecca, as bewailing her sin, confessed unto one Mr. White, a Lincolnshire gentleman, to whom she added, that Nayler attempted to defile her also; so that, instead of perfect saints, they are rather perfect sophisters.

This relation under the said gentleman's hand, and the aforementioned letter from the church, whereof Nayler was once a member, were offered to be proved and made good, in the publick meeting at the Bull and Mouth, to Nayler's face, more than once or twice, who was unable to say aught unto it, but left his standing, and sat down silent. They, that offered it so to publick trial, were, one Mr. Persivall, and Mr. John Deacon, author of the publick discovery of their secret deceit.

Some of their opinions are these:

1. THEY deny the scriptures are the word of God.
2. They esteem their own speakings to be of as great authority.
3. They hold it unlawful to expound or interpret the Scriptures.
4. They say, that he, that preaches by a text of Scripture, is a conjurer.
5. That the holy letter is carnal.
6. That the bible ought to be burned.
7. That Jesus Christ inhabits in their flesh as man.
8. Some have said, that Christ never ascended into heaven.
9. That to pray, that their sins may be pardoned, is needless.
10. They believe not that there is another world.
11. Some of them deny the resurrection.
12. That they cannot sin, but that they are perfect.
13. They make no distinction of persons.

A friend of mine being desirous to be resolved of a doubt; as, whether that which was reported, of that heretical sect, were more than they erred in, or less than they erroneously maintained contrary to the truth? He went unto their meeting, within Aldersgate, where he had no sooner entered that synagogue of Satan, but the then speaker (name-

ly, George Fox) cried out, but on what occasion, he knoweth not, 'Quakers, Quakers, earth is above God,' in the open house, before hundreds then present. At which, my friend wondered, and pressing forwards a little into the multitude, he saw some disputing upon the same words; who demanding what was the matter, one answered, that George Fox said, 'earth is above God'; and here is one saith, that whatsoever George Fox should do or say, he would maintain (pointing to a young man then standing by) to whom, my friend replied, he had undertaken a harder task, than he was able to perform: For God was the Creator of the earth, and all things else; and therefore above the earth, and not the earth above him, that created it; forasmuch as the workman is above his work: For, although an artificer shall by art compose any thing, that is never so excellent, yet it can claim no equality with the maker, in regard that what is excellent in it, is the Maker's excellency, and not its own: for, destroy the work, and the workman can make the like; but destroy the workman with the work, and both perish. To which he replied, he did not mean the earth under our feet, but earthly sin in man. To which my friend replied, that now his blasphemy was worse than it was before; for take the earth simply in itself, it hath no prejudice towards God; but sin is that, which seeks God's destruction, and therefore he was not to be conversed with, being of so diabolical an opinion.

One Stephens of London, being on a time at their meetings, with an intent to oppose what he should there hear, not agreeing with truth, which, at his first coming, he did for a short time, till one of them, taking him by the hand, and rubbing his wrist very hard; which put him to very sore pain, and so altered his resolution, that he was so transformed by their enchantments, that he since confessed, that, should any one whatsoever have dared to oppose or resist them, as he just before did, he would have stabbed them to the heart, whatsoever had come of it.

There is one Stephens (and it is supposed, the same) a Quaker, that now lieth stark mad, and hath so been a pretty while, through the disturbances of that spirit, which ruleth in the old Quakers.

JOHN DEACON.

A CASE OF CONSCIENCE,

Whether it be lawful to admit Jews into a christian commonwealth?
Resolved by Mr. John Dury: written to Samuel Hartlib, esq.

London, printed for Richard Wodenothe, in Leadenhall-street, next to the Golden Heart, 1656. Quarto, containing twelve pages.

I FIND it the practice of most of the protestant commonwealths here in Germany, to admit of the Jews, but they do it with a huge mark of distinction between them and others; by which means they are made

vile and contemptible. In the Cantons of Switzerland they are not admitted, nor so much as to travel through the country, or to come into a town or city without leave, and paying a certain duty, or to stay in a city over night; which is said to befall unto them, by reason of some heinous conspiracy (to do a mischief to the country, where they had liberty to live) attempted by them. I know none of the reformed churches or divines, who make their admission to be unlawful; but it is a work which the civil magistrate takes wholly into his own consideration, to do, or not to do therein, what he finds expedient for the advantage of the state; nor do I remember to have read or heard that the case hath ever been put to any of the churches, to be scanned as a matter of conscience.

There is one of the chief reformed divines, Doctor Alteng, who, in his Problematical Theology, Part II. Problem 21. puts this question: *Utrum Judæi in Societate Christianorum tolerandi sint?* And he doth answer it affirmatively, and I am clearly of his opinion, that it is not only lawful, but, if matters be rightly ordered towards them, expedient to admit of them; nay, to invite and encourage them to live in reformed christian commonwealths. How far it may be a sin to refuse them admittance, when they do desire it, upon lawful terms, and in a reasonable way, is a further question, which cannot be decided, till the former points of the lawfulness and expediency of admitting of them be made out.

The apostle makes a large difference between things lawful and expedient to be done, 1 Cor. x. from verse 23, till the end of the chapter. Things are said to be lawful, which, being looked upon in themselves, are not repugnant to any law of God, or of nature; and consequently left free to be done, if there be some cause found inducing thereunto; or not to be done, if there be causes found to be contrary; in which respect things lawful are counted indifferent, that is, by themselves, not putting any obligation upon the conscience, to determine it either for doing or not doing, but leaving it at liberty to be determined by the concurrence of other circumstances, which make the doing or not doing of the thing good or bad, as clothed with such and such qualities concomitant or consequent. An example of concomitant circumstances, making an action, in itself lawful, not to be expedient at a certain time, is given by the apostle, 1 Cor. x. 27, 28, 29. An example of a thing, though lawful, yet not expedient, by reason of a consequent circumstance, is given, 1 Cor. vi. 12, 13. And another of the same kind, touching the receiving of wages, for doing the work of the ministry, 1 Cor. ix. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18. Which the apostle shews was not expedient for him to receive, though it was commanded by God to be given.

By this notion of lawful and expedient actions, we must look upon the admitting of the Jews, if the question be in respect of lawfulness, without any limitation to be answered affirmatively; for taking Jews as they are, that is, men of a strange nation, who are banished from the country of their inheritance, and made pilgrims and wanderers through the world; a people in misery and distress, and so an object of hospita-

lity; there is no doubt but they may lawfully be received into any civil society of men, to live and have a being therein, as strangers. For it is not lawful for them to desire to be received upon any other terms, because the rest of the world must be ingrafted upon them towards God, and not they upon any other people. For, in respect of God's providential government of the world, the prerogative is still theirs, to be a people set a-part above all others, for the manifestation both of his mercies and judgments. I say, then, that they being such a people set a-part, not only in their forefathers, but in their present state, for such an end, and in this state being made strangers every where, and not lawful for them to make any other account of themselves: and God having recommended the entertainment of strangers, as a special duty of charity unto all christians; and no nation of the world being a greater object of charity, and fitter to be pitied by christians, than Jews: It is clear to me, that, if the question be put in general terms, concerning the lawfulness of admitting them, the answer cannot be other than affirmative. But, if the question be made concerning the expediency of admitting of them at such and such a time, in this or that place, upon those or these terms, then I suppose the great rules of expediency are to be observed, which are, 1. In respect of God's glory, according to the apostle's direction, 1 Cor. x. 31. 'Whether, therefore, ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God.' Whatsoever, then, conduceth to the glory of God, is not only lawful, but expedient to be done. 2. In respect of our neighbours, there is a twofold rule, the one is of edification, the other avoiding offences. The rule of edification is expressed by the same apostle, in the same chapter, verses 23, 24, in these words, 'All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient. All things are lawful for me, but all things edify not. Let no man seek his own, but every one that which is another's.' Where the 23d verse puts not expedient and not edifying for equivalent terms, expounding each other, and equidistant from that which is lawful. And the 24th verse shews what is meant by edifying. The rule of avoiding offence is again in the same place expressed, verse 32, 'Give no offence, neither to the Jews nor to the Gentiles, nor to the church of God. Even as I please all men,' &c. 3. In respect of ourselves the rule is, that we ourselves be not thereby deprived of our christian or civil liberty; which the apostle expresseth, 1 Cor. vi. 12, in these words: 'All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient; all things are lawful for me, but I will not be brought under the power of any.' If, in the circumstances of their admission, nothing be found contrary to those rules, but all can be made consonant to the glory of God, to the edification of others, without danger of offence, and without bringing a yoke upon ourselves; then their admission will be judged not only lawful, but also expedient; and to determine, how the circumstances may agree with those rules, doth belong chiefly to those to whom the power of admitting of them is given by God; that is, to the rulers of the state, without whose consent no societies ought to be formed in the state. For, seeing the Jews come into christian commonwealths, not as members thereof, but as strangers therein, and yet

form a society, or kind of commonwealth among themselves, it can belong to none pertinently to judge of the expediency of admitting of them, but unto those whom God hath set over the commonwealth to procure the welfare thereof. Others may be consulted withal concerning particular circumstances, which may be proposed unto them, to hear their opinion what they will judge of them; but, upon the whole matter, none ought to give a verdict, but such as can compare all circumstances at once, with the frame of the whole state, to discern, by the forenamed rules, whether their admission be expedient or not. And, seeing it may stand in their own power, by the admission of them, to order things so towards them, as to make all circumstances consonant to the rules of expediency, I conceive it will be their duty, when they are intreated so to do, to endeavour the performance thereof; and, if they do not so, I know not how to excuse them from a failing in the duty of their calling. And although particular persons, to whom the judgment, *super totam materiam*, doth not belong, ought not to meddle beyond their line in the business; yet being required to contribute their assistance and advice, how to frame things in a way towards them, which is most expedient, they ought not to refuse it. Therefore I also shall put in my mite among the rest, although I am at a great distance for the present, and cannot know how things stand at home.

If then the question be, how their admission may be so circumstantiated, as to answer the forenamed rules of expediency? I would advise thus:

I. To advance the glory of God by their admission, I conceive they must be restrained from some things, and may be fairly induced to some other things. The things, from which they must be restrained, are chiefly these: 1. Not to blaspheme the person of Jesus Christ, or, if any doth, that he shall be liable to the law which Moses hath given, in case of blaspheming the name of God. 2. Not to seduce any, or go about to make proselytes; or, if any doth, he shall, *ipso facto*, forfeit his liberty, or undergo some other heavier punishment. 3. Not to prophane the christian sabbath, but to rest upon it, as well as upon their own sabbath; and not to dishonour any of the ordinances of Christianity, under some punishment to be inflicted, suitable to the offence.

The things, whereunto they may be fairly induced, are, as I conceive, these: 1. To hear us concerning the grounds which we have for Christianity, and that with patience, and without contradicting contentiously; but, in case of doubts, that they should propose the same by way of question to be resolved, that we may have cause to give them a reason of our faith and practice. 2. To declare to us the grounds of all their faith and practice, and to answer such questions as we happily may propose to be resolved by them, upon such a declaration. 3. To avoid on both sides all contradictory disputes in these conferences, and not to trouble any of the weaker sort of either side, with the matters to be handled therein, but only to set them a foot amongst a few of the rabbies of each side in a friendly way. Here at Cassel something hath been intended this way, by obliging them to come once a month to a lec-

ture, wherein the grounds of Christianity were opened unto them; and although few or none have been thereby so openly converted, as to embrace all the truth; yet some of them have been so moved, that they have wept much sometimes at the things which they have heard. Also a small catechism of our belief, concerning the Messiah, hath been penned for them, and they have been obliged to read it, and learn it, so as to answer to the questions contained therein, that it might appear they were not ignorant of our meaning, for the aim was only to glorify God in this. For the glory of our God is chiefly made manifest in his truth and faithfulness to make good his word, for he hath 'magnified his word above all his works'; and if we can order their admission so, as to manifest unto them the truth of his word revealed unto us by the promises of the gospel, in the knowledge of his name; and so lay that knowledge before them in the lump, that they cannot but see that God hath appeared unto us, and doth rule us by spirit and truth, and makes a great difference between our communion with himself and their literal worshipping of him; if, I say, we can contrive, in their admission, the business so towards them, that they shall not only be restrained from dishonouring our God and his ordinances, or overthrowing his truth in the minds of any, but that they shall be made to see the goodness of God's mercy to us, that he hath adopted us to be his people in their stead; then the first rule of expediency will be observed, and there will be no great difficulty to contrive the business so, that the other rules also will be put in practice. Now, concerning the method of spiritual prudence, how to go about this work towards them, is a subject too large to be entered upon at this time. One caveat only may be suggested at present, which is this, that the scanning of particular questions and doubts which they may have concerning the genealogy of Christ, and other circumstantial matters in the New Testament, should be avoided, and the main undeniable truths wherein the Old and New Testament agree, and which make up the substance of saving knowledge, and of the practice of piety, and the fulfilling both of the promises made to us, and the threatenings denounced against them, should be only insisted upon, and branched out, to let them see the body of the whole truth of God, made out to us, and our endeavour to glorify God thereby.

And thus much shall be at this time hinted at, concerning the observation of the first rule of expediency towards them in their admission; which being not only feasible, but a main duty incumbent to all christian magistrates to intend and endeavour, it is to me evident, that their admission is not only lawful, but expedient also.

II. To advance their edification by their admission, according to the second rule of expediency; I conceive matters may be so ordered towards them, that they may be made to understand, that the intention of the state, in admitting of them, is not to have profit or temporal advantages by them (which may be had as well by our own industry, and perhaps better, without theirs) but rather out of christian love and compassion towards them; and in witness of our thankfulness to God, for the good which hath been derived from them to us; and for the

hope which we have, that all his goodness shall be fulfilled both in them, and us, when the Messiah shall return in his glory. The apostle saith, that 'charity edifieth'; and it is a truth approved by daily experience, that, without charity, no ground can be laid of mutual commerce, or increase of good things, mutually communicable. Therefore I would suggest humbly this, that, to open a door in their hard hearts, for doing good unto them, the charity of the state, in the act of their admission, should be ratified towards them, and they made fully sensible, that it is not for any profit, which they can bring to the state, that they are admitted; but for a desire in us, for doing them good, for the good, which, through their misery, is befallen to us Gentiles, viz. that we have the oracles of God, by their means, preserved and conveyed to us, and the knowledge, and the accomplishment of the benefit of all the promises, whereof we desire, that they may be made partakers again with us. And this being made professedly the ground of their admission, viz. our thankfulness to God, to shew that mercy to them, which he hath shewed to us: all other duties of good-will, and lawful communion, tending to the accomplishment of this end, may be wisely and kindly built thereupon, so as, without prejudice, they will be glad to receive the same, and entertain the motions which we may make to that effect; and, amongst other effects of our love, they may receive, by the same act of their admission, an assurance, that, in all treaties with the nations which persecute and oppress them, a care shall be had of them, and their interests, as with Spain and Portugal, and the Grand Signior, and others, if any be, who seek to destroy them. That in publick transactions their liberty of living with them shall be procured so far, as in the power of our state shall lie by God's permission.

III. To avoid offences between them and us, in admitting of them, it will be expedient that they live by themselves, and that their worship be performed in their own tongue; that the insolencies, which the common sort of both sides may use one towards another, be prevented by laws and special orders, to keep them from inroaching upon others, beyond their bounds; for they are naturally more high-minded than other nations, and make less conscience of oppressing the Gentiles, than others do; because they find they are oppressed by them, and imagine themselves the only noble people in the world; and therefore aspire to have, not only liberty to live by themselves, but riches and power over others, wherever they can get it; which inclinations of theirs, being the chief causes of offences, must be prevented, not as here in Germany, by making them base and vile; but by other more friendly ways, which prudence and equity will suggest.

IV. To avoid the temporal inconveniencies which may arise from their covetous practices and biting usury, and other subtleties in trade, by which we of the nation may be prejudged in our liberty, and brought, in some respect or other, under their power. The wisdom of the state will look to it, nor is it in my way to take it into consideration: Therefore I shall leave this last rule of expediency unto their vigilancy, and draw to a conclusion of these suggestions, wherein I have no more to say but this; that if they desire admittance, and will re-

ceive it in a way, wherein these rules can be observed; then they should be admitted, and that it will be a sin in those, who will not admit them upon these terms; or who will not propose such terms as these, unto them, when they desire admittance; or who, having an opportunity to invite them in their distress, do not mind these principles in admitting of them, to give them entertainment in their commonwealth. As for other considerations of future hopes, although I believe as much of them, as most men do; yet I can draw no argument from thence for any particular admittance of them, at this time, because I know that the times and seasons of their deliverance are in God's hand alone, and that we are very much inclined to mistake in conjectures of that nature. But the universal rules, which are grounded upon the main ends and duties of Christianity, must be observed by those that will trust unto God, for a blessing upon their endeavours. And when they have (towards such ends, and according to such duties) done that which they think, is acceptable to God; then they ought to acquiesce, and leave the issue to Providence, which I am persuaded will be favourable to the state. And, in this assurance, I rest ever,

Sir,

Your most affectionate and

faithful Servant in Christ,

JOHN DURY.

Cassell, in Haste,

Jan. 8, 1656.

POSTSCRIPT.

Concerning the Jews, if I can, I will send you the abstract of the laws, by which they are received here. Our state doth wisely to go warily, and by degrees, in the business of receiving them. Menasseh Ben Israel's demands are great, and the use, which they make of great privileges, is not much to their commendation here, and elsewhere. They have ways, beyond all other men, to undermine a state, and to insinuate into those that are in offices, and prejudicate the trade of others; and therefore, if they be not wisely restrained, they will, in a short time, be oppressive, if they be such as are here in Germany. To call in the Caraits would fright away these, for they are irreconcilable enemies. Time must ripen these designs, and prudence may lead them on.

A NARRATIVE
OF THE LATE
PROCEEDINGS AT WHITEHALL,
CONCERNING THE JEWS:

Who had desired by Rabbi Manasses, an agent for them, that they might return into England, and worship the God of their fathers here in the synagogues, &c. Published for satisfaction to many in several parts of England, that are desirous and inquisitive to hear the truth thereof.

London, printed for L. Chapman, at the Crown in Pope's-head Alley, 1656.
Quarto, containing sixteen pages.

To the Reader.

Because many good people in divers parts of this nation, who have often prayed heartily for the Jews conversion, have heard a rumour of a late debate at Whitehall, about the Jews having a liberty to return into England, and are very desirous to know the truth of things in those proceedings, and what is the issue of those debates; and hence, from several parts, letters have been written up to their friends in London, desiring more fully to be certified herein: For their satisfaction, and for help to others that would send the narrative to their christian friends, this collection thereof, by one that was present at all the debates, is yielded to be published.

BY letters from Oliver, the lord protector, several doctors, and other preachers, godly men, and some merchants and lawyers convened with him, and others of the council, [the fourth of December last, 1655, and so on two or three days weekly, to the eighteenth] to consider of proposals in behalf of the Jews, by Rabbi Manasses Ben Israel, an agent come to London in behalf of many of them, to live and trade here, and desiring to have free use of their synagogues, &c.

The things being spoken unto *pro* and *contra*, at several meetings, some more private, and some more publick, at Whitehall, and elsewhere.

The most did fear, that if they should come, many would be seduced and cheated by them, and little good would be unto them. Hence divers of the preachers judged, that though never such cautions to prevent those evils were prescribed, yet they would not be observed; and therefore they could not consent to their coming.

2. The major part judged that there might be such pledges or sureties, &c. to keep due cautions [viz against their blaspheming Christ, and the christian religion, and against seducing, and cheating, &c.] as they may be observed, and then they may come.

3. Some judged, that due cautions warranted by holy scriptures being observed, it is a duty to yield to their request of coming hither; considering,

1. It is God's will there be dealing courteously with strangers, and persons in affliction, *Exod. xxiii. 8.*

2. Especially respect is to be had to the Jews, *Isa. xiv. 3, 4.*

1st. Because, their debtors we are, *Rom. xv. 27.* as the Gentiles, Macedonians, and other Gentiles, were in the apostle's days (which was not, because those believing Jews at Jerusalem administered spiritual things to those believing Gentiles, which they did not) but because we partake of the Messias, and promises, and salvation, that was to the Jews, as natural branches of the olive-tree, *Rom. ix. 4, 5. Eph. iii. 8. Rom. xi. 17, 24.*

2dly, Because their brethren we are; of the same father Abraham; they naturally after the flesh, we believers after the spirit.

3dly, Because we believe those natural branches shall return; and it shall be great riches and glory to the Gentiles, especially to such where they are, and who deal kindly with them, *Rom. xi. 12, 18, 25, 26.* and we hope the time is near.

Because many Jews are now in very great streights in many places; multitudes in Poland, Lithuania, and Prussia, by the late wars by the Swedes, Cossacks, and others, being driven away from thence: Hence their yearly alms to the poor Jews, of the German synagogue, at Jerusalem hath ceased; and of seven hundred widows, and poor Jews there, about four-hundred have been furnished, as a letter from Jerusalem to their friends relates.

Also, the Jews in France, Spain, Portugal, and in the Indies, under the Spanish, &c. if they are professed Jews, must wear a badge of it, and are exposed to many violences, mocks, and cruelties; which, to avoid, many dissemble themselves to be Roman Catholicks; and then, if in any thing they appear Jewish, they forfeit goods, if not life also. Now some of these intreated Rabbi Manasses to be their agent, to intreat this favour for their coming to England, to live and trade here, &c.

And it seems to some, that it would be very acceptable to the Lord, if favour be shewed them, so far as is lawful herein. As it was very displeasing to the Lord, when for their sin he cast them out of Canaan, that others added to, or heaped on their affliction, *Zach. i. 15, 16.*

And that Edom looked on, and was as one of their enemies, *Obad. ver. 12, 14* and did not hide, and entertain his outcasts, as he charged Moab to do, *Isaiah xvi. 3, 4.* Now England hath as much cause as any nation, if not more, to favour and relieve the Jews in this their suit; considering,

1. The Jews that dwelled in England under Richard the First, and King John, Henry the Third, and Edward the First, suffered very great injuries, cruelties, and murders, by kings, by the barons, by Londoners,

Yorkers, people of Norwich, Stamford, &c. as our own chronicles shew, especially Stow's Survey of London, and Annals.

And if, after Saul's death, the Lord plagued Israel year after year, till some satisfaction was given to the surviving Gibeonites, for Saul's slaying many Gibeonites in his zeal for God; it is feared, it may offend the Lord, if we yield not to the Jews this courtesy which they desire; and it may be accounted some kind of satisfaction to them.

2. In no nation, there have been more faithful, frequent, and fervent prayers for the Jews, than in England.

3. None are more likely to convince them by Scripture, and by holy life, than many in England: And Gentiles, being called a foolish nation, must provoke Jews to jealousy, or emulation; and happy is England, if it be instrumental in so blessed a work.

The person, that spoke to that effect, had written thus:

Many of the Jews in Jerusalem being now very cruelly dealt withal, and persecuted by the Turks (as their letters thence, desiring relief from other Jews in Germany, Holland, &c. sent thither by the hand of rabbi Nathan Stephira, their messenger, do manifest:) Other Jews in several nations persecuted by papists, unless they will turn papists: Many of these desiring by their letters to rabbi Manasses Ben Israel, as he said he had shewed to the lord protector, that he would intreat favour of our state,

1. That Jews might have leave to come into England, to live and trade here: And,

2. That here they might have their synagogues, &c. provided that due care be had in respect of these, as much as is, or ought to be, in respect of our own, and other nations, to prevent

Blaspheming the Lord Jesus Christ;

Adoring the law; seducing others;

All unrighteousness, &c.

Some of us do thus believe upon Scripture grounds:

1. That it is not sinful or unlawful to suffer their coming hither, their living and trading here, and worshiping the true God here, and hearing his holy law, and his prophets read unto them every week, publickly.

First reason, because this is against no law, neither of the land [as the lawyers here affirmed], nor of God, as not being forbidden in the Old or New Testament.

And, therefore, it is no sin nor transgression: For where there is no law, there is no transgression, Rom. iv. 15.

Second, That it is so far from being a sin, that it is a duty, in such case, to receive and harbour them.

This may appear thus:

First reason. It is a duty commanded, and commended of God, in general, to be kind to strangers, harbouring them, &c. Exod. xxii. 21. and xxiii. 8. Levit. xix. 34. Deut. x. 19. Gen. xviii. 1, 2, 3. xix. 1, 2, 3. 1 Tim. v. 10. Heb. xiii. 2. Such favour we permit and grant to other strangers.

Second. The Lord requires this duty, as well, or more, towards Jews, even when for their sins the Lord had cast them out, as to any other

strangers; for, concerning these, he thus gives a charge in Isaiah xvi. 3, 4. Hide my banished ones, bewray not him that wandereth. Let my outcasts dwell, (or sojourn) with thee Moab: Be thou a covert to them from the face of the spoiler.

Third. Yea, even after their rejecting Jesus Christ. and the Lord's rejecting them, yet the apostle saith of them that they are beloved for their fathers sakes, Rom. xi. 28. And for the Lord's covenant sake with their fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, after this sin and scattering, the Lord will restore them, as he saith, Levit. xxvi. 41, 44, 45. Micah vii. 19, 20.

Fourth. When for their sins the Lord was displeased with the Jews, yet he hath a special eye to them; observing all the unkind carriage of others towards them, and is sore displeased against all such as help on their affliction, Zach. i. 15. By speaking proudly against them, or looking on as one of the afflicters, or that deliver them up to such, &c. Obad. ver. 11, 12, 14.

3. That the Lord may require and expect this kindness towards distressed Jews, as much of this nation, as, or more than, of any other nation.

Considering,

1st, That the Lord hath exalted England in spiritual and in temporal mercies and deliverances, as much as, or more than, any other nation under heaven: And all this only for the sake of our Lord Jesus, who, concerning the flesh, came of the Jews, Rom. ix. 5. and by whom the covenants and promises made to the Jews, are made over to us that are faithful, Rom. xi. 16, 18, 24. Eph. iii. 6. Eph. ii. 12, 13, 19.

2d, In our nation, the good people generally have more believed the promises touching the calling of the Jews, and the great riches and glory that shall follow to Jews, and us Gentiles; and have, and do still, more often, and earnestly pray for it, than any other nation that we have heard of.

3d, Many of the good people here, being persecuted in queen Mary's days, and under the prelates since, have been kindly harboured as strangers in other lands; and, therefore, should the more pity and harbour persecuted strangers, especially persecuted Jews, Exod. xxiii. 8.

4th, Many cruel and inhuman injuries have formerly been done in our nation against the Jews that intruded not England, but had been called, and invited to come and dwell here:) Cruelties by several kings, by lords, and by occasion of the merchants urging their banishment, multitudes of them were drowned in the Thames, or in the sea.

Cruelties by Londoners, especially at Richard the First's coronation; and soon after by Yorkers, by people of Norwich, Stamford, &c. as Stow's Survey of London, and his Annals, and Hollingshead, and other English Chronicles fully shew.

For such gross injuries, the Lord may be very sore displeased with England, as sometimes he was with Israel in general, for the injuries that had formerly been done by Saul their king, in his zeal against the Gibeonites; until such satisfaction was made, as the surviving Gibeonites desired of David, 2 Sam. xxi. 1, 2. And then (and not till then) the Lord was intreated for the land, ver. 14.

Now if the favour of harbouring the afflicted Jews, which now they intreat, be granted to the surviving Jews, it may be accounted as some kind of satisfaction. But if this be denied them, it is feared the Lord may shew his displeasure to be great against England: That this denial may also occasion the more hardship unto them, by others that shall hear thereof.

Another of the preachers said to this effect: Though the Jews are now in hardness of heart, and worthy of punishments; yet we had need beware, lest we be occasions of hardening them, or instruments of punishing them. It is very remarkable what worthy Beza saith, in his notes on Rom. xi. 18. on those words, 'Glory not against the branches:' He saith thus: "To glory in the Lord (that is, for God's benefits to rejoice) we ought; but not so that we despise the Jews, whom rather we should excite to that excellent emulation: And for the neglect of this duty, without doubt, they are and shall be punished, that at this day call themselves Christians, and moved only by wickedness, and perverseness of mind, do by all means vex; and proposing examples of so many filthy Idomanics, do more and more harden them. But as for me, willingly every day I pray for the Jews, thus: O Lord Jesus, thou, indeed, justly revengest the contempt of thyself, and worship, upon this ungrateful people, whom thou punishest most severely. But, O Lord, remember thy covenant, and respect them now in misery for thy name's sake. And grant this to us (the most unworthy of all men, to whom yet thou hast vouchsafed thy mercy) that we, going on in thy grace, may not be instruments of thine anger against them: But rather, both by the knowledge of thy word, and by the examples of holy life, by the powerful virtue of thy holy spirit, we may recal them into the right way, that by all nations, and peoples, thou mayest once be glorified for evermore. Amen."

This is Beza's prayer, that he expresseth in his notes; it is a remarkable digression, that he would not have this left out. There is not the like in all his notes, shewing his great affection for the Jews conversion.

Some others, though desiring heartily the Jews conversion, yet feared greatly it would prove the subversion of many here, if Jews were suffered to return hither, because so many here are soon carried aside to new opinions.

Some answered, that now persons are carried away under a notion of further light, or of new discoveries of Christ, or the gospel: But are not like to be taken with the Jewish religion, that deny Christ, and deny the gospel; and have nothing in their solemn worship that is so taking, but rather much that is very ridiculous: Therefore they are not so like to seduce others.

To this it was replied, that the offering children to Moloch, and other idolatry, might seem not to be taking; yet how it took with the Jews. And the opinions of the Quakers, and of the ranters, are not so taking to some, yet many are carried away by them.

One humbly proposed this, as a medium, that seeing, if the Jews coming hither be denied, we seem to deal more hardly with Jews, than with Turks, whose coming hither to trade and converse we deny not:

And, if they do come upon terms and agreements, there may be inconveniences, and offending of many: That, because the lawyers say, there is no law against their coming, there may only be a connivance and permission of them; and, if afterwards there be inconveniences, there may be proceedings against them, and no just cause of exceptions.

Some questioned whether the Jews conversion shall be of the nation; or but here and there one, as of French, &c. or not until Christ appear unto them, as in converting Paul. And though we should shew mercy to Jews, yet begin at home, and not so infect ourselves, or wrong our merchants. The merchants said, such an inlet would be to enrich foreigners, and impoverish English merchants. [Merchants, especially, had caused the Jews departure from England, whereby some thousands of Jews perished in the Thames, by the cruelty of a ship-master, that was to transport them; partly otherwise.]

Some judged, seeing the Jews deal chiefly in way of merchandise, and not in husbandry, nor buying houses, nor in manufactures, that the Jews coming, and so trading, might tend to the bringing lower the prices of all sorts of commodities imported; and to the furtherance of all that have commodities vendible to be exported; and to the benefit of most of our manufactures, where they shall live, by their buying of them. And thus, though the merchants gains were somewhat abated, it might tend to the benefit of very many in our nation, even in outward things, besides the hopes of their conversion; which time, it is hoped, is now at hand, even at the door. [This last was spoken of at a more private meeting.] One of the lawyers rehearsed from records the history of the Jews in England, and many of their sufferings here in the time of Constantine the Great, and of some Kings before the conquest, and then of William the Conqueror's calling them to England, and their sufferings, and other proceedings since that time, until Edward I's reign, when many thousands of them were urged to leave England, and a great part of them were drowned in the Thames, or in the deep waters. And, now that they are gone, they wished not their return hither again. Also, the lawyers said, that there is no law that forbids the Jews return into England.

All having been heard, the Lord Protector on the eighteenth of December, and before, professed that he had no engagement to the Jews, but only what the Scripture holds forth; and that

He had hoped by these preachers to have had some clearing of the case, as to conscience. But seeing these agreed not, but were of two or three opinions, it was left the more doubtful to him and the council; and he hoped to do nothing herein hastily or rashly; and had much need of all their prayers, that the Lord would direct them, so as may be to his glory, and to the good of the nation.

And thus was the dismissal of that assembly.

The preachers sent unto, that met, were these:

1. Dr. Tuckney of Cambridge, and Dr. Whichcock; Mr. Newcomen of Essex, Dr. Wilkinson of Oxford, and Mr. Rowe of Westminster.

2. Mr. P. Nye, Mr. Carter, Mr. Caryll, Dr. Cudworth, Mr. Bridge, and Mr. Ben of Dorchester.

3. Mr. Thomas Goodwin, Mr. Jessey, and Mr. Dike near Essex.

Of merchants: the lord mayor, the late lord mayor, and the two sheriffs of London: Alderman Tichburne; Mr. Cresset, master of the Charter-house, and Mr. Kiffen.

Lawyers: the Lord Chief Justice Glyn, and the Lord Chief Baron Steele.

The protector shewed a favourable inclination towards our harbouring the afflicted Jews, professing he had no engagements, but upon Scripture grounds, in several speeches that he made. So did some of his council, though some inclined not to their coming hither. 'The counsel of the Lord, it shall stand.' What shall be the issue the most wise God knows, and he will order all for the best.

Rabbi Manasses Ben Israel still remains in London, desiring a favourable answer to his proposals; and, not receiving it, he hath desired, if it may not be granted, that he may have a favourable dismission, that he may return.

But, other great affairs being now in hand, and this being a business of very great concernment, no absolute answer is yet returned unto him, unto this present day of the conclusion hereof, being vulgarly the first of April, 1656, old stile, but, according to the Holy Scripture, the fourteenth or fifteenth of Abib, the first month (called also Nisan, Exod. xiii. 4. Esth. iii. 7.) at which time the Jews feast of passover was to be kept, Numb. xxviii. 16, 17.

Many Jewish merchants had come from beyond seas to London, and hoped they might have enjoyed as much privilege here, in respect of trading, and of their worshiping the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob here in synagogues publickly, as they enjoy in Holland, and did enjoy in Poland, Prussia, and other places. But, after the conference and debate at Whitehall was ended, they heard by some, that the greater part of the ministers were against this; therefore they removed hence again to beyond the seas, with much grief of heart, that they were thus disappointed of their hopes. Jews must be planted into their own olive, and great riches shall that be to the believing Gentiles, Rom. xi. 12, 15. Isa. lx. 1, 2, 3. 'Pray for the peace of Jerusalem; they shall prosper, that love it,' Psal. cxxii. 6.

Here followeth part of a letter, written at Leghorn, 1652, and sent by the preacher in the Phanix frigate to a friend in London.

*Leghorn, a-board the Phanix,
19 of the 1, 1652.*

Dear Brethren,

WE have great cause to rejoice, that the Lord carrieth on the endeavours of his people to long after the good of the poor blind Jews. Some of us were desirous to see their synagogue; and, coming, they were at their service; but their glory we forbear to mention, their lamps, their candlesticks, their mitres, their bells, Aaron's bells they say.

We spoke to one that could speak a little English, a very grave pro-

per man, and asked him the meaning of such and such things; and we, as we durst, spoke of the Messias, and his actings.

But he said, the Messias was not come; moreover, that the Jews are naughty men now, but they shall be good. We asked, When? They answered, it is about ten years first.

They long to hear that England would tolerate them; surely, the promises of Jehovah will be performed, and he will give them favour in all nations. O that England may not be slack herein! Shall they be tolerated by the pope, and by the Duke of Florence; by the Turks, and by the Barbarians, and others? And shall England still have laws in force against them? When shall they be recalled?

Truly, we are persuaded, the antichristian state must have a great fall before their conversion. O that the poor Jews might have toleration to come into England, out of her, that they may be succoured in that terrible day!



A postscript, to fill up the following pages, that else had been vacant: containing,

1. *The proposals of Rabbi Manasses Ben Israel, more fully.*
2. *Part of his letter, written Anno 1647.*
3. *The late progress of the gospel amongst the Indians in New-England.*

SECT. I.

THE substance of the late proposals by Rabbi Manasses Ben Israel was to desire these favours:

1. That the Hebrew nation may be received here, and be protected from all wrongs, as the English are, or should be.
2. To have publick synagogues allowed in England, &c. to observe their religion as they ought.
3. To have a burying-place out of the town, without being troubled by any about their burials.
4. To traffick as freely in all sorts of merchandise, as other strangers.
5. To the end that the Jews that come over may be for the profit of this nation, and prejudice or offend none; that a person of quality may be assigned by the lord protector, to receive their passports, and their oath of fealty to him.
6. To prevent trouble to our judges and others, that matters of differences amongst the Jews, may be accorded and determined by the heads of synagogues, and others with them, amongst themselves.
7. To repeal any laws, if any such be, as are against Jews, for their greater security.

This was the substance of the proposals.

The protector, when the proposals had been read, said, If more were proposed than it was meet should be granted, it might now be consi-

dered, 1. Whether it be lawful at all to receive in the Jews. 2. If it be lawful, then upon what terms is it meet to receive them?

His further speaking in favour of that nation, and the expressions of others, *pro* and *contra*, are before related.

SECT. II.

Here followeth part of a letter written by Rabbi Manasses, from Amsterdam, in September, 5407, or 1647, to one in England, whilst the sword in our late wars consumed many thousands.

Senhor,

NO puedo enar. That is, Sir, I cannot express the joy that I have, when I read your letters, full of desires to see your country prosperous, which is heavily afflicted with civil wars, without doubt, by the just judgment of God. And it should not be in vain to attribute it to the punishment of your predecessor's faults, committed against ours; when ours, being deprived of their liberty under deceitfulness, so many men were slain, only because they kept close unto the tents of Moses, their legislator, &c.

SECT III.

Of the proceedings amongst Indians in New-England.

IN Martin's Vineyard, southerly from Boston and from Cape Cod, the fourth book, published by Mr. Whitfield, 1651, the Lord began with one Hiacomé, 1643, whom his King did strike on the face, because he spoke for the English; Hiacomé was patient, and said to one afterwards, I had one hand for injuries, and the other laid greater hold on God.

1645, and 1646, Indians observed, that God's hand, by a sickness, was far more on them, than on Hiacomé's house and friends; and met, and would know things of religion. He spoke of one God, &c. A great Indian said, that had thirty-seven gods, Shall I throw away thirty-seven gods for one? Hiacomé said, I have done it, and you see I am now preserved: That Indian said, I will throw away all my Gods too, and serve that one God with you.

1647, Sagamar Towanquatick, turning from paganism, was shot by a devilish Indian in the night; the next morning Mr. Mahew, that preacheth to those Indians, found him praising God that he was not killed.

1649, many Indians came to Hiacomé to learn more of God, and were encouraged not to fear their Pawaw witches.

1650, by Hiacomé's means, Humanequem turned from paganism.

In the fifth book, called Strength out of Weakness, Mr. Mahew re-

lates, 1651, three converted from being Pawaws, losing those gains, friends, &c. there is a conference with an Indian.

In the sixth book, called *Tears of Repentance*, 1653, Mr. Mahew sets down the covenant to serve Jehovah, that those Indians made, 1652; that about thirty Indian children were then at school. These praying Indians were shortly to be gathered into one town.

Mr. Elliot relates the confessions and repentance of about fifteen Natick Indians, in New-England Bay. Their own words Englished, and the hopeful words of two Indian children, under three years of age, before they died, as, 'God and Jesus Christ help me; God and Jesus Christ bless it,' before it would eat. The other, when its bawbles were brought it, being in pain, putting them away, it said, 'I will leave my basket, for I am going to God; I will leave my spoon and my tray, for I am going to God.'

In the seventh, and last book, called *A late and further Manifestation of the Gospel's Progress amongst Indians in New-England*, Mr. Elliot relates the examination of the Indians at Rocksbury, the thirteenth of the fourth month, 1654, before an assembly of the elders in and about the Bay, and others, concerning their knowledge in the grounds of the Christian religion. The narration whereof is judged fit to be printed, that God may have praises for his free grace wonderfully manifested; as it is attested by,

H. WHITFIELD,
ED. CALAMY,
SIMON ASHE,
And J. ARTHUR.

- THE INTRODUCTION.

The two following narratives contain an account of all the parliament-men in Oliver Cromwell's usurpation, and shew which way they all got their money.

The former narrative, particularly, gives an account of the choosing, coming together, secluding some, and of the sitting of the rest of Oliver's parliament; as also of the things that did attend them, and the acts that were passed by them; amongst which, what could be more oppressive, than that wicked and unjust act for new buildings, by which many, that for sixteen years before, had paid twice the value of their houses in taxes, were obliged to pay a year's rent more, or submit to be plundered, have their estates sequestered, and their persons cast into prison? This was attended with another act, establishing an excise for ever; which, with the customs it settled upon the crown, or person reigning, was a standing revenue to enable the government to keep the people in perpetual slavery. After this, it was also enacted, that the people should pay a tax for three years in

time of peace, under a pretence to pay the soldiers; and, as if that did not suffice to empty the purses of the subject, this same parliament ordained a three months tax to be paid twice over. And, to mention but one more, here passed an act to erect a 'High court of justice' for the preservation of the protector's person; -but, in reality, with a design to give him power at pleasure, under the sanction of law, to take away the fortunes and lives of all such as he either feared, suspected, or disliked.

This first narrative also gives you a catalogue, and some historical account, of one hundred and eighty-two of the members of that unworthy assembly; who were either sons, kinsmen, servants, or attached to the protector's interest and fortunes, by places of profit, offices, salaries, or other advantages, which were all paid by the publick; and, to their great distress, amounted to one million sixteen thousand three hundred and seventeen pounds, sixteen shillings, and eight-pence sterling, and upwards per annum.

"Whereby it doth appear, says a certain author of that time, what fine suckers they are of the riches and fatness of the commonwealth; and how unlikely they were (being so packed for his interest, and so well seasoned with the salt of his palace) to bring forth the so much prayed for, engaged, fought, and bled for rights and liberties of the people."

Then follow a few queries, and a catalogue of the kinglings, or names of those seventy that voted for the Kingship, with the counties which they represented; after this is mentioned, how the government, then to be established, was carried in the house but by three voices. And this is attended with a list of those members of that assembly, who, though they gave not their vote, either for Kingship, or the then government, by the humble petition and advice, and pretended to be against and dis-satisfied with both, are sharply and justly re-proved for betraying the trust committed to them by the people; and so this first narrative concludes with some general queries.

The second narrative records some of the most remarkable passages, which occur in their second session, with the end and dissolution of the whole, after two or three weeks sitting; as also something of another house, intended for a house of lords, describing forty-three of its members; though it was not long before that the chief of that new form of government had declared, 'It would never be well, neither should England ever see good days whilst there was left one Lord in the nation.' Yet now new Lords must be made by the dozens to aggrandize the lord protector, and make him appear like a King, though so much blood and treasure had been lately spent against a negative voice in the King and lords.

A

NARRATIVE OF THE LATE PARLIAMENT,

(SO CALLED.)

Their election and appearing; the seclusion of a great part of them; the sitting of the rest. With an account of the places of profit, salaries, and advantages which they hold and receive under the present power; with some queries thereupon, and upon the most material acts and proceedings passed by them. All humbly proposed to consideration, and published for information of the people, by a friend to the commonwealth, and to its dear-bought rights and freedom.

Anno 1657, quarto, containing sixty-three pages.

IT is not unknown unto all intelligent and observing people what great stickling and underhand dealing was put in practice by the court-party, in driving on interests and designs, about chusing this last pretended parliament; in improving the major generals to that purpose who were not wanting in the matter) as also by writing of letters to the sheriffs, who were (some of them) very officious in that service: whereby several worthy patriots had very foul and unequal terms offered them, not being suffered to be put in nomination; justifying their proceedings to be no other, than according to order they had so to do. Middlesex, Cheshire, Berkshire, and the city of Canterbury, may serve for instances instead of others. Neither were the clergy behind, in endeavours for the advancement of their own interest, as appeared by meetings, held in very many counties, to agree and make choice before-hand among themselves, and then promote their choice against the election-day; and, upon the day appearing, like so many captains, or leaders, cried up the parties, they had chosen before to serve their interest. But what cause the people have to rejoice, and give them thanks for this service, doth already in part appear; and further may, when they shall feel the burthens of excise and customs, with the many fetters and snares attending the same, as also a tax backward, to be paid over again; and another for three years together, never the like in England before, together with a new project to raise money out of all such houses, for ten miles distance without the walls of the city of London, that, from thirty-seven years past, to the twenty ninth of September last, have been built upon new foundations; with other acts serving designs, but not one for the ease of the people, or the punishment of those who have wronged and abused them; by which acts, these gentlemen, and those that chose them, make themselves accessory to, and, as much as in them lies, guilty of all this hard bondage, that now is, or may further come upon us.

The gentlemen, chosen to sit in this assembly, accordingly made their appearance, and gave attendance at Westminster, in order to that service, where a great number of them find themselves secluded the house, and not suffered to enter in to do their duty; who having waited a day or two without success, many of them made an address to their fellow-members, sitting in the house for their admittance. Some of the names of those gentlemen, so kept out of the house, here follow.

Sir Arthur Haslerigg
 Thomas Scott
 Herbert Morley
 John Bulkley
 John Birch
 Colonel Fenwick
 Anthony Erby
 Thomas Lister
 Thomas Birch
 Thomas Sanders
 Henry Darley
 John Weaver
 Alexander Popham
 Francis Thorp
 Anthony Ashley Cooper
 John Southby
 Richard Greenvil
 Thomas Adams
 Richard Brown
 Richard Darley
 Thomas St. Nicholas
 William James
 John Boyse
 Charles Hill
 John Jones
 William Wolley
 Richard Radcliff
 William Savill
 Theophilus Biddulph
 Henry Mildmay
 Harbottle Grimston
 William Welby
 Charles Hussey
 Edmund Harvey
 John Sicklemore
 William Doyly
 Ralph Hare
 John Hubbard
 Oliver Raymond
 Jeremiah Bentley
 Philip Woodhouse

John Buxton
 William Bloyse
 William Gibbs
 Thomas Southerton
 Sir Thomas Bows
 Edward Harlow
 John Hanson
 Clement Throgmorton
 Henry North
 Sir John Witttroug
 George Courthop
 Samuel Gost
 John Buckland
 Robert Long
 John Northcot
 John Young
 John Doddridge
 Henry Hungerford
 Edward Yooker
 William Morrice
 John Haile
 Edward Tukner
 Challen Chute
 Daniel Shatterden
 Sir Thomas Styles
 Richard Beale
 Walter Moyle
 Walter Vincent
 John Gell
 Henry Arthington
 Henry Tempest
 James Clavering
 John Stanhope
 Pen. Whaly
 Abel Barker
 Samuel More
 Thomas Minors
 Samuel Jones
 Edward Hooper
 Richard Winneve
 John Fogg

Thomas Rivers
Henry Peckham
Charles Lloyd
John Thurbone

William Fisher
John Gore
Rowland Litton

The answer of the gentlemen in the house to the fore-mentioned address, was to this effect, viz. that those gentlemen must address themselves to the council.

Upon the unsatisfactoriness and injustice of which answer these gentlemen, rather than they would yield to so great a violation of parliamentary power, resolved to depart to their own countries again, which accordingly they did.

Upon this breach made in the house, and giving up the rights and interest of the English nation in parliament to be judged without doors, by an inferior power; divers gentlemen then sitting in the house, who being endued with principles of justice and righteousness, and love to the nation's freedom, immediately withdrew, and others would not enter into the house at all, but departed to their several habitations.

Upon all which, it is proposed and queried :

1st. Whether since the conquest there was ever such a blow given (by a people owning themselves a parliament) to the interest and freedom of the English nation, as the suffering to be secluded from them (by an inferior power) so great a number of members chosen by the people to sit, as their representatives in parliament, without any cause shewn for such a proceeding?

2. How this upstart protector and his council, of a little more than three years standing, should come to be impowered to do those things, which a King and his council, of more than four-hundred years descent, could not, nor durst not do. And whether the late, together with the former force put upon the house, by excluding so many of their members, be not a crime twenty-fold beyond that of the late King's, in going about to seclude the five members, so highly dis-resented in that day by the people, and afterwards attended with so great feud and bloodshed?

3. Whether, till this unworthy generation, there ever were such a company of false-hearted, low-spirited, mercenary Englishmen sitting in that house before, that would at once so easily give up the right, interest, and freedom of this nation, in suffering their fellow-members to be rent from them, and judged without doors? As if there were a just power at present upon earth, higher and greater than the good people's representatives in parliament; which, by all well-affected people, in the army and elsewhere, was so generally acknowledged the supreme authority.

4. Whether these persons, in thus doing, as also in confirming (as it were) this usurpation by a law, in settling the government in a single person and his council, with a House of Lords as it was before; giving him a negative voice, and the power of disposing the militia and navy, things formerly so much * complained of, and opposed, as the effects of

* See a representation of the army, and large petition, in a book called Looking-glass. p. 3, 11, 12, 13. And in Alb. Remonst. p. 25, 26. A Letter, p. 40. An Act of Parliament, after the heading of the King p. 44. of the same book; and a Declaration 19 July, 1650, p. 47. and Declaration 1 August following, p. 49, 50. And a Declaration after the old parliament was dissolved, p. 54 of the same book, all procured in that day by the new protector, so called, and the then honest part of the army.

tyranny and usurpation in the late King, together with many other things done by them, tending to oppress and enslave the people, have not, as much as in them lies, pulled upon themselves, and the three nations, the guilt of all the blood of the late wars, acknowledged by the army and others, to be shed in removing the foresaid evils; as likewise to make void and fruitless the vast sums of money and treasure expended upon that account?

5. Whether the aforesaid gentlemen are not therefore to be esteemed, by all true-hearted Englishmen, as * betrayers of, and traitors to the cause of God, and their country's liberties, and a company of salary-men; sons, servants, kinsmen, and lawyers, &c. purposely packed to inthronize their protector's single interest, rather than a parliament of the commonwealth of England, lawfully called and constituted to carry on the good old cause, viz. the promoting of reformation, and vindication of the people's liberties?

6. Whether some of those gentlemen who were secluded, with others that were injuriously hindered from being chosen, have not been more faithful to the cause formerly contended for, and better patriots to their country; and such who less deserve why they should be rejected, than such as Mr. Glyn, Mr. Nicholls (two of the eleven members, who, endeavouring to settle the same things upon the King, they have now pretended to do upon their protector, were counted false to God and the people,) Sir Charles Ousley, and commissioner Fines.

7. And whether Mr. Thomas, St. Nicholas, Colonel Dixwell, &c. were not as capable, and every way more likely to counsel and advise for the good of their country, than the sons of major-general Desbrow, of Mr. Lawrence president of the council, and of Sir Hardress Waller, as yet both in years and experience children?

8. Dost not this picking a lukewarm neuter from one place, a cavalier from another, and young youths of no principle from another, and packing them with his kindred, sons, servants, and salary-men, and a sort of conquered Scotchmen, a thing formerly so much † feared and complained of in the late King, now plainly declare, that his pretence in dissolving the old parliament, for not making provision in their act for a new representative to ‡ keep our presbyters and neuters, was false; and that it was rather done as a farther step, whereby he might ascend into this present greatness, than for the preservation of the cause, which, at that time, was so highly pretended to?

9. Or is this practice, in the least measure, agreeing with that spirit pretended unto in the choice of the little parliament, or with that profession made by him in his speech to them, viz. that they had not allowed themselves, in the choice of one person, of whom they had not this good hope, there was || faith in Jesus Christ, and love to all the saints. And that they judged it their duty to chuse none but godly men of principles, men knowing and fearing the Lord; who had made observations of his marvellous dispensations; such as he had formed for himself, be-

* See Looking-glass p. 47. in a declaration, July 19, 1650; the army confess so much themselves.

† See Looking-glass. p. 22. in remonstrance at Albans.

‡ See p. 58, of the same book, in his speech to the little parliament.

|| See Looking-glass, p. 59, 61, and 63, in the speech he made to them, in his own and officers' names.

cause he expected not praises from others, and these the only fit men to be entrusted with the cause, and no others; and therefore went in that extraordinary way, and not in the way of the nation, because, till the spirit was more poured forth, the people would not be in a capacity to chuse such men, &c. Now whether the late picking and chusing, as is before expressed, a party of men of such a spirit, and under such qualifications, as this present parliament, so called, is of, be not a notorious destroying of that profession and principle then owned, and seemingly practised? Let all honest and unbiassed men judge.

Here follows the truest and best account, that as yet can be gotten, of the names of those gentlemen, who continued in the house, and have places of profit, offices, salaries, and advantages, in the commonwealth. Together with the names of the sons, kinsmen, servants, and others, who are under engagements unto, and have dependence upon the protector, so called, who, being so well seasoned with the salt of his palace, according to Ezra iv. 14, must needs be devoted to his interest, wherein their own is wholly involved.

Of the council.

Mr. LAWRENCE, as president, one-thousand pounds per annum.

Major-general Lambert, as one of the council, one-thousand pounds per annum; as major-general of the army, three-hundred and sixty-five pounds; as colonel of horse, four-hundred and seventy-four pounds ten shillings; as colonel of foot, three-hundred and sixty-five pounds; and, as it is reported, had the general's pay, three-thousand, six-hundred, and forty pounds per annum; as major-general of some countries, six-hundred sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four-pence; in all, six-thousand five hundred, and eleven pounds, three shillings, and four-pence. These places he had, but whether he hath the conscience to receive thus for them, or gives any away to those that act under him, is best known to himself, he is also a lord of the Cinque Ports.

Lieutenant-general Fleetwood, as one of the council, one-thousand pounds per annum; as Lord-deputy of Ireland, three-thousand, six-hundred, and forty pounds per annum; as colonel of horse in Ireland, four-hundred seventy-four pounds, ten shillings; as colonel of foot there three-hundred sixty-five pounds; as colonel of horse in England, four-hundred, seventy-four pounds, ten shillings; as major-general of some countries, six-hundred sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four-pence. In all six-thousand, six-hundred and twenty pounds, thirteen shillings, and four-pence. It is said he remained lieutenant-general of the horse in England. It is supposed he hath all these places, but whether he receives all the pay, or gives any to those that act under him, himself best knows. He married the protector's daughter.

Major-general Desbrow, as one of the council, one-thousand pounds, per annum; as general at sea, one-thousand ninety-five pounds; as colonel of horse, four-hundred seventy-four pounds, ten shillings; as major-general of the western countries, six-hundred sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence; in all, three-thousand, two-hundred, thirty-six pounds, three shillings, and four pence per annum. It is said he is one of the Cinque Port Lords. He married the protector's sister, whereby he is doubly engaged to serve his brother's interest.

Colonel Montague, as one of the council, one-thousand pounds per

annum ; commissioner of the treasury, one-thousand pounds ; as general at sea, one-thousand ninety-five pounds ; in all, three-thousand ninety-five pounds per annum.

Colonel Sydenham, as one of the council, one-thousand pounds per annum ; one of the commissioners of the treasury, one-thousand pounds ; in all, two-thousand pounds per annum ; besides the government of the Isle of Wight.

Colonel Fines, as one of the council, one-thousand pounds per annum ; commissioner of the great seal, one-thousand pounds ; as keeper of the privy-seal, supposed worth one-thousand pounds more ; in all, three-thousand pounds per annum.

Sir Charles Ousley, as one of the council, one-thousand pounds per annum.

Mr. Strickland, as one of the council, one-thousand pounds per annum ; and is captain of the gray-coat foot-guard at Whitehall.

Sir Gilbert Pickering, as one of the council, one-thousand pounds per annum ; chamberlain at court, and steward of Westminster.

Major-general Skippon, as one of the council, one-thousand pounds per annum ; as major-general of the city, it is supposed he hath six-hundred sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence, according to his brethren, major-generals of the counties.

Mr. Rouse, as one of the council, one-thousand pounds per annum ; as provost of Eaton college, five-hundred pounds ; in all, fifteen-hundred pounds.

Colonel Philip Jones, as one of the council, one-thousand pounds per annum ; he either is, or was his Master Cromwell's steward, or overseer, of his lands in Wales, and is *custos rotulorum* of two or three counties there.

Mr. John Thurloe, secretary of state, and chief post-master of England, places of a vast income ; he may justly be said to have a great hand in bringing all this abominable wickedness, slavery, and oppression, that hath been for above these three years, to this very day, upon the nation.

Here follow the names of those lawyers that continued in the house, who have advantages from the State, who are placed in the van of the soldiers, as the more honourable persons ; their general having lately laid aside, and delivered up his sword, to put on the gown.

SIR Thomas Widdrington, as speaker of the house, thirty-five pounds a week, which is one-thousand, eight-hundred, and twenty-nine pounds per annum ; as commissioner of the treasury, one-thousand pounds per annum ; in all, two-thousand, eight-hundred, and twenty-nine pounds per annum ; and hath besides, for every private act, five pounds, and for every stranger that is naturalised, or made a free denison ; and hath gotten for that already, as is supposed, near one-thousand five-hundred pounds ; he is recorder of York. Having these great engagements upon him, he can do no other, if it be required, than put on the King's old robe upon his Lord protector.

Lord Whitlock, as commissioner of the treasury, one-thousand pounds per annum. His son is a captain in the army, and lately made a knight ; he must needs serve the court interest.

Lord Lisle, one of the commissioners of the great-seal, one-thousand pounds per annum.

Mr. William Lenthal, speaker of the old parliament formerly, as master of the rolls, supposed worth two-thousand pounds per annum.

Mr. Prideaux, as attorney-general to the state, five pounds for every patent, and five pounds for every pardon; and by the liberty of pleading within the bar, together with two-thousand pounds he gets by great fees, it is supposed to amount to, in all, near six-thousand pounds per annum.

Mr. Glyn, one of the eleven members formerly impeached by the army of treason, now lord chief justice of England; for which he hath one-thousand pounds per annum, besides other advantages; a man of principles fitted for the interest of monarchy.

Mr. Ellis, as solicitor-general to the State, hath, as is supposed, near three-thousand pounds per annum.

Mr. Parker, as one of the barons of the exchequer, one-thousand pounds per annum.

Baron Nicholas, the same place and salary.

Baron Hill, the same place and salary.

Mr. Lechmere, attorney of the dutchy; his advantage thereby is not well known.

Mr. Nathaniel Bacon, as one of the masters of requests, five-hundred pounds per annum.

Mr. Francis Bacon, the like place and salary.

Lislebone Long, lately one of the masters of requests; and, the better to carry on his master's interest among the low-spirited mayor, aldermen, and common-council in the city, is now made recorder of London, supposed worth two-thousand pounds per annum, and is also a new knight to the new court.

Miles Fleetwood, one of the clerks of the privy-seal, supposed worth between three and four-hundred pounds per annum.

Mr. Robert Shapcot, one of the commissioners for executing that abominable, oppressive, wicked act for the new buildings; his salary is as yet unknown.

Thomas Banfield, Recorder of Exon.

Thomas Westlake, Town-clerk.

Mr. Lister, Recorder of Hull.

Guibbon Goddard, Recorder of Lynn.

Lambert Godfrey, Recorder of Maidstone.

Colonel Matthews, Recorder of Malden.

The names of the officers belonging to the armies of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and their garisons, and such as are of the country troops, and the late created major-generals.

Of the army in England.

COLONEL WHALEY, as commissary-general of the horse, one-hundred, seventy-three pounds, fifteen shillings and four pence per annum; as colonel of horse, four-hundred seventy-four pounds, ten shillings, besides other advantages in the regiment; as one of the major-generals of the counties, six-hundred sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four-pence; in all, one-thousand, four-hundred, and fourteen pounds, eighteen shillings, and four pence per annum.

Colonel Grosvenor, as quarter-master general, four-hundred, nineteen pounds, ten shillings per annum; and, it is said, hath captain of horse's pay. And, the better to carry it in the choice at Westminster, the soldiers were bid pull off their red coats, and put on others, and to give their vote for him; which is contrary to article the eighteenth of the old decayed instrument of government, which allows none, that is not worth two-hundred pounds, to choose parliament-men.

George Downing, as scout-master general, three-hundred and sixty-five pounds per annum; as one of the tellers in the exchequer, five-hundred pounds; in all, eight-hundred and sixty-five pounds per annum. It is said he hath the captain's pay of a troop of horse; formerly scout-master against cavaliers and moss-troopers, but now against the saints, and sends spies amongst the churches.

Mr. Marieth, as judge-advocate of the army, two-hundred seventy-three pounds, fifteen shillings per annum.

Captain Blackwell, as treasurer of the army, six-hundred pounds per annum.

Colonel Ingoldsby, as colonel of horse, four-hundred and seventy-four pounds, ten shillings, per annum, besides other advantages in the regiment; he is protector's (so called) kinsman, and will make no scruple to do whatever he will have him.

Colonel Hacker, as colonel of horse, the same pay, and advantages in the regiment.

Colonel Winthrop, of horse, the same.

Colonel Robert Lilburn, as colonel of horse; and six-hundred sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence, as one of the major-generals; in all, one-thousand, one-hundred, and forty-one pounds, three shillings, and four pence.

Colonel Berry, as colonel of horse, and one of the major-generals, the like pay.

Major Packer, as colonel of horse, and major-general, the like advantage.

Colonel Goff, as colonel of horse, and major-general, the like. This is he that, with Colonel White, brought the soldiers, and turned the honest party, remaining behind in the little parliament, out of doors.

Colonel Bridges, as colonel of horse, and a major-general, the same advantage with the others. This is he, who, it is reported, dealt treacherously with his Colonel Okey, to get his place.

Major Hains, as Major of Fleetwood's regiment of horse, three-hundred fifty-eight pounds, eighteen shillings, and four pence; and, as a major-general, six-hundred sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence; in all, one-thousand, twenty-five pounds, eleven shillings, and eight pence per annum.

Major Butler, of horse, and, as major-general, the same advantage.

Major Wareing, if not major of horse, he is captain of the county troop, and a farmer of the excise in the country.

Captain Baines, as captain of horse, two-hundred seventy-three pounds per annum, besides other advantages in the troop; as one of the committee of preservation of the excise and customs, three-hundred pounds; in all, five-hundred seventy-three pounds per annum.

Captain Fox, captain of horse, and governor of Pehdennis castle; he married the protector's, so called, kinswoman.

Captain Scotten, captain of horse, two-hundred seventy-three pounds per annum, besides other advantages in the troop.

Captain Lilburn, of horse, the like advantage.

Major Jenkins, so called, captain of a troop of horse, the like advantage.

Officers belonging to the regiments of horse in Ireland.

COLONEL REYNOLDS, as commissary-general of horse, two-hundred seventy-three pounds per annum; as colonel of horse, four-hundred seventy-four pounds, ten shillings; in all, seven-hundred forty-seven pounds ten shillings per annum; and is now general of the English army under the dispose of the protector's brother and confederate, Cardinal Mazarine in France, and is one of the new made knights.

Colonel Zanchy, as colonel of horse, four-hundred seventy-four pounds, ten shillings per annum, besides other advantages, and lives much in Fleetwood's house.

Sir Theophilus Jones, as major of horse, three-hundred fifty-eight pounds, eighteen shillings, and four pence per annum, besides other advantages.

Major Morgan, of Fleetwood's regiment, the same.

Major Owen, as major of horse, the same.

Major Redman, as major of horse, the like.

Colonel Abbot, colonel of dragoons.

Officers belonging to the regiments of foot in England, that sat in the house.

COLONEL BAXTER, as captain of a foot company, one-hundred forty-six pounds per annum, besides other advantages in the company; as major-general of Middlesex, six-hundred sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence; as lieutenant of the Tower, two-hundred and fifty pounds. The benefit of ten warders pay, who had a livelihood by it; he having so procured, that, as they die, or are otherwise laid aside, the two-hundred pounds per annum, which paid them, comes into his pocket, besides a fee, or fine, imposed upon all persons, brought as prisoners into the Tower, according to their quality; and hath the benefit of the wharf, and letting of houses in the Tower, and several other advantages, which are oppressive, amounting to, in all, as is conceived, about two-thousand pounds per annum. He is one of the new made knights, and one of the commissioners for suppressing the printing-presses, as the bishops panders in the King's days; one that makes men offenders, and casts them into prison, for words he hath drawn forth from them in examining against themselves. A liar, one that deals more injuriously with the Lord's people, keeping, many times, their nearest relations and friends from coming to them, witness that faithful friend to the cause of God and his people, major-general Overton, amongst others, then heathens, Acts xxiv. 23, and yet, since this is he

taken in to be a member of Mr. Griffith's church.—

Colonel Pride, as colonel of foot, three-hundred sixty-five pounds per annum, besides other advantages; and hath also great advantage by brewing for the state; one of the simple and new made knights, and his daughter married to the protector's nephew.

Colonel Clark, as colonel of foot, three-hundred sixty-five pounds per annum; as a commissioner of the admiralty, five-hundred pounds per annum; in all, eight-hundred sixty-five pounds per annum; and one of the committee of the army; he married Thurloe's sister, and is deeply engaged to uphold the court-interest.

Colonel Salmon, as of foot, and commissioner of the admiralty, eight-hundred sixty-five pounds per annum.

Lieutenant-colonel Kelsey, as commissioner of the admiralty, five-hundred pounds per annum; as one of the major-generals, six-hundred sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence; in all, one-thousand, one-hundred, sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence, besides the government of Dover castle.

Colonel Biscoc, as of foot, three-hundred sixty-five pounds per annum; this is he who stood at the parliament-door, with Colonel Mills, to keep all the members out who had not tickets.

Colonel White, of foot, the like pay, besides other advantages in the regiment, as the other; this is he who, with Colonel Goff, brought soldiers, and turned the members, left behind in the little parliament, out of doors.

Captain Howard, formerly captain of the life-guard, as colonel of foot, three-hundred sixty-five pounds per annum; and, as captain of a county-troop, one-hundred pounds; in all, four-hundred sixty-five pounds per annum; besides the government of Berwick, Carlisle, and Tinnmouth; a printed book says he is a major-general.

Major Sanders, of foot, and governor of Plymouth-fort, and Island.

Captain Wagstaff, as captain of foot, one-hundred forty-six pounds, besides the advantage of his company, and as captain of a county-troop, one-hundred pounds; in all, two-hundred forty-six pounds per annum.

Officers belonging to the regiments of foot in Scotland, that sat in the house.

COLONEL FITZ, as colonel of foot, three-hundred sixty-five pounds per annum, and governor of Inverness.

Colonel Mitchel, the like pay, besides other advantages in the regiment.

Colonel Talbot, colonel of foot, the like.

Colonel Cooper, as colonel of two regiments of foot, one in Scotland, the other in Ireland, seven-hundred and thirty pounds per annum, besides other advantages in the regiment; and the government of Carrick-fergus, and a great part of the country in the north of Ireland; it is reported he hath three or four places.

Judge-advocate Whaly, of the army in Scotland, two-hundred and three pounds fifteen shillings per annum, besides other advantages is commissary-general Whaly's brother.

Officers belonging to the regiments of foot in Ireland, who either might sit in the house ; and such as are in civil employment there

SIR HARDRESS WALLER, as major-general of the army, hundred sixty-five pounds per annum ; as colonel of foot, three-hundred sixty-five pounds ; in all, seven-hundred, thirty pounds per annum besides other advantages.

Colonel Huson, colonel of foot, and governor of Dublin, with other advantages.

Colonel Fooke, colonel of foot, and governor of Drogheda.

Colonel Henry Ingoldsby, a colonel of foot, besides other advantages, and is the protector's, so called, kinsman.

Colonel Sadler, colonel of foot, besides other advantages.

Sir Robert King, commissary of the musters, a place of good advantage ; he is lately deceased.

These following persons for Ireland, but one, have the names of a colonel but are none.

COLONEL BRIDGES, captain of a foot company.

Lieutenant-colonel Newbrough.

Lieutenant-colonel Berrisford.

Lieutenant-colonel Treyle.

Major Asten.

Captain Halsie.

Persons not thought meet to be in command, though they much desire and are of such poor principles, and so unfit to make rulers of, that would not have been set with the dogs of the flock, as Job speaks in his case, Job xxx. 1. if the army, and others, who once pretend to be honest, had kept close to their former good and honest principles

COLONEL JEPHSON, a man of no better principles than the former ; but, for his good service in voting for a King, is lately sent ambassador to Sweden.

Mr. Vincent Gookin, one of the letters of land in Ireland, hundred pounds per annum.

Mr. Ralph King, the like place and salary.

Mr. Bice, Recorder of Dublin.

The names of those colonels, Lieutenant-colonels, majors, captains, and governors of towns, that are not of the marching army, which sat in house.

COLONEL NORTON, a regiment, or some companies of foot, governor of Portsmouth.

Colonel Rogers, governor of Hereford, captain of a county-troop; what company of foot, and other advantages, it is not certainly known.

Colonel Bingham, governor of Guernsey.

Colonel Copleston hath a county-regiment, made high sheriff for three years together, supposed worth to him three or four-hundred pounds per annum, one of the new made knights, and a great cavalier formerly.

Colonel Cox, captain of a county-troop, for that one-hundred pounds per annum.

Colonel Ireland, captain of a county-troop.

Colonel John Gorges, captain of a county-troop.

Major Hawsworth, governor of Warwick-castle, one or two companies of foot, besides other advantages.

Major Bowreman, deputy governor of the Isle of Wight; he hath command of Sandown and Weymouth-castles, one or two companies of foot: his other advantages not certainly known.

Captain Fiennes hath a county-troop.

William Braddon, the same command and pay.

Captain Crofts, the like.

Captain Whitegrave, the like.

Captain Ludlow, the like.

James Heely, lieutenant to that troop.

Captain Mason, lieutenant to Hereford-troop, and would get higher, if he could; a poor inconsiderable creature, that says, his Lord must bestow some good place upon him, or else he cannot serve him.

The names of the governors of towns, castles, and commanders of the militia forces in Wales, and such as have civil employments, who sat in the house.

COLONEL DAWKINS, governor of Caermarthen, one of the deputy major-generals, captain of a militia-troop.

Evan Lewis, captain of a county-troop.

Hugh Price of Guernsey, captain of a militia troop, and governor of Red castle.

John Price, receiver-general of South-Wales, and a great treasurer formerly, now one of the admiralty, or a commissioner of appeals.

Bennet Hoskins, deputy, or puny judge in Pembroke, Caermarthen, and Cardigan shires.

Griffith Bedward hath a great place in the wine-office at Westminster.

Colonel John Carter, by Judge Glyn's interest, had lately three-thousand pounds voted him by the house, for old arrears, to be paid out of the prize goods.

Colonel James Phillips, one of the committee of the army; what other place is not known at present.

The names of such, who did or might sit in the house, that belong to the admiralty and navy.

GENERAL BLAKE, as general at sea, one-thousand ninety-five pounds per annum, besides other advantages; lately deceased.

Mr. Hopkins, one of the commissioners of the admiralty, five-hundred pounds per annum, lately deceased.

Major Beak, of Coventry, as commissioner of the admiralty, five-hundred pounds per annum.

Captain Hatsell, as commissioner of the navy at Plymouth, three-hundred pounds per annum.

Mr. Smith, as commissioner of the navy, the like.

Colonel Rouse, vice-admiral of the north and south coasts of Cornwall, a place of good value.

Charles George Cock, as one of the judges of the admiralty, five-hundred pounds per annum; and as commissioner of the prerogative-court, three-hundred pounds; in all, eight-hundred pounds per annum.

Major Gudley, as an officer of the ordnance, near three-hundred pounds per annum; as captain of a county-troop, one-hundred pounds per annum; and deputy major-general to Kelsey.

The names of such, who have civil employments, who serve for Scotland.

LORD BROGHILL, as president of the council there, one-thousand pounds per annum, besides other advantages; as colonel of horse in Ireland, four-hundred seventy-four pounds, ten shillings; in all, one-thousand, four-hundred, seventy-four pounds, ten shillings; he was formerly not thought meet to be trusted with the government of a town in Ireland, because looked upon as an old protestant, and no thorough friend to the honest interest, yet, through the late defection, is received into this great trust.

Colonel Whetham, as one of the council in Scotland, it is supposed five-hundred pounds per annum.

Sir William Rhodes, as one of the council, the like.

Mr. Desbrow, major-general Desbrow's brother, as one of the council, the same salary.

Mr. Smith, a judge in Scotland, six-hundred pounds per annum.

Mr. Swinton, the like place and salary.

Judge Lawrence, the like.

Sir James Mackdowell, one of the commissioners at Leeth, about three-hundred pounds per annum.

Colonel Henry Markham, one of the commissioners, for letting lands in Ireland, three-hundred pounds per annum.

Sir John Weimes, tenant to the state of the salt-pans, near Leeth, and hath a good advantage thereby.

Others serving for England, sitting in the house, that have civil employments and salaries from the state.

SIR WILLIAM ROBERTS, as one of the committee for preservation of excise and customs, three-hundred pounds per annum; as comptroller of the exchequer, six-hundred pounds; in all, nine-hundred pounds per annum. He is a commissioner at the Wine-office, and one of the committee of the army.

Dennis Bond, as comptroller of the receipts of the exchequer, five-hundred pounds per annum.

Captain Stone, as teller in the exchequer, five-hundred pounds per annum, and great fees besides ; as receiver-general of the taxes, three-hundred pounds ; as comptroller of the excise and customs, four-hundred pounds ; in all, twelve-hundred pounds per annum ; he is a commissioner at the wine-office, and one of the committee of the army besides

Gervis Bennet, one of the committee for preservation of excise and customs, three-hundred pounds per annum ; hath also a great place in the wine-office, and is one of the committee of the army.

Mr. Upton, as one of the commissioners of the customs, supposed worth near eight-hundred pounds per annum.

Mr. Nowell, scrivener, partner with Thurloe in the post-office, supposed of great advantage, and is deeply engaged with the court-interest.

Colonel Blake, receiver of the revenues, three-hundred pounds per annum.

Mr. Bedford, the like place and salary.

Mr. Butler, the like.

Mr. Hildslie, commissioner of the prerogative-office, three-hundred pounds per annum, and one of the committee of the army.

Mr. Lucy, the like places and salaries.

Christopher Lister, one of the tellers of the exchequer, five-hundred pounds per annum.

Colonel Thomas Gorges, one of the commissioners for the new building. His advantage thereby cannot yet be known, till he and his brethren have racked the consciences, flayed off the skins, and broken the bones of the poor people, making them swear against themselves.

Sir John Thoroughgood, one of the trustees for disposing augmentations towards ministers maintenance. His salary is not well known.

Colonel James Chadwicke, one of the judges of the Peverell-court, at Nottingham, an old oppressive office, lately revived.

Mr. Cary, of Westminster, commissioner at Haberdasher's-hall, and deputy-steward of Westminster, lately deceased.

Anthony Smith, master of an hospital and a register, supposed worth two-hundred pounds per annum

Robert (or William) Fenwick, master of an hospital.

Mr. Thomas Mackworth, farmer of the excise in Lancashire, by special order.

Master Clud, one of the committee of the army.

John St. Aubin, a salary-man ; but what place he hath I cannot learn.

The names of the protector (so called) his sons, kindred, servants, and others, who have received favours from him, and are thereby engaged for his interest.

MR. RICHARD CROMWELL, his eldest son, chancellor of Oxford.

Mr. Claypole, his son-in-law. He married his daughter, and is master of the horse ; a place of great advantage.

Colonel John Jones married the protector's sister, and is governor of the isle of Anglesey.

Captain Nicholas married the protector's niece, and is governor of his castle at Chepstow; hath one or two companies of foot, besides other advantages; is also captain of a militia-troop, and treasurer-general of all South-Wales.

Captain Blake married his niece, and is captain of his life-guard of horse; five hundred and eleven pounds per annum.

Sir Francis Russel, whose daughter the protector's second son married, was chamberlain of Chester, formerly by the Earls of Derby; supposed to be worth five-hundred pounds per annum.

Edmund Giles married his kinswoman, and is one of the masters of the chancery in ordinary; a place of great value.

The names of his servants sitting in the house.

MR. MAIDSTONE, steward of the house; a place of great advantage.

Mr. Waterhouse, steward of his lands; a place of great profit.

Sir Edward Herbert, intrusted as an overseer or bailiff of his lands in Wales.

The names of the protector (so called) his kinsmen, not known to have any place as yet, that sat in the house.

MR. DESBROW, major-general Desbrow's son.

Mr. Henry Cromwell.

Mr. Gobert Barrington.

Mr. Richard Hampden.

Sir John Trevor.

Mr. Trevor, his son.

Mr. Francis Ingoldsby.

Mr. Edw. Dunch.

Mr. Dunch, who and the protector's eldest son married two sisters.

Sir Richard Everard, a good huntsman.

Mr. Robert Williams, of Wales.

Not one of these such men of principles, as was formerly pretended to be endeavoured after; neither indeed are the greatest part of the whole convention any better. For which carriage of things, I am confidently persuaded, the Lord, by one dispensation or other, will make the man in power, and his counsellors hereunto, ashamed. For, if this practice be good, the former (wherein the Lord set to his seal of approbation, by his eminent and glorious presence with them, which was contrary hereunto) was evil.

The names of others, sitting in the house, having engagements from the protector upon them.

ALDERMAN PACK, one of the new-made knights, for the good service he did the protector and his family, by his presenting the bill for

kingship. It is said, he obtained from the protector, by his petition or request, a discharge from an account of sixteen-thousand pounds, which he and the rest of the then commissioners were liable to make good, for so much run out of cash, in the time of their commission for the customs.

Alderman Foot, a new-made knight.

Alderman Dickinson, of York, one of the new-made knights.

Anthony Nichols, one of the eleven members, high-sheriff of Cornwall, and, as is reported, lately received a reward from O. P.

Mr. Kiffin, who, having received former courtesies, by means of O. P. and his confederates, as to prohibited goods, and in other respects, is thereby engaged to become his vassal, and to command a company of foot in the new militia, to support his tyranny, whilst the saints and others are imprisoned for opposing it.

Mr. Lawrence, the president of the council's son, who must do as his father.

Mr. Waller, Sir Hardress Waller's son, and is naturally engaged to support his father's interest.

Mr. Keeling, one of the masters of the Trinity-house, and his relations at court.

In all, one-hundred eighty-two.

If there be any mistakes (as it is very probable there are) in the computation of the forementioned offices, places, or salaries, you may please to understand, there was not in the least a desire, or design, to do any thing untruly thereby, to make the men, or things, appear worse, than in truth they are; there having been all the ways and means, that with honesty, wisdom, and safety might be used, to attain a right understanding, in every particular. But, if, through any failure herein, those, who are most concerned, do find themselves aggrieved, knowing they are not, in every punctilio, dealt right with; the only way, for their own vindication, and satisfaction of others, will be, to give a more perfect and brief account hereof themselves; which with much ease they may do in a little time; these things, thus laid down, being reported of them.

Upon the foregoing premisses it is further proposed and queried,

1. Whether the self-denying ordinance, made by the long parliament, were in force, or minded by these gentlemen? A thing some of them so approved of, and were instrumental, in that day, to promote and carry on. May it not be desired they would better consider, and put it in practice, when they meet again, seeing they have revived all acts and ordinances, not contrary to their model of government, *alias*, instrument of bondage to the English nation?

2. Whether men, standing under such mercenary and self-interested obligations and dependencies upon a single person, as these men do, and who, like so many horse-leeches, have sucked and drawn into themselves the expected fruit of all the blood and treasure expended in the late war, against less tyranny and oppression in the King, than they have now settled in their protector, are fit persons to be legislators, law-makers, framers of governments and oaths, and leviers of money on the people? And whether, in the eye of reason, any other can be expected

from them, but that they will endeavour, all they can, to uphold that interest they are hired to serve, and whereby their own incomes and salaries may be continued? For, doth not the scripture say, Deut. xvi. 18. That a gift blinds the eyes of the wise, and perverts the words of the righteous. And Prov. xvii. 8. A gift is a precious stone in the eyes of him that hath it, and whithersoever it turns, it prospers. And Prov. xviii. 16. A man's gift maketh way for him, and brings him before great men.

3. Whether, for more than one-hundred years last past, it hath been heard, or known, that any number of Englishmen sitting in that house, did in any wise consent (especially in a time of peace) as these unworthy persons have lately done, to levy a tax, for three years together, upon the people; and, as if that were not enough, to order a three-months tax to be paid twice over? Together with the excise (a tax so much abhorred, and created only by the necessity of war) which, with the customs, is imposed in *perpetuum* upon the nation, and made an hereditary and standing revenue to the crown?

4. What equality, or justice, is there in that act of union, whereby the Scots nation comes to be incorporated with this nation, so as to have equal privileges and power, by their interested mercenary men (as their present trustees are) to become lawgivers, framers of governments and oaths, and leviers of taxes of the free people of the English nation, who were lately at so great cost and charges in reducing and bringing them under, that they might not be in a capacity to hurt or damage them? And whether these gentlemen, sent from the aforesaid nation, have not so far over-ruled, as to save themselves, by putting the burthen on the English? Having raised upon the English nation the three-years tax, from thirty thousand pounds per month, to thirty-five thousand; whereby the Scottish nation is reduced, from ten-thousand pounds per month, to six. Is the dividend equal? Is not the Scottish nation undervalued, as of little worth, which formerly bore so high? Do not the English lose and suffer by that nation? And were it not better to be without it? And all such gentlemen in parliament, that have no more sense or resentment, what burthens they lay on this nation, so they may keep their places and salaries?

5. Whether the judges and commissioners of the chancery, together with such who have great places in administering of law to the people, and very great advantages and profits thereby, be not likewise to be excepted against, as to parliamentary trust? It being most sure, that they will hardly be disposed to make such laws and governments, as may diminish the splendor or mercenariness of their profession, seeing they are known to be men who, from time to time, have always advanced their own trade, as their present height doth witness; who, to the great dishonour of the nation, while they profess themselves the ministers of justice and righteousness to the people, do, under that pretence, greatness and enrich themselves in the oppression and miseries of the people.

6. And why is it, that the dispensers of the law as well as the ^a teachers of the gospel, should not be made incapable to sit and act in parlia-

^a Free preaching the gospel and knowledge of God is become a crime rendering men incapable to sit in the Parliament.

ment, seeing there also is an old musty act to prohibit them so to do? But, it seems, their envy at the free dispensing of the gospel, on the one hand, and their gain by the law, on the other, hinder them, that they cannot see, or take notice of it.

7. The like may be queried concerning the swordsmen's capacity to sit, whilst in pay; especially to decree and vote in levying of money, for three years together, and of other unheard-of oppressive ways, devised and practised for no other use, than to pay themselves their wages and salaries, now they do no work, unless it be to undo what they did before, and to reduce the well-affected people of this nation unto their first condition of slavery, to be ruled by mere will and pleasure.

*Here follows a catalogue of the kinglings, or the names of those persons, who voted for * a King; the truest that as yet can be gotten, with the names of the several counties for which they serve.*

Bedfordshire
Mr. Samuel Bedford
Berkshire.
Edmund Dunch
John Dunch
Mr. Trumball
Mr. Hide
Buckinghamshire.
Ld. Commis. Whitlock
Colonel Ingoldsby
Mr. Richard Hampden
Mr. Francis Ingoldsby
Cheshire.
Mr. Richard Leigh
Mr. Peter Brook
Cambridgeshire.
John Thurloe, Secretary
Sir Francis Russel
Mr. Robert West
Cornwall.
Mr. Richard Carter
Mr. John Buller
Cumberland.
Captain Howard
George Downing
Mr. Briscoe
Derbyshire.
Gervas Bennet
Devonshire. o
Dorsetshire.
Attor. Gen. Prideaux
Dennis Bond

Colonel Bingham
Colonel Fitz James
Durham County.
Capt. Thomas Lilburn
Mr. Anthony Smith
Yorkshire.
Doctor Bathurst
Essex. o
Gloucestershire.
Captain Stone
Herefordshire.
Captain Mason
Hertfordshire.
Earl of Salisbury
Sir Richard Lucy
Huntingdonshire.
Colonel Montague
Mr. Henry Cromwell
Kent o
Leicestershire.
Colonel Hacker
Lincolnshire.
Captain Fiennes
Middlesex.
Sir William Roberts
Westminster.
Colonel Grosvenor
London.
Alderman Foot
Alderman Pack
Monmouthshire o

* Or that the crown and title of King should be offered to Oliver Cromwell.

Norfolk.
 Colonel Wood
 Colonel Wilton
 Major Burton.
 Northamptonshire. o
 Nottinghamshire. o
 Northumberland. o
 Oxfordshire.
 Col. Nathaniel Fiennes
 M. William Lenthal
 Mr. Miles Fleetwood
 Sir Francis Norris
 Mr. Jenkinson
 Mr. Crook
 Rutlandshire. o
 Shropshire.
 Mr. John Ashton
 Staffordshire.
 Sir Charles Ouseley
 Mr. Nowell, Scrivener
 Captain Whitgreave
 Somersetshire.
 Recorder Long
 Colonel John Gorges
 Mr. Robert Aldworth
 John Ash, junior
 Southampton.
 Lord Commis. Lisle
 Mr. Smith, commissioner of the
 Navy
 Major Bowreman
 Suffolk.
 Mr. Francis Bacon
 Mr. Nathaniel Bacon
 Mr. Robert Brewster
 Surry.
 Sir Richard Onslow
 Mr. John Goodwin
 Mr. Duncomb
 Mr. Drake
 Mr. De la Noy, Southwark
 Sussex.
 Sir John Trevor
 Warwickshire.
 Mr. Clement Throgmorton
 Mr. Lucy
 Major Beake
 Worcestershire.
 Sir Thomas Rouse
 Mr. Edward Pitt

Wiltshire.
 Mr. Gabriel Martin
 Lancashire.
 Colonel Ireland
 Westmoreland. o

 Not known to what counties
 they belong.
 Sir Thomas Wrath
 Colonel Bret
 Major Beak, life-guard
 Mr. Lawrence, the president's
 son
 Mr. Walter, Sir Hardress's son
 Alderman Stevens
 Mr. Thelwell

Wales.
 Colonel Philip Jones
 Mr. Claypole, called Lord
 Mr. Trevor
 Mr. Williams
 Judge Glyn
 Griffith Bedwerda
 Colonel Phillips
 Mr. Upton
 Mr. Hugh Price
 Mr. Lloyd
 Mr. Herbert
 Col. George Twisleton
 Col. John Carter

For Scotland.
 Lord Cockram
 Sir Alexander Wedderbone
 Mr. Ramsey, provost of Edin-
 burgh
 Sir John Weimes
 Lord Tweedale
 Doctor Douglas
 Mr. Barclay
 Mr. Woosley
 Commissary Lockhart
 Mr. Godfrey Rhodes
 Mr. Lockhart

Englishmen for Scotland.
 Col. Henry Markham
 Lord Broghill

For Ireland.
 Recorder Bice
 Mr. Vincent Gooking
 Alderman Tigh, Mayor
 Colonel Raynolds
 Major Owen
 Major Morgan
 Sir Theophilus Jones
 Colonel Jephson
 Colonel Bridges
 Colonel Fouke
 Lieutenant-Col. Berisford
 Major Aston
 Captain Halsey

In all 120. Whereof, of the
 council with the secretary 5
 Of his kindred 12
 Officers belonging to the army
 and navy in pay 20
 Others receiving salaries,
 and lying under other engage-
 ments 33
 In all 70

The other fifty are Scots and
 Englishmen of slight, low, and
 inconsiderable principles, and
 will turn any way their mas-
 ter will have them.

It is reported, that several of these persons, because their protector judged it not safe for him, at that time, to accept of their unworthy offer, being either really, or seemingly, dissatisfied, went away, and would not give their vote for this new government, now pretended to be settled, called the 'humble petition and advice.' Which, as is commonly spoken, was carried but by three voices, fifty-three against fifty; and is also against the desire and approbation of the good people of the nation. The names of which fifty-three persons should also have followed in the next place, could a true catalogue thereof have been obtained.

Nor are they hereby excused, who gave not their vote for one or the other, but seem to be dissatisfied with the present proceedings; because, by their sitting in the house, they pretend, as representers of the people (for whom they serve) to preserve their rights and freedom free from the violence, tyranny, and oppression of all arbitrary powers whatsoever. Yet notwithstanding, as by suffering their fellow-members to be kept from them, and judged without doors; sitting and adjourning at the protector's pleasure, as if they were his servants; with many other unworthy things, which already have been, and further might be mentioned. So when they were endeavoured to be violated by the kinglings; and being now really trampled upon, and given away, by the above-mentioned fifty-three persons (who, like so many slaves or vassals, with ropes about their necks, came bowing, and beseeching him to take the sole government of the three nations upon him, and to chuse his successors) they do not cry out, protest, declare against, and withdraw from them, (which either is, or ought to be their liberty) in the doing whereof, these unparalleled wickednesses (the fruit of this late apostasy) must of necessity fall to the ground; but, through love to their self-interest, unbelief, and not trusting the Lord with their outward concerns, in bearing a thorough testimony against them, and in standing for the good of the people, they go on with them, stifling their own consciences, and simply endeavouring to quiet and satisfy their oppressed brethren, by saying, he hath not the title of King; as if all the evil, oppression, and arbitrariness lay in that, when, as he hath the same, and no less power, than if he had the title, and were called King. Yea, a far greater power

(as was said before) than what cost so much blood and treasure to oppose in the late King. Surely these slight pretences will not sufficiently excuse them in the day of their account, for thus doing.

Thus far the description and narrative; a few general queries are further proposed for a close to the whole. And it is humbly offered to the consideration of all ingenious people, and queried, whether the aforementioned persons, who seem to dissent from the present proceedings, and their brethren the kinglings, together with the fifty-three new government-men, who also, in time, may be more publick, fall not under some of these following characters? Such as know them may judge.

First, Whether they are not those who worship the rising sun? Or, such as have advanced great estates by the publick, and may be in fear of being called to an account—Or, such as are under hopes and expectations to raise themselves by the present interest—Or, as are lovers of popularity, and to be in high places—Or, as are of a low and timorous spirit, not approving their hearts to God, or redeemed from men, and so are fearful to give offence by their dissenting—Or, such as had some design to drive either for themselves, relations, or the clergy—Or, at best, were such as thought, by their continuance there, they might so balance proceedings, as to prevent the running of things into that extremity, as otherwise they would? Not considering they did much more hurt in countenancing them with their presence, than they could do good by their opposition, which was but laughed at.

2. How the people of this nation should come to be concluded by, take notice of, or be subject to this new government, framed and made by these men; seeing they never chose them to any such purpose, nor petitioned them about any such thing? If they could assume a liberty to alter the government from what they found it. Why might it not have become them to have attempted rather the reducing of it to such a form, as might have answered the just ends and expectations of those that sent them, than such a heightening as this of an interest, formerly so much complained of? That an attempt to change the government should be cause sufficient to dissolve his last parliament; and not be an offence in this? Is there not cause to say, that having served the end for which they at first were chosen, viz. the advance of their protector's interest, and his providing for his designs (which neither the old parliament, little parliament, nor his former parliament would do) they are still continued, and kept as a reserve against the next opportunity to bring further slavery and oppression upon the nation.

Whether the government by the keepers of the liberties of England, the people's (who have not forfeited their liberties) representatives, and a council of state was not, or may not be more successful for the good of the nation, and a great deal less burthensome and chargeable to the people than the instrument of protectoral government, or the present government, of the humble petition and advice? Though the former of these was so highly boasted of, as if it came from heaven, and as if one

* A gentleman of this juncto swore he would go help to settle the church, that, in matters of religion, scarce knows the right hand from the left.

Not one petition from any county or town in England, or dominions thereunto belonging.

iota of it might not be parted with; and that * other foundations could no man lay; yet, in three years time, it is found utterly useless, destroying itself, so as that, by the humble petition and advice, the idea and desire of Mr. Thurloe, and his master, rather than the invention and free proposal of his mercenary juncto, it must, by their pretended authority, be changed for something that is likely to prove as useless as that was, if not more.

4. Whether those gentlemen, sitting in the house, who were chosen by the instrument of protectoral government, which they have now cast out, and introduced their new government of the humble petition and advice, in the room thereof, were not in all reason to have ceased, and gone out, with the government that chose them, rather than, without the good people's consent, and a new choice (by this new device of adjournment) continued themselves as lords over the nation, in this their new erected government?

5. Whether the good old cause, formerly contended and bled for, and which cost so much treasure in the hands of other instruments, in the long and little parliament, be not, in a very great degree and measure (if not altogether) changed, and put into the hands of such, as sometimes were accounted either neuters, or malignants, or not so fit for so great a trust?

6. Whether the lawyers, or gentlemen of the long robe, having gained their protector over to their interest and party (as was learnedly and wittingly intimated by the speaker, at the late inauguration, when he had divested him of his sword, and put on the king's robe, that now he might speak without offence, that his highness was become a gownman) are not in a fairer and more likely way, and capacity, to hang up the soldiers belts and swords in Westminster-hall, by the Scottish colours, than the soldiers are, to hang up the lawyers gowns there? As they have oftentimes threatened they would: Alas! poor England, is not the law, and the administering of it, as corrupt, dilatory, burthensome, and vexatious as ever? Doth the striving of these two great interests produce any good to thee? (Which the soldiers once so highly pretended to) or rather, is there not hereby an increase of thy pressures and burthens?

7. Whether the proceedings in the late convention particularly the votes for another house, a standing army, a perpetual tax for customs to be let to farm, the hot attempts to build again the cursed ruins of kingship: Also resolutions to bring in publick profession of faith, and tie up the publick maintenance to conformity thereunto, with the endeavours that were used to have imposed a catechism upon us, do not clearly shew what a spirit is raised up again? And whether does not the tendency of these transactions (according to human probability) threaten a † rendivation of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny; against which a most solemn and signal testimony hath been borne amongst us

* See the Protector's (so called) speech to his parliament, after the old and little parliament were dissolved.

† See Provision for tender consciences in the Humble petition and advice, article 11. See their act for catechising, and that for the Lord's day. See Bacon and Tate's Ordinance against Blasphemy, now seemed to be revived by them.

by the spirit of God in his people, the blood of the saints, and the dreadful effects of Providence?

8. Whether the great and high concernments, formerly the travel, the hopes and aims of many amongst us, were at all upon the hearts of those in power, or their late assembly; to wit, a farther reformation of things, in the regulation of law; the desolation of oppressive courts, and committees; the abrogation of tythes, and supernumerary offices; the removal of all unnecessary burthens and publick grievances, with all such laws, customs, and proceedings, as were calculated for the interest of mere will and power of antichristian and arbitrary greatness? But, on the contrary, hath not the result of late proceedings been such, as hath already, in part, healed the wound that these had received, and holds out a clear intendment to restore them again to their former power, splendor, and exaltation, to the making void, as much as in them lies, the dear effect of all the blood, prayers, appeals, and glorious deliverances, which have been laid out upon that account?

9. Whether the hard proceedings against James Nailer, in his usage and punishment (although his principle be not hereby owned) doth not, in a great measure, very nearly concern many godly, sober, and peaccable people in the three nations? Have they any good assurance, they may not hereafter be dealt withal after the like manner? And whether the several professions amongst us, that, by the national faith, shall be concluded unorthodox, may not, from these beginnings, and other foundations already laid, expect to receive the like entertainment at the hands of this generation; as the godly and faithful followers of Christ have at the hand of the worldly powers, and national church, in times past?

10. Whether the oath *ex officio*, used by the bishops, in their court of high commission, judging the opinions, and racking the consciences of good people formerly, be not like to come in use again; seeing swearing begins to grow so much into request, and to be so common, not only at court amongst great men, but also in their parliaments, appointing commissioners (together with the excise and customs) to let it to farm; for do they not give power (as appears in their act for new buildings) to cause men to swear, who, sometimes, it is to be feared, forswear themselves? Whether the land hath not formerly mourned, because of oaths? And is it not by this means likely to do so again?

11. Whether the spirit of the star-chamber and council-board did not also rise up, and act vigorously in the house, putting them upon the project of punishing persons for building new houses, for new families, which the Lord hath been pleased to multiply? As if his blessing, of increasing the people in and near London, were a judgment or curse; and the increasing of dwellings for them, a crime to be punished by a * mulct or fine; And, if the Lord shall be pleased to withhold the sword and pestilence, for seven years to come, as he hath done the

* All houses without the walls of the City, for ten miles diſtance round, that, from thirty-seven years past, to the 29th of September, 1667, have been built upon new foundations, are, by the late act, to pay a full year's rent to the Corporation, as they may be let at a rack rent; in execution whereof so much oppression hath been exercised already, as would take up too much room to declare it.

last seven or ten years past, and continue the like increase of new families, must not the aforesaid families either supplant the old, or go build new houses at Jamaica? Such being the present case already, that a house is hardly to be gotten for a family to live in. Which things being considered, might it not be desired, that those gentlemen of the long robe, and the great swordsmen their brethren, who have had such a fellow-feeling of the conditions and estates of the poor tradesmen and artificers, as to impose this burthen upon them, would lend them their inns of court and chancery, White-Hall, St. James's, and other great houses, before the poor new families should lie out of doors, or have no houses to dwell in?

12. Whether extreme necessity did not at first introduce that so much abhorred tax (by the English) of excise, only to maintain the war, wherein they were then engaged, for justice and freedom, against a negative voice in the late king? And his claiming the sole power of the militia, as of right belonging to him? And whether the said tax was not intended to be continued for so long time only, till that necessity was over, and no longer, and the nation then to be reduced to its freedom again? And if so, whether there be not greater reason that that burthen should cease, and be taken off the people, than now in a time of peace (together with the customs) be made perpetual, and a standing revenue to hold up and maintain those very usurpations, and grievances, viz. a negative voice over the people's representatives in parliament: And the sole power of the militia in the hands and disposal of a protector, for the extirpation whereof it was first employed?

13. Whether the excise be not a tax far more burthensome than ship-money in the days of the king? And whether the late * continuing of it for two or three years on the people, without the least shew of parliamentary authority, was not an act as criminal and obnoxious to justice, as was the levying of ship-money in that day? And surely had this late convention been of English spirits, and not basely unworthy; would they not rather have broken this yoke to pieces, and freed them from that devouring oppressing tax, than made it † heavier, and, by a law, bound it upon their shoulders for ever?

14. Were not these late acts for continuance of excise and customs for ever, with the delegated powers therein contained, to swear, fine and imprison persons at pleasure, together with the act of farming out the same, with that of the new buildings, calculated and designed on purpose against the merchants, tradesmen, artificers, and the whole City of London, with the parts adjoining, to bring them down, and make them poor and low, that so, like a great tame ass, subdued to the yoke, they may be ridden at pleasure; and, as fit for nothing else but to bear the burthen of the whole nation? And, whether they be well rewarded by these new law-makers, for their former forwardness in the good old cause; in lending their money, and adventuring their lives at Gloucester, Newport Pagnel, Aulton, and other places, for the delivering their

* Which was done by the Protector (so called) and his council, no parliament sitting: As the king and his council formerly raised ship-money.

† Can any other be expected from mercenary soldiers, lawyers, salary-men, and other court-parasites?

country from those very yokes, which are now, by a law, re-established, and imposed upon us?

15. Whether these pretended law-makers had not more of a selfish, than a publick spirit, in declining the way of subsidy, and advancing their nineteen-hundred thousand pounds per year, for the support of their new government, by laying two-thirds of the same on the merchants, tradesmen, and artificers; and the other third on the real and personal estates of the nation? Have they not hereby slipped their own shoulders from under the burthen; and unworthily laid it heavy on the industrious people; whilst the lawyers great places and fees, with the swordsmen's salaries, and land purchased with the price of other men's blood, pay little or nothing at all?

16. Whether the gentlemen of this convention be not the very offspring of the old courtiers, and their dependants, the late patentees suppressed and turned out of the long parliament, at their first sitting, as unworthy to come there; in that they have bought and sold the people of this nation, by letting, and taking to farm their rights and properties? Did ever any company of men before abuse parliamentary authority so, as these men have done; in making an act to let to farm the good people of this nation, their properties and goods, to such as will bid most; and authorising their members to become like panders, to give entertainment to all comers, who have a mind to become patentees, and contract with them for power, to use the English free people as they please?

17. Whether the pretence, of advancing a revenue to the state, be a plea sufficient to warrant their oppressing, impoverishing, and enslaving the people of this nation, to fill the state's coffer; or rather the lusts of some great statesmen? And whether such, as buy dear, must not sell dear, and use such means to raise their money again, as will eat up the people to the very bones? Were not Sir Abraham Daws, Sir John Worsenham, and Sir Nicholas Crisp, counted criminal, and fined accordingly, for being such farmers? And whether the gentlemen that do, and shall now adventure to farm, may not, in time, come to be subjects of like justice, as was deservedly executed upon Empson and Dudley, with their confederates, for their raking and peeling the people of this nation formerly?

18. Whether the raising up again the ruins of the fallen courts and monarchy, and the giving up the grand interests of the people, so lately redeemed with the price of much precious blood, out of the clutches of tyranny into the hands of one single person again; and this done without the advice and consent, and against the hopes and expectations of the most faithful and honest part of the nation, be not an act highly unworthy the day that is upon us, and a fundamental ground of dissatisfaction to all, in whom there yet remains any sense of the late most honourable cause, and of the experiences and appearances that attended us, while we abode uncorrupted in the faithful and fervent prosecution thereof?

Upon the whole: Whether these things, brought forth of late, be the natural issue of those noble beginnings formerly amongst us; or rather the degenerate fruits of that bitter root of apostasy that hath sprung

up since, and of late more effectually manifested itself, under the face of authority; in an assembly of men, made up of persons ridden by the clergy, and acted by principles of self-security, and advancement of sons and kinsmen, servants, of low-spirited conquered Scots, curbed cavaliers, and young boys; of corrupt lawyers, and others; who prostitute their light and principles to their Diana, to uphold their gain and profits; and of a declined sort of independant, baptized, ranting, and mercurial divinity professors; and lastly, of mercenary soldiers and swordsmen, who have, out of fear, or covetous ends, apostatised, and unworthily betrayed as honourable and precious a cause as ever was on foot since the world began, of all which this juncto was made up and constituted.

POSTSCRIPT.

Reader,

This had come sooner into thy hands, had not Providence hindered. What is wanting, either for matter or form, thou art desired (who art capable thereof) to make a supply in this or some other manner, more for the discovery of wickedness, and pleading for righteousness; and however the apostates of the day (with their protector) may be displeased and rage thereat; yet, consider the encouragement our Lord Protector gives thee hereunto, Isa. ix. 16. Who complains (that in a day of transgressing, flying and departing away from God, of oppression; yea, when truth failed, and he that departed from evil made himself a prey, and there was no judgment) that none called for justice, nor any man pleaded for truth, &c. and wondered there was no intercessor. Let not that lively active spirit, that once appeared for God, against tyranny and wickedness in the late king's days, now die; when the same spirit and wickedness is again revived and acting, even by them who were so instrumental to destroy the late generation, for these very things. Your friend, who, having in some measure been instrumental herein, hath no other apprehensions in his own spirit, but that he may before long be known, and dealt withal as others have been formerly upon the like account; yet the matter, herein contained, being such as (if justice could take place) might not only be signed to, pleaded for, but would certainly overcome, he is so far from being discouraged, or in the least damped in his spirit from the publishing hereof, that he had much rather (the Lord assisting) be exposed to a state of imprisonment all his days, yea, to death itself, than withdraw his assistance in the least measure, in this or any other thing, wherein he apprehends he may be useful to witness against the apostasy of this day, to revive the good old cause, and bring in justice and righteousness to the people.

A SECOND
NARRATIVE OF THE LATE PARLIAMENT
(SO CALLED).

Wherein, after a brief reciting some remarkable passages in the former narrative, is given an account of their second meeting, and things transacted by them: As, also, how the Protector (so called) came swearing, 'By the living God,' and dissolved them, after two or three weeks sitting. With some queries sadly proposed thereupon. Together, with an account of three and forty of their names, who were taken out of the house, and others that sat in the other house, intended for a house of lords; but, being so unexpectedly disappointed, could not take root, with a brief character and description of them. All humbly presented to publick view. By a Friend to the good old cause of justice, righteousness, the freedom and liberties of the people, which hath cost so much blood and treasure, to be carried on in the late wars, and are not yet settled.

Cursed be the man before the Lord that riseth up and buildeth the city Jericho, he shall lay the foundation thereof in his first-born, and in his youngest son shall be set up the gates of it. *JOSH. vi. 26.*

I have seen the foolish taking root; but suddenly I cursed his habitation: His children are far from safety, and they are crushed in the gate, neither is there any to deliver them. *JOB v. 3, 4.*

He disappointeth the devices of the crafty, so that their hands cannot find their enterprise. *JOB v. 12.*

His confidence shall be rooted out of his tabernacle, and it shall bring him to the king of terrors. *JOB xviii. 14.*

Printed in the fifth year of England's slavery, under its new monarchy, 1658.

THE late parliament (so called) having made their new model of government, called, 'The humble petition and advice,' before they had well licked their golden calf, or given the brat of their brain a name, were called upon to adjourn, and break up: And so, making more haste than good speed, they left things very raw and imperfect, which afterwards occasioned great contests; and, in fine, their dissolution.

According to the time they adjourned unto, they assemble again, being January 23, 1657, where, after the usual solemnities of devotion performed, they repair to the house, where they found some of their number commissioned, and empowered by the Protector, to swear them. The copy of which oath here follows:

THE OATH.

‘ I do in the presence, and by the name of God Almighty, promise and swear, that, to the utmost of my power in my place, I will uphold and maintain the true reformed protestant Christian religion in the power thereof, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and encourage the profession and professors of the same: And that I will be true and faithful to the Lord *Protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, as chief magistrate thereof: And shall not contrive, design, or attempt any thing against the person, or lawful authority of the Lord Protector; and shall endeavour, as much as in me lies, as a member of parliament, the preservation of the rights and liberties of the people.’

Which having taken, and coming into the house, they find not only some of their fellow † members, but their old servant and clerk, Mr. Scobell, gone, and a new one put in his room, whose name is Smith, which, with biting a little the lip, and something in way of compliment, as with a salvo of their rights and privileges, they for quietness sake vote him (so put upon them) to be their clerk, and then settled themselves in a posture for their future work. And the first thing they undertake, is to keep a day of prayer in their house, which accordingly they did; and with great prudence, plowing with an ox and an ass together, the presbyters and independents being both called to officiate.

The other house, who would fain have the honour to be called Lords, or rather, a House of Lords, did likewise, in their house, pray at the same time, with much devotion, and did afterwards agree to send to the parliament (or, as they would have them again called, the House of Commons) by Baron Hill and serjeant Windham (after the manner of the House of Peers formerly) to declare their message, viz. ‘ that the House of Lords, or the Lords of the other House, had sent unto them, to desire their joining with them, in a petition or message to the Protector, that a day of prayer † and humiliation might be appointed through the whole commonwealth.

Which message begat very high debates, and sharp speeches from many that were not at the making this lame and imperfect model, so as the aforesaid messengers were fain to wait a long time; but at length got this answer, viz. ‘ that they would return an answer by messengers of their own.’

The house filling daily, and many of those that had been secluded in their former session coming in, the face of things in the house was

* Can those be faithful to the rights and liberties of the people, who swear to be faithful to the government in a single person, which, our too sad experience tells us, so naturally tends to destroy them? Do not those, who so swear, undertake to uphold that in the Protector, which cost so much blood and treasure to oppose, as antichristian and tyrannical in the king? Or is that a lawful authority, which, contrary to all precedents and privileges of parliament, was carried but by three voices of them that were permitted to sit, there being at the same time at least eighty of the members purposely kept out, till that act was passed? Ought not things to be searched into, and set right upon this account? For that (Matt. vi. 24.) ‘ No man can serve two masters.’

† To the other house they were gone for greater preferment.

‡ *In nomine Domini incipe omne malum.*

in a great measure changed, another spirit appearing in them, than before, insomuch that many made question of the things that were formerly done; some speaking at a high rate in behalf of the rights of the English free people, and against the wrongs and injuries that had been done unto them. This being doneday by day, and the house not agreeing what to call that other house, which was as it were a nameless infant, and fain would be named the House of Lords, was the greatest part of their work, save that, now and then, some little matters came under debate, as the reviving and perfecting their committees, and reading some former bills. The Lord Craven's case also was taken in, and the council on both parts heard at the bar of the house, with some other little matters that passed; but the greatest part of the timethat was spent in the house, whilst sitting, was in considering and debating what they should call the other house.

Towards the end of their sitting, there came another message from the other house, after the same manner as before, 'desiring their joining with them, in moving the protector to order, that the papists, and such as had been in arms under the late king, might be exiled the city, and put out of the lines of communication,' &c. This message being also designed as a shooin'-horn, to draw on their owning of them, received a like answer as did the former.

As for the other house, who called themselves the House of Lords, they spent their time in little matters, such as choosing of committees, and among other things, to consider of the privileges and jurisdiction of their house, good wise souls, before they knew what their house was, or should be called.

About which time also, a petition was preparing, by some faithful friends to the good old cause, in and about the city of London, which was afterwards printed, and signed with many thousand hands; which petition makes mention of the several particulars that were the grounds of contest between the late king, and parliament, and the good people of the nation. And prayeth, 'the settling those good things sought for, as the reward and fruit of the blood and treasure so greatly expended in the late wars,' &c. This petition was ready to be presented to the parliament, in a peaceable way, by the hands of about twenty in the name of the rest, desiring to submit the issue thereof to God, and the wisdom of that assembly. The court, hearing of it, were so affrighted that they began to consider how they might quell, and put a stop to, 'that honest spirit, which so appeared against them; the Protector, in the mean while, calling them traitors, and seditious persons, &c. threatening to cut their skulls, and to tread them down as mire in the streets, &c. And, turned out * Major Packer, and most of the honest officers of his regiment of horse, for refusing to serve his lust therein. And apprehending that nothing could do it, but a speedy dissolving the parliament, they put on resolutions accordingly, only waiting for a convenient opportunity. But, something happening that morning, that put

* As Major Packer, Mr. Kiffin, and others, by endeavouring to promote the apostasy at its first rise, have occasioned many baptised persons, and others, simply to waver after the breast. They, now seeing their error, ought they not to declare it to the people, as also to stir them up to keep close with more readiness in their spirits to the good old cause, and to be for no single person whatsoever, till he comes, whose right it is, Ezek. xxi. 26.

the Protector into a rage and passion, near unto madness, as those at White-hall can witness, he gets into a coach, and to the other house he comes, and sends for his son Fleetwood, Mr. Nathaniel Fines, and some others, acquainting them what his purpose and resolution was, and what he came to do, who, as it is said, earnestly endeavoured to dissuade him from it; but he refused to hearken, and in great passion swore 'By the living God he would dissolve them.' And so going into the house, and sending the black rod, with a message, to call the parliament to come unto him, he, with laying great blame upon them, and charging them with great crimes, and magnifying of himself, as his manner is, dissolved them. And this was the fourth parliament broken by him, in five years.

Thus the two houses fell, and perished together; their father, their good father, knocking his children on the head, and killing of them, because they were not towardly, but did wrangle one with another; but what hath he gained thereby? Solomon the wise saith, Prov. xiv. 1. 'Every wise woman buildeth her house, but the foolish plucke thit down with her own hands.'

Upon the whole, it is humbly queried as follows, viz. First, whether there may not very plainly be read and perceived a hand of displeasure from the Almighty, blinding the eyes, and infatuating the understandings of those unworthy persons, who, * Hiel like, would have built Jericho again, to wit, fallen monarchy in a single person, and a House of Lords, with their negative voices over the good people of these lands, so as to cause, or suffer them to do their work by halves; and to rise, and leave so lame, nameless, and insignificant, their new model of the humble petition and advice, *alids*, instrument of bondage to the English nation. Let the curse of confusion, that attended the builders of † Babel, be considered of.

Secondly, whether those so very wise gentlemen, who saw it so necessary, and ventured so high, and took so much pains, to bring in again, and a-new restore fallen monarchy and kingship in these lands, could, according to the rules of common reason and understanding of men, imagine and conclude, that the gentlemen, who had formerly been so wronged, abused, and exasperated by them, in being kept out of the house, would be so easy and tame, as presently, without any more ado, address themselves to lick their new golden calf, and nurse up that Babylonish, antichristian brat, they had no hand in, but were against the begetting of? And whether it doth not speak out a very great weakness in their counsels, and a marvellous shallowness in the Protector, his council, and whole number concerned in that design, in making no better provision beforehand, and seeing no further into the ensuing danger, so likely to attend their whole device, and the nameless infant of the other house, which they would have to be christened, and called by the name of Lords?

Thirdly, whether the good people of this nation have not cause for ever, as to abhor the memory of the fore-mentioned backsliding persons, so that parliament (so called) in the first session of it, before their

* 1 Kings xvi. 34.

† Gen. xi. 7, 9.

adjourning, that, of their own heads, and contrary to their engagement to the * instrument of government, by virtue whereof they sat at first, and without consulting the respective counties for whom they served, or so much as one petition delivered to them for that purpose, changed the government, and made one worse, harder, and more grievous to be borne, than that they put away; so fastening their new iron yoke upon the necks of the good people of this land, settling great taxes, with the customs and excise for ever, to keep this yoke upon them?

Fourthly, whether those gentlemen kept out in the first sitting, when those hard things were transacted, and afterwards coming in, and being present in the second meeting, notwithstanding the so great reproach and dirt cast on them by the court, are not highly to be honoured and esteemed, for appearing and standing, so far as they did, for right and freedom, against the bondages, which, contrary to engagements, covenants, and promises, were put upon the good people of this land? As well as to be blamed, not only for not declaring at their first seclusion, to inform the people of the wrong and injury done unto them, but also, when afterwards they were so arbitrarily and tyrannically dissolved, with the rest of their unworthy brethren, they took it so patiently, and went so tamely home, and did not, in the very time of the action, protest and declare against the tyrant, and then retire into their places, (from whence they ought not to have stirred at first) and call him to the bar, or otherwise proceed against him for so doing? Had it not been suitable to, and well becoming that noble commonwealth spirit (so much pretended to) thus to have assayed, though they had fallen in it? And whether the army in honesty, conscience, and duty, their former declarations and engagements considered, ought not to have assisted them therein, as well as they did the long parliament against the king and his courtiers, upon the like account? Do not the like cries of the souls of the saints * under the altar, slain for the testimony which they held in their day, as also the blood of the saints, and others, slain in the late wars, and the sufferings of our dear brethren in prisons and banishment, call for this their testimony also? If so: Ought not this honest word of reproof for what is past, and of excitation for the future, to take place?

Fifthly, but since things were as they were, and, as it seems, could be no better, whether all good people, in these nations, have not great cause exceedingly to bless and praise the Lord? (Though they owe little to the instrument, who, Ashur-like, had other ends) that the late parliament (so called) was dissolved; who were, many of them, such mercenary, salary, and self-interested men, as, in all probability, had they continued much longer, would have over-voted the lovers of freedom, and so have perfected their instrument of bondage, and riveted it on the necks of the good people for ever by a law, and thereby made them vassals and slaves perpetually. But, hitherto, the Lord hath, in a great measure, frustrated their wicked designs, blessed be his holy name.

* The first instrument is not hereby owned, but abhorred as much as the latter, though I thus speak.

† Rev. vi, 9, 10.

Sixthly, Whether the protector, so called, be not a great destroyer of the rights and liberties of the English nation? For hath he not engrossed the whole power of the militia into his own hand? The right also of property? power of judging all matters of the highest and greatest concernment? And doth he not take on him to be sole judge of peace and war, of calling and dissolving parliaments? Raising money without consent in parliament? Imprisoning persons without due form of law, and keeping them in durance at pleasure; using the militia in his own hand against the good people, in these fore-named things, and against their representers in parliament.

Seventhly, Whether the protector, and the great men his confederates, be not rather to be termed fanatick, whimsical, and sick-brained, than those (who remaining firm to, and, being more refined in their former good, and honest principles, will upon no account be drawn to desert the good old cause) they account and call so? And whether this unsettledness in their government, and changing both it and their principles, in so short a time; and going so diametrically contrary to their former honest protestations, declarations, sermons, and actings, doth not in the view of all the world declare them to be so?

Eighthly, Whether the protector (so called) be not that himself, which he untruly charged upon the members turned out of the little parliament (so called) viz. 'destroyer of magistracy and ministry'? Of magistracy, in breaking four parliaments in five years; and pulling up by the roots, what in him lieth, the very basis and foundation of all just power, to wit, the interest of the good people of this commonwealth; making himself, and his own will and lust, the basis and foundation thereof? And doth he not at his pleasure suppress and destroy all military and civil power, and governors that submit not thereunto? Is he not likewise a great destroyer of ministry, in taking from them their religious, or divine capacities, putting them into that of lay or common? And accordingly, in a professed way, preferring them to places of advantage by the triers?

Ninthly, Whether the protector be so wise and understanding, so tender and careful of the common interest (as is pretended to) above all others whatsoever? Yea, above and beyond the four parliaments he hath dissolved? And may it not be enquired how he came to this great height of knowledge and absolute understanding, seeing there are very many worthy patriots, sometimes his equals, at least, of as high a descent, of as good breeding, of as great parts, of as fair an interest, as also as well versed in government as himself? Whether it may not be wondered at, that he should be so exceeding wise, and tender above all, even above parliaments themselves?

Tenthly, Whether Sir Henry Vane, Major-General Harrison, the late president Bradshaw, Sir Arthur Haslerigg, Lieutenant-General Ludlow, with hundreds more of worthy patriots, that have ventured far in their country's cause, for justice and freedom, may not rationally be thought to be as careful and tender of the good of their country, as the protector?

Eleventhly, Whether it doth not rankly savour of high pride and arrogancy in the protector, so called, to set up his sense and judgment

as the standard for the whole nation, even parliaments themselves? And whether thus to do be not the sad fruit of enthusiasm, one of the great errors of this day and time?

Twelfthly, Whether the protector, being so highly conceited of his own understanding, so changeable and uncertain in his principles and resolutions, so given up to his passion and anger, as against all advice and counsel, in a condition near unto madness, to swear 'By the Living God' he would dissolve the late parliament, and accordingly did so, though the doing of it tended to the hazard of the commonwealth. Whether he, according to reason, can be thought a person capable, and fit to rule and govern this great, so wise, and noble a people?

Thirteenthly, Whether, since the protector assumed the government, the state and condition of this nation be not very greatly impaired? Their land-forces wasted and consumed at Hispaniola, Jamaica, Mardike, and elsewhere? Their shipping lessened and diminished; their stores and provisions for sea and land expended and consumed without profit; their magazines emptied; their treasures wasted; their trade in a great measure lost and decayed, and very great new debts contracted, little of old being satisfied? And whether all this be not the bitter fruit of apostasy and treachery, and setting up a single person, as chief magistrate, contrary to the engagements. And the casting away of that religious cause of freedom, justice, and righteousness, this land was so engaged in?

Lastly, Whether the protector, so called, will not, in all likelihood, dissolve the next parliament also, if they begin to question, and make debates of former transactions, and do not presently, without any disputing, proceed to perfect the new model, of the 'Humble petition and advice'? What assurance shall be given to the countries and cities that shall chuse, or to the gentlemen chosen, that they shall not be served as those before were? And whether, if the honest citizens shall begin to make ready their former sober, and very worthy petition, or one of the like nature, it will not be looked at again, as a crime little less than treason at the court, and become a means of sudden dissolution to the next parliament also? Alas for poor England! What will become of thee in the end? How hast thou lost thyself, and thy good old cause? And whither will these masters of bondage carry thee?

*A List of their Names who were taken out of the house, and others, being
* forty-three in number, that sat in the other house, so greatly designed
for a House of Lords; with a brief description of their merits and
deserts. Whereby it may easily appear, how fit they are to be called,
as they call themselves, Lords; as also being so very deserving, what
pity it is they should not have a negative voice over the free people of
this commonwealth.*

1. RICHARD CROMWELL, eldest son of the protector (so called) a person of great worth and merit, and well skilled in hawking, hunting, horse-racing, with other sports and pastimes; one whose

* All of them, but four, are salary men, sons, kinsmen, and otherwise engaged to the protector, and allied to his confederates.

undertakings, hazards, and services for the cause cannot well be numbered or set forth, unless the drinking of King Charles's, or, as is so commonly spoken, his father's landlord's health; whose abilities in praying and preaching, and love to the sectaries, being much like his cousin Dick Ingoldsby's, and, being so very likely to be his father's successor, and to inherit his noble virtues, in being the light of the eyes, and breath of the nostrils of the old heathenish popish laws and customs of the nation, especially among the learned, the university of Oxford have therefore thought fit, he being also no very good scholar, to chuse him their chancellor. And though he was not judged meet, not having a spirit of government for it, to have a command in the army, when there was fighting, or honest and wise enough to be one of the little parliament, yet is he become a colonel of horse, now fighting is over; as also taken in to be one of the protector's council, and one of the other house, and to have the first negative voice over the good people of this commonwealth, being in so hopeful a way to have the great negative voice over the whole after his father's death.

2. Commissioner Fiennes, son of the Lord Say, a member sometime of the long parliament, and then a colonel under the Earl of Essex, had the command and keeping of Bristol, but gave it up cowardly, as it is said, for which he had like to have lost his head; he, being a lover of Kingship and monarchy, as well as his father, was taken in by the protector at his first setting up, to be one of his council, and made commissioner of the great seal, as also keeper of the privy-seal, whereby his interest and revenue is raised, from two or three-hundred per annum, to two or * three thousand, and more. And for his merits and greatness, being after the old mode, he was taken out of the late parliament, to be the mouth of the protector in that other house, and so is fit, no question, to have the second negative voice over the good people of these lands.

3. Henry Lawrence, a gentleman of a courtly breed, and a good trencher-man; who, when the bishops ruffled in their pride and tyranny, went over to Holland, afterwards came back, and became a member of the long parliament; fell off at the beheading the late King, and change of the government, for which the protector, then lieutenant-general, with great zeal declared, 'That a neutral spirit was more to be abhorred than a cavalier spirit, and that such men as he were not fit to be used in such a day as that, when God was cutting down Kingship root and branch;' yet came in play again, upon design, in the little parliament, and contributed much to the dissolving of them, as also setting up the protector, and settling the instrument of government and a single person, affirming, 'That other foundation could no man lay.' For which worthy services, and as a snare or bait to win over, or at least quiet the baptised people, himself being under that ordinance, he was made and continued president of the protector's council, where he hath signed many an arbitrary and illegal warrant for the carrying of honest faithful men to prisons and exile without cause, unless their not apostatising with them from just and honest principles. His merits are great and

* As saith the Book of Fates, or former Narrative.

many, being every way thorough-paced, and a great adorer of Kingship; so as he deserveth, no doubt, and is every way fit, to be taken out of the parliament, to have the third place of honour, and negative voice in the other house over the people of these lands.

4. Lieutenant-general Fleetwood, a gentleman formerly of the long parliament, and a colonel of their army; then lieutenant-general, afterwards married honest Ireton's widow, the protector's eldest daughter. Major-general Lambert being put by, by the parliament, from going over to Ireland as lord lieutenant, it savouring too much of monarchy, and being not willing to accept of a lower title, he was sent over thither under the title of lord deputy in his room, where he continued about three years; and, to put a check upon those godly men there, who are no friends to monarchy, he was sent for over again, and cajoled in to be one of the protector's council, as also major-general of divers counties in England; his salary supposed worth * 6600 pounds, per annum, by all which he is become advanced to a princely interest and revenue; he is one of good principles, had he kept them, and of good words like his father-in-law, whereby he hath deceived many an honest man, and drawn them from the good old cause, and by that way hath greatly served the protector's designs. His merits therefore are such, as he, no question also, deserves to be taken out of the house, and made a peer, and to have a negative voice in the other house, when it shall be named Lords; notwithstanding he so helped in the army and long parliament to throw down the house of Lords, and to destroy their negative voice, and did fight against it in the King.

5. Colonel Desborough, a gentleman or yeoman of about sixty or seventy pounds, per annum, at the beginning of the wars; who being allied to the protector by marriage of his sister, he cast away his spade, and took a sword, and rose with him in the wars, and in like manner, upon the principles of justice and freedom, advanced his interest very much; if he were not of the long parliament, he was of the little one, which he helped to break. Being grown considerable, he cast away the principles by which he rose, and took on principles of violence and tyranny, and helped to set up the protector, for which he was made one of his council, and one of the † generals at sea, and hath a princely command at land, being major-general of divers counties in the west, as also one of the lords of the Cinque Ports. His interest and greatness being so far advanced, his merits must needs be great, and he every way fit to be taken out of the house, and put into the other house, with a negative voice over the good people, for that with his sword he can set up that again in the protector and himself, which before he cut down in the King and Lords.

6. Lord Viscount Lisle, eldest son of the Earl of Leicester, was of the long parliament to the last, and at the change of government, and making laws of treason against a single person's rule, and, no question, concurred with the rest therein; he was also of the little parliament, and of all the parliaments since; was all along of the protector's ‡ coun-

* See the former Narrative.

† His salary three-thousand two-hundred and thirty-six pounds per annum. See the former Narrative, or Book of Rates.

‡ His salary one-thousand pounds per annum.

cil, and was never to seek; who having learned so much by changing with every change, and keeping still, like his father-in-law, the Earl of Salisbury, and Peter Sterry, on that side which hath proved trump, nothing need farther be said of his fitness, being such a man of * principles, to be taken out of the parliament, to have a settled negative voice in the other house, over all the good people of these lands, he being a lord of of the old stamp already, and, in time, so likely to become a peer.

7. Sir Gilbert Pickering, knight of the old stamp, and of a considerable revenue in Northamptonshire, one of the long parliament, and a great stickler in the change of the government from Kingly, to that of a commonwealth; helped to make those laws of treason against Kingship, hath also changed with all changes that have been since; he was one of the little parliament, and helped to break it, as also of all the parliaments since; is one of the protector's † council; and, as if he had been pinned to his sleeve, was never to seek; is become high steward of Westminster; and, being so finical, spruce, and like an old courtier, is made lord chamberlain of the protector's household or court; so that he may well be counted fit and worthy to be taken out of the house, to have a negative voice in the other house, though he helped to destroy it in the King and Lords. There are more besides him, that make themselves transgressors, by building again the things which they once destroyed.

8. Walter Strickland, sometime agent, or ambassador to the Dutch in the Low-Countries, from the long parliament, and a good friend of theirs; at length became a member of that parliament; was also of the little parliament, which he helped to break; was of the parliament since, and is now of the protector's ‡ council; he is one that can serve a commonwealth, and also a prince, so he may serve himself and his own ends by it; who, having so greatly profited by attending the Hogan Mogans, and become so expert in the ceremony postures, and thereby so apt like an ape, with his brother Sir Gilbert, and the president, to imitate or act the part of an old courtier in the new court, was made captain-general of the protector's magpye, or gray-coated foot-guard in White-hall, as the Earl of Holland formerly to the King; who, being every way of such worth and merits, no question can be made, or exceptions had against his fitness to be taken out of the parliament to exercise a negative voice in the other house over the people of this commonwealth.

9. Sir Charles Ousely, a gentleman who came something late into play on this side, being converted from a cavalier in a good hour. He became one of the little parliament, which he helped to break, and to set the protector on the throne; for which worthy service, he was, as he well deserved, taken in to be one of his council; was also of the parliaments since; a man of constancy and certainty in his principles, much like the wind; and, although he hath done nothing for the cause whereby to merit, yet is he counted of that worth, as to be every way

* Ask his late wife's sister, the Lady Sands.

† His salary one-thousand pounds per annum, besides his other places.

‡ His salary one-thousand pounds per annum, besides his other places.

fit to be taken out of the parliament, to have a negative voice in the other house, over such as have done most, and merited highest in the cause, the protector and his fellow negative men excepted, and over all the commonwealth besides.

10. Mr. Rouse, one of the long parliament, and by them made provost or master of Eaton college; he abode in that parliament, and helped to change the government into a commonwealth, and to destroy the negative voice in the King and Lords; was also of the little parliament, and their speaker; who, when the good things came to be done which were formerly declared, and for not doing of which the old parliament was pretendedly dissolved, being an old bottle, and so not fit to bear that new wine, without putting it to the question, left the chair, and went with his fellow Old Bottles to White-hall, to surrender their power to the general; which he, as speaker, and they, by signing a parchment or paper, pretended to do. The colourable foundation for this apostasy, upon the monarchical foundation being thus laid, and the general himself, as protector, seated thereon, he became one of his * council, good old man, and well he deserved it, for he ventured hard; he was also of the parliaments since, and, being an aged venerable man, all exceptions set aside, may be counted worthy to be taken out of the house to have a negative voice in the other house, over all that shall question him for what he hath done, and over all the people of these lands besides, though he would not suffer it in the King and lords.

11. Major-general Skippon, sometime called 'The honest English Captain in the Netherlands,' was afterwards captain of those of the Artillery Ground, in London; who, refusing to attend the King at York when he sent unto him, and adhering to the parliament, was by them made major-general under the Earl of Essex, under whom many an honest man lost his life in fighting for the cause of freedom and justice, and against the negative voice of the King and lords, whose blood surely will lie at somebody's door and cry, he was of the long parliament, and helped to change the government, and make the law of treason against a single person's rule, and was outed with them. After the little parliament, for endeavouring to bring forth what the old parliament was turned out for not doing, was dissolved, he was brought in play again by means of Philip Nye, metropolitan trier of White-hall, and made one of the protector's † council, and major-general of the city in the decimating business; hath been of all the parliaments since, who being so grave and venerable a man, his error, in leading men to fight against the King's negative voice, may be forgiven him, and he admitted, as fit to be taken out of the house, to have a negative voice in the other house himself, not only over those who have fought along with him, but all the people of these lands besides; the rather, for that he is very aged, and not likely to exercise that power long.

12. Colonel Sydenham, a gentleman of not very much per annum at the beginning of the wars, was made governor of Malcomb Regis, in the west; became one of the long parliament, and hath augmented his

* His salary, for both places, fifteen-hundred pounds per annum.

† His salary, for both places, one thousand six-hundred sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four-pence.

revenue to some purpose; he helped, no question, to change the government, and make those laws of treason against Kingship; was also of the little parliament, and of those that were since; one also of the protector's * council, hath a princely command in the Isle of Wight, is one of the commissioners of the treasury; by all which he is grown very great and considerable. And, although he hath not been thorough-paced for tyranny in time of parliaments, yet, it being forgiven him, is judged of that worth and merit as to be every way fit to be taken out of the house, to have a negative voice in the other house over all his dependants, and all the people of these lands besides; hoping thereby he may be so redeemed, as never to halt or stand off for the future against the protector's interest.

13. Colonel Mountague, a gentleman of Huntingdonshire, of a fair estate, a colonel formerly in the association army, under the Earlo f Manchester, where he, for some time, appeared, whilst Colonel Pickering lived, to be a sectary, and for laymen's preaching, as also a lover of the rights and freedoms of the people, rather than of the principle he now acts by; but, that honest colonel dying, some other things also coming between, he became of another mind; he gave off being a soldier about the time of the new model, it is likely upon the same account with Colonel Russel; did not greatly approve of beheading the King, or change of the government, or the army's last march into Scotland, as the protector, then general, may witness; yet, after the war was ended at Worcester, and the old parliament dissolved, he was taken in, though no change appearing from what he was before, to be of the little parliament, which he helped to break, and to set up monarchy a-new in the protector, which he designedly was cilled to do; for which worthy service he was made one of the council, † a commissioner of the treasury, and one of the generals at sea; he was of the parliaments since; all which considered, none need question his fitness to be a lord, and to be taken out of the house to have a negative voice in the other house, not only over the treasury and sea-men, but all the good people of these lands besides.

14. Colonel Philip Jones, his original is from Wales; at the first of the wars he had about seventeen or twenty pounds per annum, and improved his interest upon the account of the cause; first was an agent for some parliamenters to London, where gaining acquaintance, and making good use of them, he became governor of a garison, then a colonel, as also steward of some of the protector's lands in Wales, and one of the long parliament, after of the little parliament, which he helped to break, and to advance the general, his master, to be protector; for which goodly service, himself was advanced to be one of his council, afterwards comptroller of his houshold or court; he made hay while the sun shined, and hath improved his interest and revenue in land, well ‡ gotten, no question, to three thousand pounds per annum,

* His salary, for both places, two-thousand pounds per annum.
 † If part of the purchase-money was not paid with the great bribe of about three-thousand pounds, for which, as it is credibly reported, he hath been privately questioned, he would do well to clear himself, being very much suspected, having gotten so great an estate in so short a time.

‡ His salary, three-

if not more; he is also very well qualified with self-denying principles to the protector's will and pleasure, so as he is fit, no doubt, to rise yet higher, and to be taken out of the house to be a lord, and to have a negative voice in the other house over all the good people in Wales, if they please, and over all the commonwealth besides, whether they please or not. All have not lost by the cause, though some have.

15. Commissioner Lisle, sometime a counsellor in the Temple; one of the long parliament, where he improved his interest to purpose, and bought state lands good cheap; afterwards became a commissioner of the great seal, and helped in parliament to change the government from Kingly to parliamentary, or of a commonwealth; changed it again to Kingly, or of a single person; and did swear the protector at his first installing chief magistrate, to the hazard of his neck, contrary to four * acts of parliament, which he helped to make, with others, that make it treason so to do. He hath lately retired for sanctuary into Mr. Rowe's church, and is still commissioner † of the seal; and, being so very considerable in worth and merit, is also fit to be taken out of the house to have a negative voice in the other house over the good people, and all such who shall any way question him; he is since made president of the high court, so called, of justice.

Treason never prospers: What's the reason?

For, when it prospers, none dare call it treason.

16. Chief Justice Glyn, sometime a counsellor at law, and steward of the court at Westminster, formerly one of the long parliament, and that helped to bait the Earl of Strafford, and bring him to the block; was recorder of London, and one of the eleven members impeached by the army of ‡ treason, and by that parliament committed to the Tower; the protector, through apostasy, assuming the government, took him up and made him a § judge; and, finding him so fit for his turn, did also make him chief justice of England; so that, of a little man, he is grown up into a great bulk and interest, and of complying principles to the life; who, being so very useful to advance and uphold the protector's great negative voice, is thereby questionless, in his sense, fit to be taken out of the house, and to have a negative voice himself in the other house, not only over the people, but over the law he is to be chief judge of, and in a capacity to hinder that no good law, for the future, be made for the ease of the people, or hurt of the lawyers' trade.

17. Bulstrode Whitlock, formerly a counsellor at law, one of the long parliament, profited there, and advanced his interest very greatly; became one of the commissioners of the great seal, one that helped to change the government, and make laws against a single person's rule. In the time of the little parliament, he went ambassador to Sweden in great state; that parliament being dissolved, he agitated there for the protector, then came over; and, when some alteration and pretended

* See these Acts in a book called, The Looking-glass, p. 43, 44.

† His salary, one thousand per annum.

‡ He helped to raise the city against the army, and made the Speaker fly to the army for shelter, and chose another Speaker in his room, in the King's behalf, and a great deal more.

§ His salary, one thousand pounds per annum.

reformation was made in the chancery, he stood off from being any longer a commissioner of the seal, and became one of the supervisors of the treasury at one-thousand pounds per annum * salary; he is one who is guided more by † policy than by conscience, and, being, on that account, the more fit for the protector's service, there is no question to be made of his worth and merit to be taken out of the house to have a negative voice in the other house over the people there, though he helped to put it down in the King and lords.

18. William Lenthall, a counsellor at law, made speaker of the long parliament by the late King, sat it out in all changes, weathered many a storm and high complaint made against him, and was too hard and wieldy for all his opposers; his policy and good hap carried him on so, that he ended his being speaker with the ending of that parliament. For the time of his sitting, he advanced his interest and revenue very much; became master of the rolls; purchased lands in others names, as well as in his own, for fear of the worst. He was, to be sure, at the change of the government from Kingly, or of a single person and a house of lords, as useless, ‡ chargeable, and dangerous; as likewise at the making those laws of treason against a single person, for the future (not yet repealed.) The little parliament, where some of his law-judicature was questioned, being dissolved, and the protector taking the government upon him, he adventured to comply with the rest, notwithstanding the danger, that so he might keep his place and interest, and avoid a new storm or frown from the present power. Men need not seek far, or study much to read him, and what principles he acts by. All things considered, he may, doubtless, be very fit to be lord of the rolls, being master already, and to be taken out of the parliament to be made a lord, and to have a negative voice in the other house over the people, as well as over the causes in the rolls, being so thoroughly exercised in negatives at his own will and pleasure, as too many have sadly felt.

19. Mr. Claypole, son of Mr. Claypole in Northamptonshire, now Lord Claypole. He long since married the protector's daughter; a person, whose qualifications not answering those honest principles, formerly so pretended to, of putting none but godly men into places of trust, was a long time kept out; but, since the apostasy from those principles, as also the practice brake in, and his father-in-law (the head thereof) came to be protector, he was then judged good enough for that dispensation, and so taken in to be § master of his horse, as Duke Hamilton to the King. Much need not be said of him; his relation, as son-in-law to the protector, is sufficient to bespeak him every way fit to be taken out of the house, and made a lord; and, having so long time had a negative voice over his wife, Spring-Garden, the ducks, deer, horses, and asses in James's Park, is the better skilled how to exercise it again in the other house, over the good people of these nations, without any gainsaying or dispute.

20. Lord Faulconbridge, a gentleman, whose relations are most

* See Book of Rates.
meat, one against the Lords, the other against Kingship.

† Ask George Cockain.

‡ See two Declarations of Parlia-
‡ His salary is not well known.

cavaliers (his uncle formerly governor of Newark for the King against the parliament) was absent over the water, in the time of the late wars; a neuter at least, if not disaffected to the cause; came back, the wars being over, and hath lately married one of the protector's daughters, and was in a fair way, had things hit right, to have been one of his council, as well as his son-in-law; however, suitable to the times, he is lately made a colonel of horse. His relation, both to the old and new monarchy, may sufficiently plead his worth and merits, not only to have his daughter, but also a negative voice in the other house, over all that adventured their lives in the cause formerly, and over all the people of these lands besides.

21. Colonel Howard: his interest, which is considerable, is in the north; his relations there are most papists and cavaliers, whom he hath courted and feasted kindly, and served their interest to purpose; * it is no matter who lost by it. In favour to Sir Arthur Haslerigg, was made captain of the general's life-guard, when he was in Scotland; wherein he continued for some time in England, after he was protector: but, not being a kinsman, or a person further to be confided in, in that place, was shuffled out from thence, and, to stop his mouth, made a colonel, and; as the book says, a major-general, and had power of decimation; as also made governor of Berwick, Tinnmouth, and Carlisle; hath also tasted with the first of that sweet fountain of new honour, being made a viscount. He was of the little parliament, and all the parliaments since; is a member of Mr. Cockain's church, and of very complying principles (no question) to the service of the new court, from whence he received his new honour; and having with his fellow, Lord Claypole, so excellent a spirit of government over his wife, family, and tenants in the country, to be taken out of the house to have a negative voice in the other house might seem of right to belong unto him, being also lorded before-hand

22. Lord Broghil. His rise and relation, for means, is Ireland; a gentleman of good parts and wit, able to make a romance, but was not looked on formerly, by those of the good old cause, as a person fit to be trusted with the command of one town or castle in Ireland; yet is he now, by this happy change, become a goodly convert to be confided in, and is made † president of the protector's council in Scotland. He was of the latter parliaments, a great Kingling, and one that, in the last parliament (so called) put on hard that way. Wherefore it were great pity, he being also a lord of the old stamp. and so well gifted, if he should not be one to have a negative voice in the other house over the people of England and Scotland, as well as of Ireland, it being a good while since, and almost forgotten, that the protector said, "It would never be well, and we should never see good days, whilst there was one lord left in England, and until the Earl of Manchester was called Mr. Mountague."

23. Colonel Pride, then Sir Thomas, now Lord Pride, sometime an honest brewer in London, went out a captain upon the account of

* An honest man told some of the council worse things of him than these. one-thousand four-hundred and seventy-four pounds per annum.

† His salary,

the cause, fought on, and in time became a colonel; did good service in England and Scotland, for which he was well rewarded by the parliament; with cheap debentures of his soldiers and others, he bought good lands at easy rates; gave the long parliament a purge, fought against the King and his negative voice, and was against the negative voice of his brethren, the lords spiritual and temporal, being unwilling to have any in the land; but hath now changed his mind and principles with the times, and will fight for a negative voice in the protector, and also have one himself, and be a lord, for he is a knight of the new order already, and grown very bulky and considerable. It is hard to say how the people will like it. However, his worth and merits, rightly measured, will, no question, render him fit to be taken out of the house to be one of the other house, and to have a negative voice, not only over the bears, but all the people of these lands, though he did formerly so oppose and fight against it; and the noble lawyers will be glad of his company and friendship, for that there is now no fear of his hanging up their gowns by the Scottish colours in Westminster-hall, as he formerly so greatly boasted and threatened to do.

24. Colonel Hewson, then Sir John, now Lord Hewson, sometime an honest shoe-maker, or cobbler in London, went out a captain upon the account of the cause, was very zealous, fought on stoutly, and in time became a colonel; did good service, both in England and Ireland; was made governor of Dublin, became one of the little parliament, and of all the parliaments since; a knight also of the new stamp. The world being so well amended with him, and the sole so well stitched to the upper leather, having gotten so considerable an interest and means, he may well be counted fit to be taken out of the house to be a lord, and to have a negative voice in the other house, over all of the gentle craft, and Cordwainers company in London, if they please. But, though he be so considerable, and of such merit in the protector's, as also in his own esteem, not only to be a knight, but also a lord, yet it will hardly pass for current with the good people of these lands, if being so far beyond the last. Neither will they think him fit (saving the protector's pleasure) to have a negative voice over them, though he formerly fought so stiffly against it in the King and lords, in order to set them free.

25. Colonel Barkstead, then Sir John, now Lord Barkstead, some time a goldsmith in the Strand of no great rank, went out a captain to Windsor Castle, was some time governor of Reading, got at length to be a colonel, then made lieutenant of the Tower by the old parliament. The protector (so called) finding him fit for his turn, continued him there, and also made him major-general of Middlesex, in the decimating-business, and assistant to Major-general Skippon, in London. He is one to the life to fulfil the protector's desires, whether right or wrong, for he will dispute no commands, nor make the least demur, but, in an officious way, will rather do more than his share. His principles for all arbitrary things whatsoever being so very thorough, let friends or foes come to his den, they come not amiss, so he gets by it; yea, rather than fail, he will send out his armed men to break open other men's houses, and seize their persons, and bring them to his jail, and then at his pleasure turn them out. He hath erected a principality

Tower, and made laws of his own, and executes them, in a martial way, over all comers; so that he hath great command, and makes men know his power. He was of the latter parliaments; is one of the commissioners, like the bishop's panders in the King's days, for suppressing truth in the printing presses, an oppression once the army so greatly complained of; is, for sanctuary, gotten in to be a member of Mr. Griffith's church; is also knighted after the new order, and, the better to carry on the protector's interest among the ear-bored slavish citizens, is lately become an * alderman; so that he hath advanced his interest and revenue to purpose. His titles and capacities, emblazoned, will sufficiently argue his worth and merits, and speak him out fully to be a man of the times, and every way deserving to be yet greater, and, Haman-like, to be set higher. All which considered, it would seem a wrong not to have taken him out of the house, and made him a lord of the other house, with a negative voice there, as well as where he is; the rather, for that he knows so well how to exercise the same, having used it so long a season, as likewise that he may obstruct and hinder whoever shall question, or desire justice against him for his wicked doings.

26. Colonel Ingoldsby, a gentleman of Buckinghamshire, allied to the protector; he betook himself to the wars on the right side, as it happened, and in time became a colonel. A gentleman of courage and valour, but not very famous for any great exploits, unless for beating the honest inn-keeper of Aylesbury in White-hall, for which the protector committed him to the Tower, but was soon released. No great friend of the Sectaries (so called) or the cause of freedom then fought for, as several of his then and now officers and soldiers can witness. And, although it be well known, and commonly reported, that he can neither pray nor preach, yet, complying so kindly with the new court, and being in his principles for Kingship, as also a colonel of horse, and the protector's kinsman, he may well be reckoned fit to be taken out of the house, and made a lord, and to have a negative voice in the other house, over the good people of this land; the rather, for that he, as a gentleman, engaged and fought only for money and honour, and nothing else.

27. Colonel Whaly, formerly a woollen-draper, or petty merchant, in London; whose shop being out of sorts, and his cash empty, not having wherewithal to satisfy his creditors, he fled into Scotland for refuge, till the wars began; then took on him to be a soldier, whereby he hath profited greatly: was no great zealot for the cause, but, happening on the right side, he kept there, and at length was made commissary-general of the horse. He was of these latter parliaments, and, being so very useful and complying to promote the protector's designs, was made † major-general of two or three companies. He is for a King, or protector, or what you will, so it be liked at court; is, with his little brother Glyn, grown a great man, and very considerable, and wiser, as the protector saith, than Major-general Lambert; who having, with

* His salary, two thousand pounds per annum.

† His salary, eleven hundred and forty-one pounds, three shillings, and three-pence per annum.

his fellow lords, Claypole and Howard, so excellent a spirit of government over his wife and family, being also a member of * Thomas Goodwin's church, no question need be made of his merit of being every way fit to be a Lord, and to be taken out of the house, to have a negative voice in the other house over the people, for that he 'never, as he saith, fought against any such thing, as a negative voice.'

28. Colonel Goff, now Lord Goff that would be, some time Colonel Vaughan's brother's apprentice (a salter in London) whose time being near or newly out, betook himself to be a soldier, instead of setting up his trade; went out a quarter-master of foot, and continued in the wars till he forgot what he fought for; in time became a colonel, and, in the outward appearance, very zealous and frequent in praying, preaching, and pressing for righteousness and freedom, and highly esteemed in the army, on that account, when honesty was in fashion; yet, having, at the same time, like his general, an evil tincture of that spirit, that loved and fought after the favour and praise of man, more than that of God (as, by woful experience in both of them, hath since appeared) he could not further believe, or persevere, upon that account, but by degrees fell off. And this was he, who, with Colonel White, brought musqueteers, and turned the honest member, left behind in the little parliament, out of the house. Complying thus kindly with the protector's designs and interest, he was made † major-general of Hampshire and Sussex; was of the late parliament; hath advanced his interest greatly, and is in so great esteem and favour at court, that he is judged the only fit man to have major-general Lambert's place and command, as major-general of the army; and, having so far advanced, is in a fair way to the protectorship hereafter, if he be not served as Lambert was. He, being so very considerable a person, and of such great worth, there is no question of his deserts and fitness to be taken out of the house to be a Lord, and to have a negative voice in the other house; the rather, for that he 'never in all his life, as he saith, fought against any such thing, as a single person, or a negative voice, but only to put down Charles, and set up Oliver,' and hath his end.

29. Colonel Berry. His original was from the iron-works, as a clerk, or overseer; betook himself to the wars, on the parliament-side; profited greatly in his undertaking, and advanced his interest very far; who, though he wore not the jester's coat, yet, being so ready to act his part, and please his general, in time he became a colonel of horse in the army, afterwards a major-general of divers counties, a command fit for a prince; wherein he might learn to lord it in an arbitrary way, beforehand, at his pleasure. That he is of complying principles with the court, his preferment sufficiently speaks out; neither ought any other to be believed of him, or any of his brethren without a real demonstration to the contrary; so that he may well pass for one to be a Lord, and to be taken out of the house to have a negative voice over the people, being so far advanced, and gotten out of the pit above them; and, if he did formerly fight against a negative voice and lording it over the people, it may be forgiven him.

* Note that man for what you may read in the postscript. † His salary, eleven-hundred and forty-one pounds, three shillings, and three pence, besides major-generalship.

30. Colonel Cooper, some time a shop-keeper, or salter in Southwark, a member of Thomas * Goodwin's church, one formerly of very high principles for common justice and freedom, like his brother Tichborn. The army, then in Scotland, sending into England for faithful, praying men, to make officers of, the honest people in the Borough recommended him to the general, in order to have a command; who accordingly went down, but left his principles behind him, and espoused others; was made a colonel at the first dash, and, though he began late, yet hath so well improved his interest, that he hath already gotten as many hundreds per annum, as he had hundred pounds, when he left his trade. He hath a regiment of foot in Scotland, and another in Ireland, where he is major-general of the North, in Venables's room, and governor of Carrickfergus, so as he is in a very hopeful way to be a great man indeed. He was of the latter parliaments, and there is full proof, that he is every way thorough-paced and true to the new court-interest; so that, upon the whole, he also may be counted fit to be a Lord of the other house, and to have a negative voice over the good people in Southwark, if they please, and all the people of these lands besides, it being the protector's pleasure; the rather, he being the mirror of the times for thorough change of principles, Alderman Tichborn and O. P. excepted.

31. Alderman Pack, then Sir Christopher, now Lord Pack; his rise formerly was by dealing in cloth; near the beginning of the Long Parliament, was made an alderman, was then very discreet, and meddled little, more like a neuter, or close malignant, than a zealot for the cause; was a commissioner of the customs, also sheriff and lord-mayor of London, next after Alderman Viner. The protector taking on him the government, the sunshine of the new court pleased him, and brought him in full compliance; he was one of the last parliament, and zealous to re-establish kingship in the person of the † protector, and judged the only meet man to bring the petition into the house, praying him to accept of, and take it upon him; which, though he then refused, yet, as is reported, hath since repented his then-refusal. However, the now Lord Pack deserves well at his hand for that good service, who being a true kingling, and of right principles to the court-interest, having also been a lord (to wit, mayor) once before, may, upon the whole, be counted very worthy to be again so called, and to have a negative voice, in the other house, over London, and all the people of these lands besides.

32. Alderman Tichborn, then Sir Robert, knight of the new stamp, now Lord Tichborn; at the beginning of the Long Parliament, when a great spirit was stirring for liberty and justice, many worthy petitions and complaints were made against patentees, the bishops, and the Earl of Strafford; he being the son of a citizen, and young, fell in, and espoused the good cause and principles then on foot, and thereby became very popular, and was greatly cried up by the good people of the city, &c. His rise was first in the military way, where he soon became a colonel; and, by the parliament, made lieutenant of the Tower of London;

* Note him for the goodly speech he made to his new protector.

† For which good service, upon his petition to the protector, he discharged him from an account of six hundred thousand pounds, which he and others were liable to make good to the treasury of the customs.

and, though he was a colonel, yet never went out to fight, but became an alderman very timely, and then soon began to cool, and lose his former zeal and principles, and left off preaching, as his pastor, Mr. Lockyer did the church, to his brother George Cockain. He was afterwards sheriff, and Lord-Mayor in his turn; was also of the committees for the sale of state lands, whereby he advanced his interest and revenue considerably; out of zeal to the publick, he offered the parliament to serve them freely, as a commissioner of the customs, whereby he supplanted another, and planted himself in his room, and then, with the rest of his brethren, petitioned the committee of the navy for a salary, and had it; notwithstanding he was so well rewarded for his pains, after he had pretended to serve them for nothing, yet, with his brother, Colonel Harvy, and Captain Langham, came off bluely in the end. He was of the Little Parliament, and helped to dissolve it; one of the late parliament also. He hath, by degrees, sadly lost his principles, and forgotten the good old cause, and espoused and taken up another; being so very officious for the new court-interest, and such a stickler for them, he is become a great favourite; it is not hard to read his change, it being in so great letters. All things considered, he is, no question, fit to be called Lord Tichborn, being also so willing to receive and resolve to own that title, whoever maligns it, as also of the judgment, that whatever passes from him, in any other name, will be void in law; wherefore, to have a negative voice in the other house over London, and all the good people of these lands, is very suitable to him; and, what though he was so great an opponent to those things formerly, it is no matter, then was then, and now is now.

33. Sir William Roberts, a gentleman who, in the time of the bishops ruffling, went into Holland, and lived there for a season; the parliament ruling, and in war with the King, came over again, and, after the then mode, found favour, having, upon the fore-mentioned account, been out of the land, and was made a great committee-man, and in much employment, whereby he well advanced his interest, and is grown a great man. He was of the Little Parliament, and helped to break it, and then, according to Revel. xi. 10. rejoiced, and made merry with the rest of his brethren in Colonel Sydenham's chamber, &c. as the lawyers, and other wild persons, made bonfires, and drank sack at the Temple, and elsewhere. But, if ever a spirit of life, from God, which is not far off, comes in to raise up that honest spirit by which some of them were acted, will not he, his brethren, and the rest of that earthly rout, the false spirit of magistracy and ministry, be tormented and afraid? He was of the parliaments since, and, no doubt, of right principles to the court-interest, wherein his own is bound up; is one that helps on the bondage in divers great * committees where he sits, and is therefore, no question, the more fit to be called Lord Roberts, and to be taken out of the House to have a negative voice in the other house over the people, being so greatly experienced in that way already, having continued in the aforesaid committee so long.

34. Colonel John Jones, a gentleman of Wales, one of the Long parliament, was a commissioner in Ireland for governing that nation under

* His salary nine-hundred pounds per annum, though he hath a good estate.

the parliament. One of good principles for common justice and freedom, had he kept them, and not fallen into temptation; he helped to change the government, and make those laws of treason against a single person's rule; hath a considerable revenue, and, it is likely, did not lose by his employment; he is governor of the Isle of Anglesey, and lately married the protector's sister, a widow; by which means he might have become a great man indeed, did not something stick which he cannot well get down. He is not thorough-paced for the court-proceedings, nor is his conscience fully hardened against the good old cause; but there is great hope, no question, that in time he may be towardly; however, for relation sake, he may be counted fit, with his name-sake and countryman Philip, to be called Lord Jones, and to be taken out of the house to have a negative voice in the other House over the people; and all his being against such things formerly may be forgiven, and not once remembered against him.

35. Mr. Edmund Thomas, a gentleman of Wales, of considerable means, a friend of Philip Jones's, and allied to Walter Strickland, both of the council, and brought in upon their account; and of complying principles, no question, to say no more of him, not having been long in play, being none of the great zealots or high sectaries, so called, in Wales, may doubtless be counted wise and good enough to make a simple Lord of the other House, and to be called Lord Thomas, and to have a negative voice over all the good people of Wales, with his countrymen John and Philip, and over all the people of these lands besides.

36. Sir Francis Russel, knight baronet of the old stamp, a gentleman of Cambridgeshire, of a considerable revenue. In the beginning of the wars was first for the King, then for the parliament, and a colonel of foot under the Earl of Manchester; a man, like William Sedgwick, high flown, but not serious or substantial in his principles; he continued in his command till the new model, then took offence, and fell off, or laid aside by them; no great zealot for the cause, therefore not judged honest, serious, or wise enough to be of the little parliament, yet was of these latter parliaments: is also chamberlain of Chester, at about five-hundred pounds per annum. He married his eldest daughter to Henry Cromwell, second son of the Protector, then colonel of horse, now lord-deputy, so called, of Ireland; another to Colonel Reynolds, a new knight, and general of the English army in France, under Cardinal Mazarine, since, with * Colonel White and others, cast away coming from Mardike. There is no question but his principles are for Kingship and the new court, being so greatly concerned therein; wherefore it were great pity if he should not also be taken out of the house to be a Lord of the other house, his son in law being so great a Lord, and have a negative voice over Cambridgeshire, and all the people of these lands besides.

37. Sir William Strickland, knight of the old stamp, a gentleman of Yorkshire, and brother to Walter Strickland; was of the parliament a long time, but hath now, it seems, forgotten the cause of fighting with, and cutting off the late King's head, and suppressing the Lords, their house, and negative voice. He was of these latter parliaments, and of

* White, who assisted Colonel Goff to turn the honest members, left behind out of the House. Let Goff look to it.

good compliance, no question, with the new court, and settling the Protector a-new in all those things for which the King was cut off; wherefore he is fit, no doubt, to be taken out of the house and made a Lord; the rather, for that his younger brother, Walter, is so great a Lord, and by whom, in all likelihood, he will be steered to use his negative voice in the other house over Yorkshire, and the people of these lands, to the interest of the court.

38. Sir Richard Onslow, knight of the old stamp, a gentleman of Surrey, of good parts, and a considerable revenue; he was of the long parliament, and with much ado, through his policy, steered his course between the two rocks of King and parliament, and weathered some sore storms. Was not his man taken in his company, by the guard of Southwark, with commissions of array in his pocket from the King, and scurrilous songs against the roundheads? Yet, by his interest, rode it out till Colonel Pride came with his purge, then suffered loss, and came no more in play till about Worcester fight; when, by the help of some friends in parliament, he was impowered to raise, and lead as colonel, a regiment of Surrey men against the Scots and their King, but came too late to fight, it being over. Being popular in Surrey, he was of the latter parliaments, is fully for Kingship, and was never otherwise, and stickled much among the seventy Kinglings to that end; and, seeing he cannot have young Charles, old Oliver will serve his turn, so he have one; so that he is very fit to be Lord Onslow, and to be taken out of the house, to have a negative voice in the other house over Surrey, if they please, and all the people of these lands besides, whether they please or not.

39. Mr. John Fiennes, son of the Lord Say, and brother to Commissioner Fiennes; brought in, it is likely, for one upon his score, is, in a kind, such a one as they call a sectary, but no great stickler; therefore, not being redeemed from the fear and favour of man, will, it is probable, follow his brother, who is, as it is thought, much steered by old subtlety, his father, that lies in his den, as Thurloe by his Mr. St. John, and will say No with the rest, when any thing opposes the interest of the new court, their power, and greatness; and may therefore pass for one to be a Lord, and to have a negative voice in the other house over all in Oxfordshire, the university-men only excepted, and over all the people of these lands besides.

40. Sir John Hubbard, knight baronet of the old stamp, a gentleman of Norfolk, of a considerable estate, part whereof came lately to him by the death of a kinsman; he was of these latter parliaments, but not of the former; had meddled very little, if at all, in throwing down Kingship, but hath stickled very much in helping to re-establish and build it up again; and a great stickler among the late kinglings, who petitioned the Protector to be King. His principles being so right for kingship and tyranny, he is in great favour at court, as well as Dick Ingoldsby, and, no question, deserves to be a Lord, and to be taken out of the house to exercise a negative voice in the other house over all the good men in Norfolk, and all the people of these lands besides, being become so very tame and gentle.

41. Sir Thomas Honywood, knight of the old stamp, a gentleman of Essex, of a considerable revenue; he was a committee-man in the time

of the long parliament, and also a military man, and led, as colonel, a regiment of Essex men to the fight at Worcester; came in good time, and fought well against kingship and tyranny in the house of the Stewarts; was of the last parliament. He is not so wise as Solomon, or so substantial and thorough in his principles for righteousness and freedom, as Job, chap. xxix. but rather soft in his spirit, and too easy, like a nose of wax, to be turned on that side where the greatest strength is. Being therefore of so hopeful principles for the new court-interest, and so likely to comply with their will and pleasure, no doubt need be made of his fitness to be a Lord, and to be taken out of the house to have a negative voice in the other house over all the good men in Essex, the now Lord of Warwick, the Protector's brother-in-law, excepted, and all the people of these lands besides.

42. Lord Ewre, a gentleman of Yorkshire, not very bulky or imperious for a Lord; he was once well esteemed of for honesty, and therefore chosen to be one of the little parliament; hath also been of all the parliaments since. The Yorkshire men happily may like his being new lorded, and that he should have a negative voice over them; the rather, because they never chose him to any such thing. The Protector being so well satisfied with his principles, and easiness, like his fellow-lord Honeywood, to be wrought up to do whatever their will and pleasure is, and to say No, when they would have him; it is very meet he also ~~passes~~ for one to be taken out of the house to have a negative voice in the other house, not only over Yorkshire, but all the good people of the commonwealth besides, being a Lord of the old stamp already.

43. Mr. Hampden, now Lord Hampden, a young gentleman of Buckinghamshire, son of the late Colonel Hampden, that noble patriot and defender of the rights and liberties of the English nation; of famous memory, never to be forgotten, for withstanding the King in the case of ship-money; being also one of the five impeached members, which the said King endeavoured to have pulled out of the parliament, whereupon followed such feud, war, and shedding of blood. This young gentleman, Mr. Hampden, was the last of sixty-two, which were added singly by the Protector, after the choice of sixty together; it is very likely, that Colonel Ingoldsby, or some other friend at court, got a cardinal's hat for him, thereby to settle and secure him to the interest of the new court, and wholly take him off from the thoughts of ever following his father's steps, or inheriting his noble virtues; as likewise, that the honest men in Buckinghamshire, and all others that are lovers of freedom and justice, that cleaved so cordially to, and went so cheerfully along with his father, in the beginning of the late war, might be out of all hopes of him, and give him over for lost to the good old cause, and inheriting his father's noble spirit and principles, though he doth his lands. He was of the latter parliament, and found right, saving in the design upon which he was made a Lord after all the rest, and the Protector's pleasure. It is very hard to say how fit he is to be a Lord, and how well a negative voice over the good people of this land, and his father's friends in particular, will become the son of such a father, and how well the aforesaid good people, now called sectaries, will like of it; but, seeing it is as it is, let him pass for one as fit to be taken out of the house, with the rest,

to have a negative voice, and let him exercise it in the other house, over the good people for a season.

44. Sir Arthur Haslerigg, Lord ? No; stop there ! not Lord Haslerigg, a knight of the old stamp, a gentleman of a very large estate and revenue, was one of the long parliament, and one of the five impeached members, whom the King endeavoured to have pulled out of the house with the other, but was hindered from doing of it; was a colonel in the army; and adventured far in the wars, continued of that parliament till the dissolution thereof; was also chosen of these latter parliaments, but not permitted to sit at the first; he was, by the Protector, as may be seen in the printed list, cut out for a Lord of the other house, and to have a wooden dagger, to wit, a negative voice, with the rest; but he missed his way, and, instead of going into the other house, among the simple negative men, the * off-spring of the bastard of William, the sixth Duke of Normandy, he went into the parliament-house among his fellow Englishmen, and there spake freely, bearing a good witness in behalf of the good old cause, the rights and liberties of the people of England; at which the court were vexed and sore displeased. However, for all this losing of his way, and the loss sustained by it, his fame and name, amongst all true English spirits, will be higher and more honourable than the simple title of a new Lord could make him; and, instead of a negative voice in the other house, he will be honoured by after ages as a rare phoenix, that, of forty-four, was found standing alone to his principles, and the good old cause so bled for. Oh sad and wonderful ! but one of forty-four, to be found standing firm to so noble a cause as ever was set on foot since the world began ? Let all true English spirits love and honour him, and that will be better than a feather in his cap, or a wooden dagger. His name for ever in the chronicles will live, as one that was a true patriot of his country's liberties; which noble action (if he persevere, and be more refined in that honest spirit) may deservedly obliterate all human frailties and miscarriages of his, during the sitting of the long parliament, and the free people of England may, doubtless, for ever bury them in oblivion. No question, the protector found he was mistaken in him, and that he was not fit to be a Lord, or to have a negative voice, being of no more complying principles to his interest and designs, and the then new model of government, and will scarcely adventure to give him a second invitation to that great honour and dignity he so ungratefully and disdainfully slighted.

There were one or two more of the new champions, that with their wooden daggers went into the other house to fight against the rights and liberties of the good people of these lands; but, their names being wanting, and not worthy the enquiring after, nothing can be said of their noble virtues, save that in all likelihood they were of such worthy princi-

* See Army's Declaration in a Looking-Glass, p. 5. (say they) The first ground and rise of tyranny, over the free people of this nation, did proceed from the bastard of William, the sixth Duke of Normandy, who, to prevent the English of all relief by their parliaments, created Lords by his patent and prerogative, to sit by succession in the parliament, as representatives of his conquest and tyranny over us, and not by election of the people, as the representers and patrons of the commonwealth; and to make his usurpation firm and inviolable, he subdued the law-giving power of the free people in parliament, to the negative voice of himself and posterity; and under the yoke of this Norman captivity and villainage, we have been held by that succession to this very day, &c. See Large Petition, p. 11, 12. of that book.

ples as their fellows were of, and such as would concur to carry on any design or interest they should be put upon, and would say No with the rest, when any thing came in question that seemed to be against the Protector's height and absoluteness, or interest of the new court; which he, that hath but half an eye may see, was the only design of calling them thither, as a balance of government to the parliament, so greatly, though falsely, pretended for the good of the people.

There were also, of this chosen number of sixty-two, some of the old earls and lords, called peers, which stood off, viz. three earls, Warwick, Musgrave. and Manchester, and two Lords, Say and Wharton, and sat not at all, disdainng, as some thought, to sit with these new up-start Lords; though others again apprehend, that this their forbearance was only out of their old state-policy, till they saw whether a House of Lords formerly so abominated, and thrown down (by the consent and desire of the good people) would again be resented and established, and then intended to come in; but I shall leave it. Some were in Scotland, viz. General Monk, Earl of Cassils, Lord Warriston, and Sir William Lockhart; which persons may also discover to him, that hath but half an eye, what a pitiful, carnal, low design they were carrying on. Some in Ireland, viz. Henry Cromwell, lord deputy (so called) Recorder Steel, and Colonel Tomlinson. Some, it may be, had no great mind to it, to wit, Colonel Popham, Mr. Pierrepont. Others, it is probable, were lettered by political or state-illness, or other occasions, viz. Chief Justice St. John, Mr. John Crew, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, so as they also appeared not, there being not above forty-four or forty-five of that worthy choice of sixty-two, that appeared and sat there; and it is very likely, some think there were too many of them.

Thus far the description and narrative.

Three or four general queries are further proposed for a close to the whole; and it is humbly offered to all ingenious people, and queried,

First, Whether if it should come to pass (as how soon we know not) that that noble spirit should, like a lion raised from sleep, rise again in the English people, such as it was in forty-one, or forty-two, or about that time, whether these champions, with their feathers in their caps, and their wooden daggers, and those fifty-three persons, who pretended to settle the government by the 'Humble petition and advice,' would be able to fight with, stand against, and overcome the same, any otherwise than their predecessors the Lords temporal, and the bishops the Lords spiritual, did then? And whether it would not in all likelihood fare with them and their dependents, the patentees of the excise, and all others employed by them, that so oppress and impoverish the nation, as formerly it did with them, if not far worse? They may please to think of it at their leisure.

Secondly, Whether in these five years now passed of the protectoral government, that blessed reformation which the protector, then general, and other grandees of the army, so often promised, and for not bringing forth of which, they pretend they dissolved the old parliament, hath so

been set upon, as to make any the least proceed therein? Or rather, hath there not been a gradual and an apparent relapsing into those very evils and enormities formerly so greatly shaken, and in some degree broken, but now healed again of their wound, and flourishing a-fresh with open face; the spirit of wickedness and profaneness being risen very high, even among professors, like the unclean spirit cast out, and entering again? And, in particular, that abominable corruption and abuse in the law, and administration of justice, touching which the protector, so called, sometime said, 'It was not to be endured in a Christian commonwealth, that some should so enrich and greaten themselves in the ruin of others.' So, likewise, that often complained of grievance of tythes, touching which he also said, as was lately attested in an open court of judicature, several standing by to witness the truth thereof, to whom the words were spoken, 'That if he did not take away tythes by the third of September next, to wit, 1654, or such a time, they should call him the greatest juggler that ever was, and would juggle in all things else.' Yet is there any thing done in either of these? Or any thing gone about tending thereunto, now in these five years? As if it were so, that no fruit would ever grow upon such a tree, viz. the monarchical foundation, which the Lord hath pulled up and cursed, as the barren fig tree was. Only there is one goodly amendment, to wit, a confirmation of the act for treble damages, to the undoing of many an honest man, that, upon conscientious grounds, do scruple the payment of them. And, as for the law and the lawyers, they are as before, if not much worse; and is there any ground of hope, that the next five years, should he continue so long, will produce any better fruit, than the five that are already past?

Thirdly, Whether this calculation of these ignoble Lords of the new stamp, being of several complexions, and standing in the afore-mentioned capacities and relations, having also such dependence upon, and lying under so great engagements unto the protector, so called, as his sons and kindred, flattering courtiers, corrupt lawyers, degenerated swordsmen, and a sort of lukewarm indifferent country knights, gentlemen, and citizens, most of them self-interested salary-men, be not likely, according to the very specious pretence, to prove a brave balance of government? And whether the good people of this land are likely to have their just rights and freedoms, or religious men the liberty of their consciences by this constitution, any otherwise, than according to the pleasure of the protector and the court? Or than they had in the time of the late King? And whether this calculation were made to any other end than so?

Lastly, Whether, all things soberly weighed and considered, the times be now so happy and blessed, as some do loudly bespeak them to be? And whether, for the future, we are likely to have such prosperity, success, and good days, as some so largely promise themselves? And others it may be expected? Or whether such smiling upon old wickedness, and frowning and turning the back upon righteousness, suppressing its growth, be any comfortable ground of such hope and expectation? Or

whether, upon the whole series of things, as they now appear, there be not rather to be expected some sadder matter, if the Lord in mercy prevent not? Let the wise in heart consider.

NUNTIUS A MORTUIS,*

OR A

MESSENGER FROM THE DEAD:

THAT IS,

A stupendous and dreadful colloquy, distinctly and alternately heard by divers, betwixt the ghosts of Henry the Eighth and Charles the First (both Kings of England) who lie entombed in the church of Windsor. Wherein, as with a pencil from heaven, is liquidly, from head to foot, set forth the whole series of the judgments of God upon the sins of these unfortunate islands.

Translated out of the Latin copy, by G. T. and printed at Paris, 1657. Quarto, containing twenty-six pages.

TO THE READER.

Courteous Reader,

THOU wilt wonder, perhaps, that this terrible narration of a colloquy, so full of dread and astonishment, long since had betwixt two Kings of England, both deceased, should not sooner have come forth, when, in the interval of so great a tract of time, it ought rather to have been put to the press. But thou must know, it was then strangled in its birth (all ready fitted by me to have come into the light) when, the late King's blood yet smoking, the severity of the times suppressed it. Divers also were shut up close prisoners, lest the truth of such strange prodigies should walk abroad with them; and the soldiers largely bribed, who watched his hearse, not to let any thing of that quality fall from them; but now it is, by God's infinite goodness (nor unhappy, as I may say, midwifery of mine) that again it resaluteth the day, with recommendation to be communicatively used by the——; however, to myself the author, who was present at the late King's burial, and both eye and ear witness of these wonders, not as vain and only forged things, speaking, like to poets, Give thou credit and belief; but as tracing, through those

* Vide the 250th article in the catalogue of pamphlets in the Harleian Library.

dead Kings colloquies (in this kingdom filled with hellish darkness) the true and hidden paths of God's just vengeance. Farewell, and as thy brother in Christ, pray for

Thy, &c.

THROUGH the unlimited wickedness of the London Calvinists (the first of that name in England) King Charles being taken away, his headless body, by order of parliament (not to the royal abbey of St. Peter in Westminster, the solemn burial place of all the Kings and Queens of England, but to Windsor, twenty miles distant from London, in Henry the Eighth's monument) was translated to be interred. There was no pomp at all to grace his funeral, only a few soldiers sent to guard his body, which some few nobles, with the Duke of Richmond, waited on; where his corpse being put into the sepulchre, from out of the penetral thereof, there broke a horrid sound, which the standers-by at first amazed with much wonder; but by and by a voice, attending that noise, forced them all into a fearful astonishment. And it is credible that even the soldiers would have taken to their heels, but that, casting away all fears and apprehension, which they long since had laid aside of either heaven or hell, they resolved to hear the sequel of that prodigy; I also, who, grown pale with fear, had begun to fly, recollected my spirits, and, comforting myself with the presence of the soldiers, not uncovetous of hearing what would follow, stood my ground; and, with the rest, at last discovered that it was the voice of Henry the Eighth, thus complaining, with a loud and horribly frightful vociferation.

Henricus. Ho! Who is this (with sacriligious impiety) that dares vex the so long quiet ashes of a King so many years since deceased? This said, another voice straight rose somewhat softer, but extremely doleful, which seemed to be King Charles's, thus answering:

Carolus. I am that unhappy King of England, your successor, the undoubted heir of sixty-two monarchs, whose scepters sometimes swayed these nations, and who myself have, now these twenty years and upwards, worn the kingly diadem.

Hen. As though thou indeed hadst worn the kingly diadem? Why, thou hast no head at all whereon to put it, man.

Car. But I had one (oh! my grief) and very lately, though my subjects have rebelliously taken it from me.

Hen. Have thy subjects then thus cruelly handled thee? O the hatred of both God and men! How, I pray you, came these things to pass? And what wickedness hadst thou done so execrable, which hath transported thy subjects to that madness?

Car. That, Sir, I am totally ignorant of; but this I dare, with confidence, affirm, that I have violated no man's bed, have not offered force unto any one's daughter, and driven no man from his house or lands; of all which yet Henry the Eighth, my predecessor, is held guilty through the total universe. Let these say who have brought me hither, whether in any thing I have belyed the truth? Then he paused a while, as though

to hear what they would say, whilst the soldiers, with their looks cast down, consented, by their silence, to these verities. And most true it is, indeed, what hath been said, for never King, since the world's creation, was more wicked than that Henry I speak of, as who, counselled by one Cromwell of those times, either violated all divine and human laws, or gave the example to his successors of doing so. But as for Charles, who is so lately deceased, only abstracting from the blot of heresy, no King ever, not only of his time, nor private man, was either naturally more equitable, more holy, or endowed with greater virtues, who, not finding what he said opposed, in this manner followed on his narration. I was criminated for defending with arms, what peaceably, but in vain, I had endeavoured, those very laws, the which my ancestors had left to me, and which, sixteen, and upwards of years, I had uncontroledly, ruled by and reigned. Hereupon were the judges appointed, by an usurped authority of parliament, who should sit and determine of my head; witnesses against me sworn, and examined, who had conspired to take away my life. The day set down, and forces brought, the which should carry me to be arraigned before their dire tribunal, and though I called both God and men to witness their violation, in this proceeding, of the laws, and that no power on earth was capable of judging me; as also, that I took not up arms before that arms had first been actually taken against me, yet judgment, or rather the shadow thereof, was given, by which I suffered the decollation of my head.

Hen. Oh! wickedness, even seared to impudence, and of which, as ages past are wholly ignorant, so those to come will hardly ever give credit to. We have heard perhaps of Kings and potentates, who have suddenly been oppressed by the fury of a raging and incensed multitude; but that any one, a prince of such high majesty, should be brought to death by the cruelty of his subjects, all of one and the self-same religion, under the colour even itself of justice, and be obtruncated by the public hangman, but especially not found guilty of any crime, unless propugning his paternal rights, since Kings had being, was never yet heard of; for that Mary Queen of Scots, that niece of mine, was most cruelly and inhumanly beheaded, that Elisabeth, my unhappy daughter, Queen of England, and in hatred of religion, not the unnaturalness of her subjects brought to pass; and therefore all men have that Izabel, or rather Jezabel, in veneration, as though indeed a martyr.

Car. Lest I should seem too much to stand upon my innocence, I confess I was to blame, although not charged therewith, when I assented unto Strafford's dying (not in the least guilty on my knowledge of his charge) through the lenity of my nature, though unwillingly; wherefore, respecting that strict father of justice, whose dominion is juster over Kings than that of Kings over other mortals, I cannot bewail my blood so spilt unworthily, who, Pilate like, subscribed another's death, having declared him first wholly innocent, in my judgment.

Hen. Had this been the cause of thy calamity, those other, rather much, should have been punished with the loss, by heaven's just vengeance, of their heads, who, thee being innocent, made thus guilty by their prejudice, and, however against thy will and relucting, as by the shoulders forced thee headlong forwards, into that most horrid iniquity

of their judgment. Therefore some thing there must necessarily be more which hath caused this so execrable fate to thee; nor know I why thou shouldst here be more obtruded on me. Thou thyself cannot tell me any just cause why thou wert stripped out of this miserable life by so shameful and opprobrious a death; if thou camest, as such thou boastest thyself, of Kings, had it not been meet that thou hadst laid thy bones amongst thy ancestors, than trouble here my rest and quiet?

Car. I earnestly (indeed, dying) desired to have been buried in the tomb of my father, but who spoiled me of my life denied that boon to me; fearing, I believe, lest, lying so near them, that the voice of my blood would cry more loud to them. But in this they have not only been inhuman to me. Many other and most grievous indignities have I suffered in my shameful way of dying. At Westminster, where myself and my ancestors, the Kings of this nation, were inaugurated, was I forced to hear the sentence of my life from the mouth of a silly petty-fogger, when, according to the municipal laws, no nobleman can be judged but by his peers. At St. James's was I kept close prisoner, whilst my enemies did determine of my head, wholly cast upon their arbitrary judging me; a place above all others loved by me, through the memory of my past childhood there, where my youth also had been harmlessly entertained with many innocuous and most innocent oblations. The scaffold for my death appointed, raised directly before the court of my house, unto which that I might come with more regret and also shame, even through those rooms they dragged me, where, to honour foreign states ambassadors, with royal pomp, I used, and masques to recreate them. I beheld also, but with what sense of indignation? his head covered and eyes sternly fixed on me, Oliver Cromwell, one of ordinary extraction, and, abstracting from what fortune had reared him to, much more despicable than the meanest of my nobles (how much short then of the majesty of a King) sitting umpire of my life and death? But though these things were very grievous and deplorable, yet that one was even than death itself less tolerable to me, when my ears, the blood yet spinning out my veins, swallowed in that fatal mandate from the cryer, that it should be death to call my son the Prince of Wales, or destine him to be his father's successor. And then indeed it truly appeared, as conjectured by the wiser in the beginning, that not the King, so much as rule, displeased the rebels, who conspired so unanimously my death, to the end that that as well as I should be extirpated. Yet this one thing very much consoles my griefs, that, at least, I have been destined to this place, where I cannot doubt of your more courteous reception of me, as being nephew of your sister the princess Margaret; her I mean who, marrying James the Fourth of Scotland, bore that Mary of whom so lately you made mention, and she James my late father since deceased, unto whose scepter she gave both England and Scotland, unto which James, I Charles the First, as heir unto my father have succeeded.

Hen. What is that I hear? And art thou that Charles, then, the son of James, to whom from me, by Elisabeth, that kingdom is devolved by succession? Art thou, I pray thee, the self-same Charles, and canst not see how all these evils have oppressed thee? But it seems thy eyes yet

very well see not, newly come into this region of darkness. No! hadst thou remembered how long while ago I drew from out that yoke my neck, which in the church I had full twenty years drawn in, after first I was anointed King; aye, and defended with both sword and pen too, thou wouldest less wonder, that, after twenty years reign, thy subjects should have so departed from thee; thou canst not be ignorant, that, amongst all the Christian Kings, I was the first that ever arrogated the supremacy, and would be called the head of the church; which titles, that I might knit them to my crown, with a knot that should never be untied, oh! what blood have I not shed of martyrs? This sin of mine, so long since committed, being to be expiated by the blood of a King, both this scepter and monstrous head together were at once to perish; this was long ago decreed by the fates, as we may judge, now it is come to pass. But more than all this I will tell you; there was a person of great note, during my reign, of whom many things thou canst not choose but have heard, whose name was called Thomas Moore. This man, adorned with virtues so transcendent many ages could not match his worth, from a pleader, at the bar, of the law, and having regard unto his merit and learning, I called to be lord chancellor of England. But I seemed only thither to have raised him, that I might depress him from the greater height; for when, following the dictates of his conscience, he would not own me the head of the church, I commanded forthwith, his to be cut off. So that, whilst playing Callisthenes, he fell into the hands of Alexander. Go thou then now, head of the church, and complain, that, by the sentence of a pitiful lawyer, thine is also cut off from thy shoulders. Or rather seest thou not plainly, in these prodigies, the tenor of God's admirable judgments? It was grievous to thee, to be a prisoner at St. James's, where thou hast so innocently, in thy youth, disappointed thyself; but thou mindest not, that I formerly, by violence and sacrilege, snatched those houses from the church, as not long after all the goods of the monks, the Carthusians, Bernardines, Cisterians, Canon Regulars, and so of all the rest; but more especially of those of St. Benedict, whose houses and estates I confiscated, being the most splendid and opulent of all the kingdom, by an injustice, till that time, not ever heard of. Wherefore, as I, for that they owned me not their head, cast in prison many innocent religious, and from their houses made them hie unto the gallows, so thou hadst for thy prison, where thou sufferedst, a house that had been heretofore religious. I hanged up several abbots at their doors, to give a terror, by their sufferings, to the monks. And what wonder, if, to the astonishment of Kings and kingdoms, thou hast suffered, at the doors of thy palace, an ignominious and opprobrious death? But knowest thou not over and above, that this very palace (the house of thy abode) was the dwelling-place of the bishops of York, which I extorted from Cardinal Wolsey, a man sometimes highly advanced by me, whilst serving my unbridled lust; but whom afterwards I utterly confounded, when I judged it for the avail of my avarice. Nor prophanned I only the episcopal houses to ungodly and nefarious uses, but compelled even themselves the bishops (from their obedience to the Roman see) into an acknowledgment of my jurisdiction in church affairs, unless only him who presided over Rochester, whom, when neither with fair

words, nor menaces, I could draw into the defection of the rest, I beheaded to compleat my sacrilege. Behold, therefore, if, or not, it were fatal and most agreeable to the heavenly justice, that this head of the church, so adventitious, should have been cut off before the doors of the bishop? To give promotion to the affairs of my primacy, I made me a vicar of one Cromwell of those times, a man of very mean extraction, unto whom (and he of lay condition) both the bishops and archbishops were as underlings. Now another of that name, and like descent, rules as absolute over all thy nobles, and guides the minutes of thy life and death. The very same, I made my principal instrument of keeping from their means the church's children, and of bringing on the bane of that religion, so long practised in the times of my ancestors, which I would call, 'The reformation of the church.' I entered to this kingdom (from my father) when it was blemishless, intire, and truly regal; nor in any thing unto any one obnoxious, only, as fitting in things that were spiritual, paying submission to the vicar of Christ. Thou receivdest it, when strengthless and wounded, rent, and torn from the yoke of St. Peter, so just, so sweet, and so amiable; and, wholly inslaved unto the vicars of the people, chose to govern by the votes of the multitude.

Car. Too true, by the loss of my head, have I found those very things, which thou hast said to me, and now lately, unless, by others allowance, that I had nothing either of life or kingdoms, which was not wholly in the hands of the parliament, since puffed up with fond pride and contumacy, by thy example, I have swerved from the church; yet feared I not the publick hatchet would have struck me by the hands of rebels, with such pomp and seared impudence at my death, but much more dreaded secret counsels and im poisonings.

Hen. But of that thou shouldest the least have been afraid; for the punishment would not have answered the offence. Publick sins must have publick expiations, nor sought I corners in which to perpetrate my wickednesses but sinned boldly after once I had begun, only I drew indeed the mask of justice upon the face of my iniquities. The supremacy, as though my due, of the church, unto myself I arrogated, calling a parliament, by a decree whereof, I quite abolished the Roman see's authority. I repudiated (by pretence of right) the woman that was my lawful wife; the possessions, likewise, wholly of the clergy, under the same colour, I occasioned to be confiscated; whosoever was averse to my supremacy, as though guilty of high treason, I put to death. Wherefore, when our sins for which we worthily are punished, are covered over with the veil of justice, no wonder, if the self-same vizard likewise veil us, when ourselves, at last we come to suffer.

Car. But these audacities, from their subjects unto Kings, are the effects of most unheard of wickedness.

Hen. I confess it, but with how much greater wickedness are those insolencies by ourselves deserved? Such sin only against a mortal prince, but we princes against an eternal Deity. But you, Sir, unless a marked out sacrifice, God so willing, for your sins enormities, could you not have mocked that arrest of popular judgment, by your prerogative in dissolving of the parliament?

Car. I did what I could to dissolve it, but I pray hear what followed after my so doing. The Scotchmen, my natural subjects, in hostile sort, invaded England with their armies, whom opposing in their march at York, an humble book came to my hands by Kymbolton, underwritten by certain noblemen of my kingdom.

Hen. King Henry hearing Kymbolton named, after fetching first a very deep sigh : Oh, Catharine, says he, the wife of Kymbolton, that woman of all other most dear to me, as excelling all her sex in virtue, whom I banished, heaven forgive me, from my bed, to make place therein for that strumpet Anne of Bullen, afterwards publicly beheaded for adultery, hath exchanged this so hated life ! This divorce, against both heaven's and human laws, to the end that I might make it firm, made me usurp unto me the authority of the church ; when (unless with so horrid a sacrilege) I could not uphold the impiety of that villainy. Hence broke upon ourselves, and both our kingdoms, the inundation of all these pressing miseries.

Car. When, holding forth Kymbolton's book, from this, says he, as by one wave of a deluge, hath also flowed the total sea of my disasters ; for unadvisedly, O my grief, I condescended, they so craving, to a treaty with the Scots, in which I bound myself firmly to make good what, in my name, should by my delegates be agreed upon. These deputed, O impudent drones, or rather indeed perfidious traitors, gave concessions to the insidiating Scots to take strong holds into their hands within my kingdom, till such time, as, by my kingly authority, the parliament, then dissolved, should be revoked. Writs, therefore, I accordingly issued forth ; the Scots are most liberally gratified, nor do they suffer them sooner to leave England, than that first I had engaged my princely faith, by a writing under my hand and seal ; this Hamilton also unhappily counselled me, that unfortunate kinsman of mine, not to annul the said new sessions of parliament, till such time as they should all thereto assent.

Hen. O stupidity, or rather extremest madness ! Didst thou not see, when to thy stiff-necked people thou grantedst this, that thou puttest a final period to the sway of thy kingly authority ? This was one and the self same thing, as if thou hadst given into the hands of the parliament thy scepter and thy princely diadem, on condition not to have them again, until such time, as they should please to restore them thee ; but much otherwise should I have handled mine. Though now it is as clear as noon-day, that the measure of my sins hath been made up in thee, by thy unhappy participation of my schisms ; and that, by blinding the eyes of thy mind, in propitiation of the offended Deity, God's just vengeance hath brought on thee destruction : ' Whom God will destroy, he taketh away their right understanding.' But, when once it was come to that pass, thou shouldst have gained at least, the parliament's votes unto thee, by giving honours to them, and other vast largitions.

Car. Even that, in what I could, I attempted. But much otherwise, God he knows, it came about ; for my catholick nobility and bishops, whose votes I most relied on, in parliament, were ejected by the adverse faction. They were both indeed very passionate for my good ; the catholicks, as hoping I would mitigate the asperity of the laws, in force

against them, by Queen Elisabeth's and my father's constitutions. The prelates also as probably expecting a conservation of their means and benefices, then threatened in another way, from this head of theirs, O God, how ridiculous! Having lost thus in the House of Lords, for the lower was of little consideration to me, more than twenty and upwards of suffrages, who remained more indulgent and firm to me, were intimidated, thereto books being cast abroad, by the tumultuousness of the apprentices and tradesmen, which seditions the adverse party of the parliament, with all the eagerness that they could, fomented. At Westminster also, scandalous books were written against me, at the pleasure of those parliamentary rebels, which, their emissaries far and near dispersing them, by some provincials, thereto courted, were subscribed, and exhibited, suddenly after, to the parliament; as though, nothing on their part suggested, the whole matter had, by the people, been exacted.

Hen. The very self-same fraud and collusion did I practise to the church's ruin. For first of all, by writs and declamations, who were refractory of the clergy I indulged; in doing whereof, I pretended reformation, and not ruin, which was really my design, like your rebels, who in the beginning of their defection, even by oath and publick faith, obliged themselves, not to attempt against your person, realms, or church, but to defend them with their utmost power, though however of some defects in church and state, by removing from you certain evil counselors, they seemed to pretend a reformation. And, lest any thing should have the face of oppression, which I did, I procured certain books to fly abroad, with whose sense I was very well pleased, which the monks in their own names should write to me, near according to this following tenor:

' Since the goodness of God (with your highness's concurrence) hath so wrought, that in these latter days (the darkness of times past dispersed) a new and true light hath appeared unto us; we heartily and humbly make request, that you will free us from this cloistered slavery (the very path unto most certain perdition) and restore us to our spiritual liberty; for which doing (to express our gratitude) we (freely and not any ways forced, whom not fear nor yet collusion draws thereto,) give you all our houses, goods, and lands, nay jurisdiction, to be your own for ever.'

These books I dispersed through all the monasteries, and commanded that every one should subscribe them, who would not to be forthwith hanged. But especially all the abbots and superiors, that the rest might by their suffering be intimidated; so that divers through the fear of death (as though really from their proper motives,) were induced to underwrite these papers.

Car. I have signed also many things constrainedly, and (what is worse) been forced to swear I did so willingly. But so far was this my casiness from availing me (especially about the city of London) that (after all, whatsoever they asked me I had given them with a full compliance) they still more and more increased their tumults; and observing all my

castles, strengths, and navy taken from me (with the total militia) it was then (when no means else were left me) that I betook myself first unto arms, whereby to guard my life, my crown, and my dignity; wherefore, setting up my kingly standard, the most faithful of my subjects fly to me, whose numbers in short time so increased, that I waged seven years war with the parliament. During which time it was remarkable to see how, more than others, the Roman Catholicicks flocked to me, and, for my good, exposed their lives and fortunes. Those, to wit, who were formerly traduced (by the obloquies of most slanderous calumniators) as suspected to both King and kingdoms, for refusing of the oath of allegiance, in which point they never yet were found defective, though falsely therefore called recusants, but which also exacted from their consciences an abjuration of the pope's authority, and an acknowledgment of my spiritual supremacy; these very men, I say, though they took not that oath, yet, unsworn, they never stuck at any thing in the which they might be loyal to me and faithful. But the covenanters, call them protestants or puritans, what did they (though against their oaths, and highly abjuring any such kind of practice) but even tooth and nail bend all their forces to deprive their King of life and dignity. Nor wanted these their plots at last success; for money falling short to pay the soldiers, whom I therefore was constrained to dismiss, being myself of all things destitute to extremity, I was glad, as to my very last refuge, to betake myself wholly to the Scots. But (oh unheard of and most shameful perfidiousness!) those sold me to who would give most for me, by which means thus tossed from prison to prison, these miseries as you see have overwhelmed me.

Hen. I wonder not (by the parliament's authority and insinuations) that some of thine have left thee; but how cometh it, that thy country-men the Scots have taken arms against thee, joining with the enemies?

Car. This threefold defection, by the Scots, was indeed my utter ruin and overthrow; for if only I had contested with the English, by the aid of other faithful of my subjects (more in number very many than the rebels) as well in England as also in Ireland, I should easily have made good my prerogative. But the Scots, on this occasion, fell from me. I fancying, forsooth, as head of the church, that it belonged most peculiarly unto me, that not only the same tenor of faith, through the extent of my whole dominions, but the same service also, rites and likewise ceremonies, should be uniformly in the same observed (the archbishop thereto most of all exhorting me, whom I revered as though indeed some patriarch) I commanded the book of common prayer, a form of thy son Edward's first composing, and the surplice to be used by the Scots, who had not either publick form of worship, or other decency of ornaments in their church, but, as now it is the fashion at Geneva, every one babbled as he pleases his own impertinencies; strictly threatening with exemplary punishment who thereto should not yield due obedience; which the people of Scotland observing, and that already it was put in practice, cried out Popery is now violently forced upon us. Then tumults day by day increased, which the Calvinist ministers fomented, who consulting the

puritans of England, especially Hambden the chief of that faction, jointly brought in the Scots upon this nation, then in peace, who with their armies invaded it. This incursion, so rebellious, of those traitors (like a river when its banks are broken down) overflowed my total realms with sedition.

Hen. Is it not as clear then, tell me Charles, as noon-day, that our inauspiciously affecting church supremacy hath confounded us in this sort which now thou seest?

Car. Very true, it is not void of reason for so being; yet do I not reach how all those evils rather seized not thee, the first invader of the English primacy, who (convening all the states of thy kingdom to be confirmed upon thyself and thy successors) than poor me, who have but kept, and that too peaceably, what my ancestors by their wills had left to me.

Hen. Oh Charles, how art thou grossly deceived if thou thinkest I do not share in thy misfortunes? No sin yet ever escaped unpunished, nor was impunity ever allowed to wicked persons. And, to pass by what now at present I suffer, what tortures did not then distort me, when my executioners were those three man-spillers, avarice, cruelty, and lust? And as for avarice, so unsatiably it reigned in me, that having subverted three-hundred and seventy-six religious houses, and snatched away their lands and goods, by an edict to that purpose which I made; scarcely one year had yet been fully gone about, before I vexed with such high taxes all my subjects as had never been before from them exacted, by which morsel now made keen and fleshed, as it were, not long after, oh how rich and opulent! I confiscated what remained of the church revenues. In the interim I gave hopes unto the laity that those goods of the church would go so far with me, as to free them for ever from exactions; a hearing so grateful to the people, that they impensly for it favoured my abreptions. But so fooled they were in these their expectations, that I alone a little after more oppressed them, than in fifty years before my predecessors. After I had spoiled and razed a thousand churches, taken all unto my use that belonged unto them; all their coin, and sacred vessels, robbed them of; brass, lead, shards, seelings, nay, even the very rubbish set to sale, with all else vendible; besides two chests from out of the church of Canterbury, so massy scarce four men could carry one of them, so well crammed they were with gold and precious stones: After all, I say, these things had been thus robbed by me, I was reduced into such very great indigence, that, whereas I mixed at first but two of brass only with ten ounces (by my edict) of good silver, I afterwards with two of current silver mixed ten ounces of adulterate brass; thus tortured, as you see, with endless avarice, nor less roughly by my cruelties handled.---For full twenty years at least together, whilst I lived in the communion of the church, no one ever of the Kings shed less blood, in all which time two only suffered of my nobility. But afterwards, when I fell from the church (not more thirsty of gold than of blood) of all conditions, all ages, and all sexes, I exhibited a most fearful massacre; and that upon no other demerit, but that only they withstood my voluptuousness. Four queens, with either steel or imprisonments, I took away, which were the consorts of my bed; two young princesses, and

also two cardinals (proscribing, in his absence, the third) who was very near in blood to me allied. Dukes, marquisses, counts, or sons of counts, at least a dozen, I put publickly to death; barons, knights bannerets, or knights, to the number of twenty, wanting two; abbots and priors thirteen; priests and religious seventy-seven; of lesser rank, and of the vulgar, infinite. And, whilst belching thus on all sides my cruelties, the faithfullest of my subjects most feared me, as witness that most horrid catastrophe of Cardinal Wolsey, of Cromwell, and the Bullens; of the Howards, of Norris, and lastly Compton. But as for lust, so very insatiably was I lost in it, that, divorcing my best and lawful wife, I saw not any thing of that sex the which I burnt not for; nor scarcely did I lust that woman, whom one way or other I did not violate. Was it not also for the punishment of my sins, that your father and yourself have reigned in England? Who left nothing on my part unattempted, which I could think of to hinder your succession, that I might fix it by a masculine birth unto the house of which myself was descended. Two wives I forced unjustly from my bed, and as many made to quit this life; the fifth, who fell in troublesome labour, I commanded to be ripped up alive, to the end to save the infant which she went with; thus barbarously and inhumanly adding, that it was easier to get more wives than children. The sixth I also afterwards married, whom when thinking to have spilt myself, I perished. Yet, for all this my caring for posterity, during fifty years time of my life, no one ever lived long of my survivors. A boy, indeed, of nine years old, succeeded me in the usurped supremacy, little knowing how to govern himself, but much less the helm of church jurisdiction, who had also first departed this life before attaining to his youthful age. Mary also, my legitimate daughter, who cast out heresy, entered afterwards to the crown, of whose child I could have very well hoped, five years married to the Catholick King; but that God (the just revenger of homicides, rapes, incests, and likewise of sacrilege) barred my seed from inheriting the earth; nor in vain are his words, or to be laughed at, thus importing, that the days of the sons shall be cut shorter for the father's offences. She dying soon after without issue, this empire was translated into thy line; but Elisabeth, that illegitimate daughter of mine (begot in incest, and judged incapable of governing by the parliament, and myself thereto assenting) stepped, however, into the kingly throne, and would be called, forsooth, the head of the church, by my example, under whose womanish popeship, at least a thousand suffered death for being priests. But ridiculous is that head which hath no tongue; and a woman, as the apostle averreth, is not allowed to speak in the church; yet it is admirable to see with what audacity she took upon her to usurp the church of God, who missioning (with a womanish sollicitude) her ministers for the planting of the gospel, sowed the seeds, as yet we see here in England, of a multiplicity of sowre-leavened heresies. And, after seventeen years keeping her prisoner, she had cut off the head of thy grand-mother, doing acts of most unparalleled cruelty, by the example of my former tyrannies, she descended without issue into——.

Thus, in the first generation, cuded my progeny; so true it is what the kingly prophet said, 'That the seed of the wicked shall perish,' Psal.

xxxvii; and accordingly in another place, 'Their fruits shall be extirpated from the earth, and their seed from the sons of men.' I have been admonished by very woeful experience of the truth of this prophet's saying. So, to wit, it hath pleased the Almighty to laugh at the counsels of men. And this reason the same prophet superaddeth, 'For they contrived counsels which they could not make good,' Psal. xxix. 'For there is no counsel which will stand against God,' Prov. xxi.--As too late, and to my cost, I have found true. Wouldest thou yet be more confirmed of these sad verities? Unto King Edward, when I died, my son, I left twelve tutors, all reputed Catholicks, and, abstracting from the supremacy only, which I desired he should keep in his hands, commanded he should be otherways bred up a Catholick. All heresies, this only excepted, by my will, I wholly excluded and abolished. But, as violating the wills of my ancestors, and subverting what they built and consecrated, so many temples and monuments of religion, I deserved not that my own should be observed; amongst the rest, the Duke of Somerset was one, uncle to Edward the Sixth by the mother, whom, at my death, I did, as guardian, prefer to him. He infected, and my son by him, with heresy, brought in that, which most I hated, of the sacrament, which Queen Elisabeth, after both, confirmed. A monument I appointed for my ashes much more sumptuous than ever any of my ancestors, and yet hitherto I have failed of the same; though, alone of all the Kings of Great Britain, three children have, in order, succeeded me; nor need I fear, now those are dead, to be forgotten, who, for my wickedness, shall eternally be remembered. I am the mark of all men's hate of all conditions. To the Catholicks, by good reason, odious, cutting England from the communion of their church; abominated no less worthily by the religious, as whose families I have destroyed and sold their goods. Equally execrable to the church and laity; as first raising over the whole body of the Catholicks that persecution, which, to this hour, afflicted them; the hereticks, even to death, detested me, still pursuing them with fire and sword. Luther called me a stall-fed ox, and very often a most inhuman tyrant; Calvin drew out the sword of his pen against my title of the head of the church, which, so monster like, to myself I had arrogated; and marked me out by the dint of his writings, as one destitute of both fear and shame, in relation to both God and man. All the literate will perpetually hate my memory, that I should root out, and totally destroy, so many monuments of antiquity and learning, such as scarcely in the world are to be paralleled. To conclude, whilst I lived, the most did hate me, every one feared me, and scarce any one loved me. In my latter days, by the furies of my conscience agitated, like to Orestes, I would fain have incorporated with the church all those kingdoms which I had torn from its obedience, and, in whatsoever I was able, I endeavoured a reparation of those wrongs I had done my wife. This at last, in some sort, I provided for, giving caution by my last will and testament, that, if Edward my son should die issueless, my daughter Mary, whom I had before disinherited, born of Catharine, should succeed me in these kingdoms. Oh! how often have I talked with my familiars about this first, to wit, of bowing to his holiness, and being received again into his grace and favour? But, having

formerly cozened divers by those arts, none would trust me, as being by all suspected, whom they eluded, as though seeking to intrap them. Thus abandoned and forsaken by every body, I departed out of the communion of the church, these last words before my death ingeminating, 'All is marred, all is marred, monks, monks, friars, friars.' My burial was just like that of Ahab, in the ruins of a religious house; for, when my body was conveyed hitner, even a dunghill through over-eating and op-pletion, the lead, in which it was wrapped, unhappily unsoldering, as it was set down within the ruins of this house, where, while a plumber, in all haste to help, ran this way and that way for materials, his dog licked up my blood most greedily. A revenge for that of priests and religious which I shed, Oh God! how just and deserved a one? Dost thou not see, Charles, how, in my person thus suffering, God hath warned thee that I departed not unpunished?

Car. These are things very grievous indeed, and which deserve to be well pondered to all eternity.

Hen. But, though these things may seem to mortals very grievous, yet, in comparison of what I suffer in hell, they are mere trifles, and not worthy to be commemorated. For, besides what I have merited by my own, whatsoever I have sinned against another, what innovations I have forced upon religion, superadd unto the increase of my torments; inasmuch as, by my usurping the supremacy, I opened a gap to all the mischiefs of heresies. Wherefore as, superadditionally, I am here tormented by the arrival of any new come ghosts, so is it just, since the afflicted comfort the afflicted, that those very same should have a share in my punishments, who have maintained and kept on foot my errors, as thou hast done; who, though the scourge of heaven's just ire, hath these ten years through three kingdoms closely followed thee, and that too chiefly, for thy hatred to religion, yet hast thou breathed with thy last breath a disobedience to the authority of the see of Rome, thy bishop so of London persuading thee; nay, moreover, not the primacy only which I left thee, but new errors, introduced by Queen Elisabeth and thy father, didst thou strive to uphold, of Prince Edward I here wittingly am silent; and if other things be true which I have heard, thou stampest thy coin also with the inscription of protestancy.

Car. Oh heavens! that that fatal protestancy had never been hatched, at least not to come unto my ears. It began, about thy time, in Germany, when the followers of Luther were called protestants, whence it afterwards passed into England. And as Queen Elisabeth, oh Henry I and my father, were the first of all those who went before them who protested thy religion in these kingdoms, whereupon hath come this name of protestant: So, soon after, rose the puritan faction, or the Calvinist, who impugned both the other, and our ritual, or book of common prayer, set in force with the thirty-nine articles. Which, subverting all episcopal jurisdiction, doth yet glory in being called protestant. Afterwards springs a sect of independants, which protest against the three that went before; these are divided into hundreds of other tatterdimalion and new broached opinions, which yet all will needs be termed protestants; and perhaps as many more there will yet rise, from out the hydra of this unhappy reformation, which will always be impugning one the other,

Heaven grant, that, with the milk of my mother, I had also sucked in the religion of my ancestors; for my grandmother not only died a Catholic, but shed her blood in the defence of that religion. But, as others may condignly have been punished, for introducing or promoting of errors; for vexing with much cruelty the Catholics, and usurping or maintaining this supremacy; I certainly never innovated religion, of all others have been mildest unto Catholics, nay, even next of all acceded to their tenets. In fine, I have exercised this supremacy with a moderation surpassing all the rest, and (by reason I did not judge it fitting or becoming any layman's undertaking) the whole charge thereof, at least the greater part, I recommended to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Hen. But hast thou not observed, that, of the whole English episcopacy, only Canterbury in these troubles lost his head; (both documents of the highest instruction!) Thou for Kings, and that patriarch for prelates; who, if their heads they would have stand upon their shoulders, must not make themselves heads of the church, by hereafter prejudicing the Roman jurisdiction. But what availed it thee to have approximated unto popery, unless thoroughly thou hadst embraced that faith? For it sufficeth not to stand in the porch, unless thou enter into the bosom of the church. Moreover, many, in these gulfs below the earth, are much more grievously tormented and vexed, because they knew, but have not exercised the truth. That, in some things, King Agrippa was a Christian, was not sufficient to work his salvation. No, for that thoroughly he was not converted by Paul, he now burns with me in eternal flames. Did I not myself sometimes profess that faith in all particulars, only abstracting from the pope's supremacy? But, sinning in that one sole defection, I am guilty of all other abominations. But he that spared not Paul's incredulity (doing things of which he then was ignorant) will not spare this most execrated head of mine, who have wittingly, nay, and willingly, perished. But, how frivolous is that which thou pretendest to extenuate the malice of thy crime, when thou sayest, thou didst not exercise the supremacy, only left it unto Canterbury to do it; as though, indeed, thou hadst not exercised that charge whereunto thou hast deputed another? Nay, more, I hold that Strafford lost his head (so provided by the eternal justice) for that also he then carried thine, as being thy vicar, in the church of Ireland.

Car. As I have not wholly been exempt from all faults, so having proceeded much more moderately in the supremacy, and promoted more the peace of the church, than all these others, who have passed before me, I would fain know why I am the most of all punished?

Hen. Thou hast not observed, it seems, that jealous God, who punisheth in the child the father's faultiness, how he scourgeth the impieties of the wicked, to the third and also fourth generation, lest, if only he should scourge us in ourselves, we might think that any enormous impiety would be easily and more suddenly expiated; nor defers he to punish till so long after, that his memory who sinneth should die, but lest it should be forgotten that he was punished for sinning. Thou art the third now, from the cradle of schism, who hath reigned King, in which generation thou sufferest. For

though my two daughters, first Mary, then Elisabeth, have successively inherited the crown, yet those two, with their brother King Edward, who who was my son, make up but one generation; if you number therefore either the Kings or generations;—Edward me, James him, and thou James, have successively and in order followed. Nor hath it happened, but by the hand of God, that the heavenly vengeance should have fallen upon thy head, the most innocent and moderate of all the rest, to shew that not so much thy private sins have been chastised by his rod of justice, as the hereditary evils of thy office, with what impieties still attend thy titles,—as it is said,—‘The fathers have eaten sowre grapes, and the teeth of their children have been set on edge,’ Ezek. xviii. Which take not as though children intirely innocent should be overwhelmed by their fathers faultiness; for the soul that sins itself shall die; but that such who are less faulty, nay, even innocent, as it were, in comparison of their fathers’ crimes, do yet suffer often something of their merit. For, if that punishment had happened in the time of any wicked and luxurious prince, I should not have sought for its infliction any where else, than from the crimes of such a trussed-up potentate. But that my subjects, who stile themselves protestants, should, by taking off thy head, thus punish thee whom thy very enemies cannot asperse with any crime, came not indeed by any other way to pass, but through that capital transgression of our pride, in presuming to be heads of the church: and, as I was the last of my name both King and also head of the church, so thou, oh! too unfortunate Charles, art the first of thy name that ever reigned, and the last that shall be head of the church.

Car. I feel indeed the judgments of God to have fallen very heavily upon me, for, as out of one false principle in faith many absurdities arise of opinions, so out of one unhappy apostasy from the church, many others have followed after at the heels, which the newer and more recent that they are, the more dangerous, and more to be took heed of. Thou beganst, others increased that sacrilege, which when, afterwards, some had fully perfected, I at last bore the heft of all. Thou, tearing from the Roman obedience thy people and bishops of England, wouldest be accounted, aye, and wert, independent; and the head of the reformed church? Now a sect of independants hath broke out, God revenging so the sin of thy sacrilege, who, regarding neither King nor bishops, first took off my spiritual head, then my own cut and severed from my shoulders; one Cromwell in thy time then lived (of thy cabinet and most secret counsels) who persuaded thee, a King, to spoil the church; now another of that name, and not unlike him, forced the people to destroy their King. ‘Oh how just are the judgments of God and his ways inscrutable!’ For, if not sooner in ourselves, in our posterities, shall we at last be punished, in that very kind in the which we have offended. Oh God, that, whilst I lived in this world, I had seriously pondered these things, at the least (when so much leisure sometimes served me) in the time of my most tedious imprisonment! Happy man, had I paused upon the series of God’s judgments, from above so threatening me, in the amaritude and bitterness of my soul: I had leisure, indeed, to dally with my pen, and write a book of other things, a whole one, as my armies how they came to be destroyed, of the miseries and distresses of my life, and

the insolencies those especially of the soldiers, but never once called to mind those very things which I should most of all have printed on my thoughts. Oh Juxonius (so I called the bishop of London) or else Laud my faithful counsellor and friend, why have neither of you admonished me of these things, either by letters, or friends that did commune with me? For, being three years a prisoner before my death, I had time enough to think of all these things. 'But they had eyes, and they could not see.' Oh, how blind were all these that saw me! and well may what follows be applied to us:

'At length we Phrygians (but too late) grew wise.'

Hen. This also I would have men duly ponder, how the parliament, the very name whereof is so idolised, especially by the fascinated English, is devolved now into a lower house, both the bishops and the lords ejected, in whose votes was once the total authority, the House of Commons being not any thing regarded. A just punishment indeed for their flattering me into a presumption of being head of the church, who themselves are now all trodden under foot (sometimes sitting as the heads of parliament) and this by that third order, without order, unto which they are so shamefully subjected. For England, as now plainly it appeareth, from a paradise is translated into a hell, in which no order but perpetual horror inhabiteth, where 'a man strong in arms keeps our court, and holds peaceably his usurped possessions.' This third order being grown to that height, that kingly government which had its period in thy fate, unless by miracle, can never hold up its head.

'Hence learn, O ye Kings, to be wise, and take instructions, you that judge the earth.'

The soldiers, then at hand, of Cromwell, understanding this hard fate of monarchy, which should hardly ever rise from out of its ruins, took good heart, and, with great noise and laughter, ran in crouds from out the church of Windsor, each one glad that he had lent a hand, by cutting off this head of the church, to the execution of the heavenly justice. But not knowing or less, happily, ruminating, that the father, oftentimes, burns the rod with which he doth chastise his child.

In malevolos hujus narratiunculæ obtretractores.

ZOILE, ne laceres morsu mea scripta canino,

Neve meris dicis omnia suta dolis:

Extimus historiæ cortex, volo, fictus habetor;

Vera sed huic intùs ligna subisse scies.

Istaque corporeis licèt auribus invia nostris,

Mentis at internis sensibus hausta putes.

Eia, age, mendacem me, carptor inepte, poetam

Occine: narranti res dabit ipsa fidem.

R. P.

Zoilus, desist (with currish teeth) to tear,
This work of mine, nor it as (merely) jeer,

Made up of frauds. The utmost bark, indeed,
Is fiction, but truth dwells in the inside.
And what th' ear struck not outwardly, that (know)
Our minds most inward sense both heard and saw,
Cease critic then, nor sing my book hath ly'd,
That stor y will find faith, which truth doth write.

G. T.

An extract out of the eighth century of Michael Nostradamus's prophecies, Stroph. 71. printed in the year 1603, in the beginning of King James's reign, father of King Charles late deceased, touching the government now at present in England :

A warrior, not a King, shall England awe,
One low born shall by force thy empire sway.
Loose, faithless, lawless, shall the earth begore,
Whose time's so near at hand ; I sigh therefore.

Glory be to God.

For Speech of Richard Cromwell, see Vol. 1. Page 25.

THE

COAT OF ARMS

OF

SIR JOHN PRESBYTER,

Printed in the year 1656. Folio, containing one page.

HE bears party per pale indented, God's glory, and his own interest ; over all honour, profit, pleasure counterchanged ; ensigned with a helmet of ignorance, opened with confidence befitting his degree, mantled with gules and tyranny, doubled with hypocrisy over a wreath of pride and covetousness ; for his crest a sinister hand, holding up a solemn league and covenant, reversed and torn ; in a scroll, underneath the shield, these words for his motto, *Aut hoc aut nihil*.

This coat armour is dupalled with another of four pieces, signifying thereby his four matches.

The first is of the family of Amsterdam ; she bears for her arms, in a field of toleration, three Jews heads proper, with as many blue caps on them.

The second is of the house of Geneva ; she bears for her arms, in a field of separation, marginal notes on the bible false quoted.

AN ABBREVIATION OF THE ARGUMENTS 435

The third is of the country of New England; she bears, for her arms, a prick-eared preachman, peached upon a pulpit proper, holding forth to the people a schismatical directory.

The fourth and last is Scotland; she bears in escutcheon the field of rebellion, charged with a stool of repentance.

A BRIEF RELATION

CONTAINING AN ABBREVIATION OF

THE ARGUMENTS URGED BY THE LATE PROTECTOR,

Against the government of this nation, by a King or a single person; to convince men of the danger and inconveniency thereof. Urged by him to many of the army, at St. Albans, Windsor, and White-hall, a little before the King was beheaded, and at several other places. Published for the good and information of parliament, army, and people.

Printed, January, 1653. Quarto, containing eight pages.

To the Reader.

Reader,

OF what opinion or judgment soever you are, let not your headiness, or prejudicate opinion, hinder you from considering what is here declared, the substance and truth whereof is well known to some, in city, army, and country, for thine and thy posterity's good, welfare, and preservation. But beg of God wisdom, and he will shew thee the mystery of iniquity, when it is going to be settled by a law, and will cost thee hot service, and sorrow of heart, to redeem thyself and country, and it may be, when thou wouldst redeem it, it will be too hard for thee.

The consideration of the obstruction that probably this true relation will meet with from all fawning courtiers and deceived Englishmen, had almost prevented its prosecution. But, remembering that nought but the awaking of my dear slumbering countrymen from that drowsy state, that, for some days, they have seemed to lie in, which, if persisted in, will give too great an opportunity to the common enemy to effect his will on us all; I was encouraged to proceed, trusting in the Lord, who has, and will deliver the innocent

from all the calumnious aspersions of court parasites. And, therefore, without any other apology, I shall proceed to the arguments themselves, which I shall deliver, if not in the absolute terms, yet in the genuine sense.

I.

IMPRIMIS, because it is possible, yea, and more than ordinarily probable, that a single person, in a short time, will work over his council to his own will, though illegal; either in conferring places of honour and profit on them and their friends, or else in terrifying them by threats.

2. Because that a single person, being raised to such a state, is subject to wax wanton and so forget; or, rather, neglect the commonalty, in providing for a few that will be at his beck, ready to fulfil his pleasure.

3. Because that, notwithstanding for a time he may carry matters fair, and do some good things, Jehu like, until he has gotten an interest in the affections of the people; but then, forgetting, or, rather, slighting what he formerly pretended to, instead of countenancing of justice, and endeavouring reformation, it is possible he may become a favourer of iniquity; nay, said he, a settler of a court, or nursery of whores, rogues, bawds, and such like persons, as was evidently seen in former days at White-hall.

4. Because, if he cannot accomplish his design on his council, but they discover his wickednesses and abominations, and oppose him, on the behalf of their country, he will be ready and apt secretly to confederate, and make leagues with other princes, and so let in a foreign enemy, rather than be kept within the bounds of law and justice, as we have seen in the (late) King, who has brought in Irish and Scots, and also sent letters patents, with letters of credence to three foreign princes, inviting them to come into England.

5. Because, if the chief governor, King, or single person, should become an ideot, then nought but a continual charge, upon the good people, could be expected, even robbing them of their substance, until they are made so poor, as not to be able to oppose an enemy; which, so soon as understood, will sufficiently encourage a foreign enemy, to make an invasion upon us.

6. Because the government, by one single person, is far more chargeable to the people, which, in the laying aside of, the people will soon become sensible by the lessening of their charge. For that revenue (which was to uphold one man, and spent in voluptuousness by him) being brought into the publick treasury, will help to defray much of the charge that otherwise must fall on the people. Nay, said he, who-soever shall go about to settle the government in one person, will make themselves so odious, that the people will be ready to knock them on the head; for, when once the family of the Stuarts is gone, if you establish one man in the government, in a little time he will become master of the nation's treasure, and, at his first coming to the place, will most

eagerly desire monies, to buy this bauble for one, and that toy for another; and, after a little while, when he hath tasted the sweetness and deliciousness thereof, will, to maintain the same, become a purchaser of lands with the people's monies, until they are become so poor, that they shall be necessitated to be his vassals, and, consequently, slaves for ever; for, as the first doth, so a second, and a third, will do after him, until the good people be utterly undone.

7. Because, the government being placed in one person, he will be subject to judge of himself as above law, and without the reach of any law; and, by violence, tyrannise over whom he pleases, commanding one man to prison, and monies from another, and, possibly, both money and liberty from a third, &c. the refusing of which arbitrary commands or actions will expose men to his mercy, which will be no less than cruelty.

8. Because that the abominations and wickedness of a court have been, and, is justly feared, will be so great, that both the person himself, and his council about him, will always, for to uphold his voluptuousness, be ready to erect new monopolies, granting patents to his lords, &c. to get money from the people, for to maintain their pomp and pride, and thereby keep the people in such servitude, that, in a little time, they will be out of a capacity to gain justice on any of the courtiers. And then the citizen must wait for his money, when his commodity is sold, and scarce dare ask, and not dare arrest a courtier for what he oweth, for fear of his master. And the countryman's hedges will be broken down, his corn trampled on, and spoiled, or eaten by the game, and, to complain of which, will be accounted a crime little less than treason.

These and such are the things you must expect, said he, if you set up one single person, and who would be so mad, God having so signally witnessed against the King and house of lords? The much blood that hath been shed, and the vast treasure expended, and the controversy decided on our parts, witnesseth aloud against it. Further, said he, I am confident, that, whoever they be, that shall go about to settle a court in this nation, God will destroy and bring to nought, and confusion will be to them and their posterity; and, said he, if ever I should go about any such thing, I desire God would never bless me, nor mine.

He farther declared, That God had borne witness against the parliament, for that they were intending to make peace with the late King, and to settle him; telling some members of the then parliament and army, when they spoke of settling the government in one single person, That God would destroy them; some for going about to settle iniquity by a law, and others for not protesting against them, and for not declaring their protest to the good people of England. And thus now, gentle reader, thou hast the substance of some of the reasons urged by the late lord protector against monarchy, though suddenly he leaped into the same himself. But now it may be said, these reasons are not sufficient to prove the same. Whether they are, or not, I shall not now dispute; but, that it may appear to be probable, I present these ensuing queries.

Upon the whole, I query, Whether any man upon rational grounds

can expect, that the present protector, or single person pretending to government, should be more honest, righteous, and just, than his deceased father was?

But more particularly upon the arguments.

1. I would query, first, Whether the late protector did not work over his council to some things illegal?

2. Whether Kings formerly, and the protector lately, did not wax wanton, and, providing for some few of their creatures, neglect the commonalty?

3. Whether our late experience of a single person cannot testify, that, though for a small time he seemed to favour honest men and things, yet, when he thought himself seated, whether, I say, he did not then slight both them and it, and become a favourer of the contrary? And whether our late court did not shew more growth and increase of rogues, bawds, and whores, than all the time of our government by a commonwealth?

4. Whether a confederacy has not been made abroad, with our secret enemies at home, that so a single person might the better suppress those that see the wickedness of his designs?

5. Whether the single person now pretending to government, though the son of a subtle man, be a wise man, fit to dispose of commonwealth treasure?

6. Whether the good people of this nation be not very sensible of the expensiveness extraordinary of a single person, more than of a commonwealth? And whether they do not find a want of that vast treasure expended upon baubles, toys, and trifling geugaws? Such as we of late have had too much cause to speak of. And whether the cause of the people's poverty has not been by means of purchasing lands to the family of the late protector, as well as High-Spaniola business?

7. Whether the late person set up did not judge himself above law? And whether he did not tyrannise over men's persons, restraining both them and their liberty? And whether the mercy he has pretended to, in the execution thereof, has not been very cruelty?

8. Whether the late single person, to uphold his and his courtiers voluptuousness, has not been ready to uphold what monopolies he found on foot, and likewise to devise new ways to the same purpose? And whether the citizen has not had experience of court-payment, and the countryman, though sad, of the spoiling of his fences, and destroying of his crop, by them that belong to the court? And that they please to call their *game*. And, if these be the beginnings, What will the end be? And therefore, for a closure, I must say, What shall we say, or do, more than the King Protector has said and done?

Now to conclude: I humbly present to consideration, Whether, upon a diligent, serious weighing of the present action, and past management of state-affairs, of some, being lawyers, &c. raised from a low estate to sit in council, and become great favourites at court, it may not be found, and clearly seen, that they have a design to bring in Charles Stuart? For, if first they bring in a single person, and grant that, the

next dispute will be, Whether the one family, or the other, has most right? And who has most interest, Charles, or Richard, I think, asketh no long time to answer. Farther, I would add, Whether it be not more likely to attain to the practice of that golden rule, 'Do as you would be done to,' under the government of a commonwealth, in which law-makers are liable to be judged by the law made, rather than under a monarchical government, where or in which one, if settled, is above law, and accountable to none? Who, though never so wicked and unjust, cannot be removed, but by an extraordinary providence, as was the case of the late King and protector.

Now, whereas it is endeavoured, by some court-parasites, to insinuate into the people, That that, which the commonwealth party aims at, is an involving of the nations in blood and confusion, I would meekly tender, Whether their deportment and behaviour, under the almost insupportable burden of the tyranny of late times, in which their rights and liberties have lain bleeding, hath given any just cause of such suspicion? Or rather, Whether their patience has not manifested, their hope hath been and still is in God, from whom, by the means of a lawful free parliament, they only expect deliverance? be not a vindication sufficient, not only from what is now suggested against them, but also from that old brand, that the late protector, in a letter to the late King, while at Hampton-court, gave them, viz. Levellers; and that their work be to kill the King, and levy all men's estates; by which means he effected his end, viz. an incensing of the people and the other part of the army against them. Which, when he had done, he easily carried on his wicked designs, which since have come to publick view; for a deliverance from which are the hearty prayers of all true Englishmen.

CROMWELL'S COMPLAINT OF INJUSTICE:

OR,

His Dispute with Pope Alexander the Sixth, for precedence in Hell.

Folio, containing two pages.

Oliver. **W**HAT pretence hast thou to take place of me? What vast gigantick crimes hast thou committed, that thou shouldst dare to think, thou deservest to be greater than I? Have not I transgressed all the laws of God and man? Did not I subvert a state? Change its religion and government, murder its prince, and set whole rivers of his

best subjects' blood a flowing? Did not I do all this, and hast thou the impudence to pretend to merit more, and have a greater share in the infernal empire, than I?

Pope. All this thou didst, I do confess it; but, if thou wouldst have but the patience to hear me, I do not question but to make appear, that I and my predecessors have done much more meritorious things, for our great lord and master the Devil, than ever thou didst, or couldst do.

Oliver. Hell and furies! What didst thou ever do more, than whore thy own daughter, and help thy son, Cæsar Borgia, to poison, and make away, all the opposers and obstacles to his greatness?

Pope. Well, that is something; it shewed how willing, and ready, I was to tread in the footsteps of my predecessors, and give a good example to all my flock; but be patient, and I will tell thee the right, I and my brother popes have to be viceroys here below. Thou, alas! valuest thyself, for having been the ruin of one prince and state: But, how many emperors have we forced to come, and lay their necks under our feet? How many Kings have we caused to be assassinated? How many princes to be murdered? How many kingdoms and states to be ruined by civil wars and dissensions? Have not we caused princes to rebel against, and murder the Kings their fathers? Subjects to depose their lawful sovereigns, and set up tyrants in their rooms? And, in fine, Did we not bring anarchy and confusion into all nations, when our interest required it, or when those at the helm did not regulate themselves as we would have had them? All this thou knowest, we did, and must confess it, there being millions of instruments here whom we employed to those ends, to confirm and testify it.

Oliver. I grant all you popes together have been fruitfully and bravely wicked: But hath any one of you, attempted, performed, and compleated, such great, noble, and numerous crimes as I have done? Did not I, and my companions, under the pretext of religion, subvert both it and the government, and crying out against the ill management of the state, the treachery, and want of conduct in ministers, and, by pretending to reform the helm, bring the nation into such a combustion, that we gained our point: which was, that we might have the liberty to act those wickednesses, that the others, who were there before us, were accused of, but which indeed never came into their thoughts, not having the sense or courage to perform, or, at least were restrained by their consciences; the liberty of which we cried out mightily for, because we knew ours would allow us all that we could desire.

Pope. All this I know, and how successful you were in it, but you were only the executioners of the Roman contrivances; we drew the model, and set you to work; your King's death, that you brag so much of, was first resolved on at Rome, before it came into your heads, and, so far, you were only the blind ministers of our resolutions.

Oliver. I am sure this is false; for none of us all, but aimed chiefly at him, though we seemed to look, and squinted another way. You might, perhaps, have the same design, but you ought not therefore to arrogate to yourself all the honour, seeing we thought on it, and designed it, as soon as there was any probability of doing it; and even performed it as soon as it lay in our power. Indeed we found it a diff-

cult task, and, without your help, perhaps, we should not have been able to have compassed it. We were forced to raise fears and jealousies of an arbitrary government; and in that, I must confess, we found your party extremely useful to us, and very skilful to infuse the poison into people's minds; and, by these means, we arrived at what we so much had railed against, and seemed to abhor; that is to say, an unlimited power. We trampled all laws down under our feet; and made such new ones, as were fit for our purpose and interests. The truth is, to bring this to pass, we made it cost the nations whole seas of blood. Trade was destroyed, maidens were ravished, mothers had their infants rip'd out of their wombs, the father stabbed his son, and the son his father; and nothing was more common, than to see brother drink his brother's blood to the health of our cause, when he called him an enemy, and traitor to his country.

Pope. I laugh at all these flourishes, they are but the common and usual effects of our conspiracies. Had but our late plot succeeded in England, you would have seen them bravely acted, and repeated even to a degree above admiration; they would have surpassed your envy, and even have caused, in you yourself, a dread and terror:

Oliver. But must you not confess, that your instruments were but pitiful, base creatures, and ashamed of their task, since they denied it at their executions? Whereas, you see, my brood in Scotland, not only begun bravely by their rebellion, and murdering the archbishop of Saint Andrews, but acknowledged the fact at their trials and deaths; and not only maintained the lawfulness of it, but also died martyrs for the doctrine of King-killing; whereas, your chicken-hearted heroes were both ashamed of what they would have done, and disowned what the brave doctors of your church have taught.

Pope. Come, do not reproach us, they had been fools if they had owned it; nay, and we had taken care to persuade them they should have been damned too; besides, people's opinion of an action is generally regulated by its success, which we being disappointed of, all our interests and reputation in the world would have been lost and ruined, had they not stiffly denied it. Therefore, I say, do not reproach us; for can you or your brood, as you call them, ever pretend to match our treacheries, treasons, plots, conspiracies, massacres, &c. Do you think you ever can?

Oliver. Perhaps we may; but, of that, I will tell you more hereafter.

A SEASONABLE SPEECH,

*Made by a worthy Member of Parliament in the House of Commons, concerning the other House, March 1659.**

Mr. Speaker,

THIS day's debate is but too clear a proof, that we Englishmen are right Islanders, variable and mutable like the air we live in. For (Sir) if that were not our temper, we should not be now disputing, whether, after all those hazards we have run, that blood we have spilt, that treasure we have exhausted, we should not now sit down, just where we did begin; and of our own accords, submit ourselves to that slavery, which we have not only ventured our estates and lives, but I wish I could not say, our souls and consciences, to throw off. What others, Sir, think of this levity, I cannot tell, I mean those that steer their consciences by occasions, and cannot lose the honour they never had. But truly, Sir, for my own part, I dare as little not declare it to be my opinion, as others more prudential dare avow it to be theirs; that we are this day making good all the reproaches of our enemies, owning of ourselves oppressors, murderers, regicides, subverters of that, which now we do not only acknowledge to have been a lawful government, but, by recalling it, confess it now to be the best. Which, Sir, if it be true, and that we now begin to see aright, I heartily wish, our eyes had been sooner open; and for three nations sake, that we had purchased our conviction at a cheaper rate. We might, Sir, in Forty-two, have been what we thus contend to be in Fifty-nine; and our consciences have had much less to answer for to God, and our reputations to the world.

But Mr. Speaker, I wish with all my soul, I did state our case to you amiss, and that it were the question only, whether we would voluntarily relapse into the disease we were formerly possessed with, and of our own accords take up our old yoke, that we, with wearing and custom, had made habitual and easy, and which, it may be, it was more our wantonness than our pressure, that made us throw it off. But this Sir, is not now the question; that which we deliberate, is not, whether we will say we do not care to be free, we like our old masters, and will now be content to have our ears bored at the door-posts of their house, and so serve them for ever. But, Sir, as if we were contending for shame, as well as servitude, we are carrying our ears to be bored at the doors of another house. A house, Sir, without name, and therefore, it is but congruous it should consist of members without a family: A house that inverts the order of slavery, and subjects it to our servants;

* Containing eight pages, quarto, without date, or printer's name.

and yet, in contradiction to Scripture, we do not only not think that subjection intolerable, but are now pleading for it. In a word, Sir, it is a house of so incongruous and odious a composition and mixture, that certainly the grand architect would never have so framed it, had it not been his design as well to shew to the world the contempt he had of us, as to demonstrate the power he had over us.

Sir, that it may appear, that I intend, to be so prudent, as far as my part is concerned, as to make a voluntary resignation of my liberty and honour to this excellent part of his late highness's last will and testament, I shall crave, Sir, the leave to declare, in a few particulars, my opinion of this other house; wherein I cannot but promise myself to be favourably heard by some, but patiently heard by all. For these Englishmen, that are against this house, will certainly with content hear the reasons why others are so too; these courtiers, that are for it, give me evidence enough to think that, in nature, there is nothing which they cannot willingly endure.

First, Sir, as to the author and framer of this house of peers. Let me put you in mind, it was he, that with reiterated oaths, had often sworn, to be true and faithful to the government without it; and not only sworn so himself, but had been the chief instrument, both to draw, and counsel others, to swear so too. So, Sir, that the foundation of this noble fabrick was laid in perjury, and was begun with the violation and contempt, as well of the laws of God, as of the nation. He, Sir, that called monarchy anti-christian in another, and indeed made it so in himself. He that voted a house of lords dangerous and unnecessary, and too truly made it so in his partisans. He that with fraud and force, deprived you of your liberty, when he was living, and entailed slavery upon you, at his death; it is he, Sir, that hath left you these worthy overseers of that his last will and testament; who, however they have behaved themselves in other trusts, we may be confident they will endeavour faithfully to discharge themselves in this: In a word, Sir, had this other house no other fault but its institution and author, I should think that original sin enough for its condemnation. For I am of their opinion that think, that for the good of example, all acts and monuments of tyrants are to be expunged, and erased, that, if possible, their memory might be no longer-lived than their carcasses. And the truth is, their good laws are of the number of their snares, and but base brokage for our liberty.

But, Sir, to impute to this other house no other faults, but its own, you may please in the first place to consider of the power, which his highness hath left it, according to that humble petition and advice, which he was pleased to give order to the parliament to present unto him. For, Sir, as the Romans had Kings, so had his highness parliaments, amongst his instruments of slavery; and I hope, Sir, it will be no offence for me to pray, that his son may not have them so too. But, Sir, they have a negative voice, and all other circumstances of that arbitrary power, which made the former house intolerable; only the dignity, and quality, of the persons themselves, is wanting, that our slavery may be accompanied with ignominy and affront. And now,

Mr. Speaker, have we not gloriously vindicated the nation's liberty?

have we not worthily employed our blood and treasure to abolish that power that was set over us by the law, to have the same imposed upon us without a law? And after all that sound and noise we have made in the world, of the people's legislative power, and of the supremacy and omnipotency of their representatives; we now see there is no more power left them, but what is put in the balance, and equalled by the power of a few retainers of tyranny, who are so far from being of the people's choice, that the most part of them are only known to the nation by the villainies and mischiefs they have committed in it.

In the next place, Sir, you may please to consider, that the persons, invested with this power, are all of them nominated and designed by the lord protector, for to say, 'by him, and his council,' hath in effect no more distinction, than if one should say, 'by Oliver, and Cromwell.' By this means the protector himself, by his own, and his peers negative, becomes in effect two of the three estates; and by consequence, is possessed of two parts of the legislative power. I think this can be a doubt to no man, that will but take the pains to read over that fair catalogue of those noble lords; for certainly no man, that reads their names, can possibly fancy, for what other virtues or good qualities, such a composition should be made choice of, but only the certainty of their compliance, with whatsoever should be enjoined them by their creator. (Pardon Sir, that name, for it is properly applicable, where things are made of nothing.) Now, Sir, if in the former government, increase of nobility was a grievance, because the new nobility, having fresh obligation to the crown, were the easilier led to compliance with it: And, if one of the main reasons, for exclusion of the bishops out of the lords, was because that they, being of the King's making, were in effect so many certain votes, for whatever the King had a mind to carry in that house; how much more assured will that inconvenience now be, when the protector, that wants nothing of the King, but, in every sense, the title, shall not only make and nominate a part, but of himself, constitute the whole house? In a word, Sir, if our liberty was endangered by the former house, we may give it for lost in the other house; and it is in all respects as advantageous and secure for the liberty of the nation, which we come hither to redeem, to allow this power and notion to his highness's officers, or council, nay his very chaplains, as to his other creatures and partisans, in his other house.

Now having considered, Sir, their author, power, and constitution, give me leave to make some few observations, though, but in general, of the persons themselves that are designed to be our lords and masters, and let us see what either the extraordinary quality or qualifications are of these egregious legislators, which may justify their choice, and prevail with the people to admit them, at least, into equal authority, with the whole representative body of themselves. But what I shall speak, Sir, of their quality, or any thing else concerning them, I would be thought to speak with distinction, and to intend only of the major part. For I acknowledge, Mr. Speaker, the mixture of this other house to be like the compositions of apothecaries, who are used to mix something of relish, something grateful to the taste, to qualify their bitter drugs, which else, perchance, would be immediately spit out, and never swallow'd.

lowed. So, sir, his highness, of deplorable memory to this nation, to countenance as well the want of quality, as honesty, in the rest, hath nominated some, against whom there lies no other reproach, but only that nomination; but not, Sir, out of any respect to their qualities, or regard to their virtues, but with regard to the no quality, to the no virtues of the rest; which truly, Mr. Speaker, if he had not done, we could easily have given a more express name, to his other house, than he hath been pleased to do. For we know a house, designed only for beggars and malefactors, is a House of Correction, and termed so by your law. But, Mr. Speaker, setting those few persons aside, who, I hope, think the nomination a disgrace, and the ever coming to sit there much a greater: Can we, without indignation, think on the rest? He, that is first in their roll, a condemned coward, one that, out of fear and baseness, did once what he could to betray your liberties, and does now the same for gain. The second, a person of as little sense as honesty, preferred for no other reason, but his no worth, his no conscience; except that his cheating his father of all he had was thought a virtue, by him, who, by sad experience, we find hath done as much for his mother, his country. The third, a Cavalier, a Presbyterian, an Independent; for a republick, for a protector, for every thing, for nothing, but only that one thing, money. It were endless to run through them all, to tell you, Sir, of their lordships of seventeen pounds land a year, of inheritance; of their former lordships, dray-men lordships, cobler lordships, without one foot of land, but what the blood of Englishmen hath been the price of; these Sir, are to be our rulers, these the judges of our lives and fortunes; to these we are to stand bare, whilst their pageant stage lordships daign to give us a conference upon their breeches. Mr. Speaker, we have already had too much experience, how unsupportable servants are, when they become our masters. All kind of slavery is miserable in the account of all generous minds; but that which comes accompanied with scorn and contempt, stirs up every man's indignation, and is endured by none, whom nature does not intend for slaves, as well as fortune.

I say not this, Mr. Speaker, to revile any man with his meanness; for I never thought either the malignity or indulgence of fortune to be, with wise or just men, the grounds either of their ill, or their good opinion. Mr. Speaker, I blame not in these men the faults of their fortune, any otherwise, but as they make them their own. I object to you their poverty, because it is accompanied with ambition. I mind you of their quality, because they themselves forget it. So that it is not the men I am angry with, but with their lordships; not with Mr. Barkstead, or Mr. Jailer, titles I could well allow him, but with the right honourable, our singular good lord and Jailer; It is this incongruity, Mr. Speaker, I am displeased with.

So, Sir, though we easily grant poverty and necessity to be no faults, yet we must allow them to be great impediments in the way of honour, and such as nothing but extraordinary virtue and merit can well remove. The Scripture reckons it amongst Jeroboam's great faults, that 'he made priests of the meanest of the people'; and sure it was none of the virtues of our Jeroboam (who hath set up his calves too, and would

have our tribes come up and worship them) that he observed the same method, in making of lords.

One of the few requests the Portuguese made to Philip the Second, of Spain, when he got that kingdom (as his late highness did this) by an army, was, 'That he would not make nobility contemptible, by advancing such to that degree, whose equality or virtue could be no way thought to deserve it.' Nor have we formerly been less apprehensive of such inconveniences ourselves. It was in Richard the First's time, one of the Bishop of Ely's accusations, that castles and forts of trust he did *obscuris et ignotis hominibus tradere*, put in the hands of obscure and unknown men. But we, (Mr. Speaker) to such a kind of men are delivering up the power of our laws, and in that the power of all.

In 17 Edw. IV. there passed an act of parliament for the degrading of John Nevil, Marquis Mountague and Duke of Bedford; the reason is expressed in the act, 'Because he had not a revenue sufficient for the maintaining of that dignity;' to which was added, 'That, when men of mean birth are called to high estate, and have no livelihood to support it, it induceth briberies, extortions, and all kinds of injustices that are followed by gain.' And in the parliament of 2 *Carol.* the peers, in a petition against Scottish and Irish titles, told the King, 'That it is a novelty without precedent, that men should possess honours, where they possess nothing else; and that they should have a vote in parliament, where they have not a foot of land.' But, if it had been added, Sir, 'or have no land but what is the purchase of their villainies,' against how many of our new peers had this been an important objection? To conclude, Sir, it hath been a very just and reasonable care amongst all nations, not to render that despised and contemptible to the people, which is designed for their reverence, and their awe. Which, Sir, bare and empty title, without quality or virtue, never procured any man any more than the image in the fable made the ass adored, that carried it.

After their quality, give me leave, Sir, to speak a word or two of their qualifications, which certainly ought, in reason, to carry some proportion with the employment they design themselves. The house of lords, Sir, are our King's hereditary great councils; they are the highest court of judicature; they have their part in judging and determining of the reasons of making new laws, and of abrogating old. From amongst them we take our great officers of state; they are commonly our generals at land, and our admirals at sea. In conclusion, Sir, they are both of the essence and constitution of our old government; and have, besides, the greatest and noblest share in the administration. Now, certainly, Sir, to judge according to the dictates of reason, one would imagine some small faculties and endowments to be necessary for the discharging of such a calling; and those such as are not usually acquired in shops and warehouses, nor found by following the plough. Now what other other academies have most of their lordships been bred in, but their shops? What other arts they have been versed in, but those which more require good arms and good shoulders, than good heads, I think, Mr. Speaker, we are yet to be informed. Sir, we commit not the education of our children to ignorant and illiterate men.

ters: nay, we trust not our very horses to unskilful grooms. I beseech you, Sir, let us think it belongs to us to have some care into whose hands we commit the management of the commonwealth. And, if we cannot have persons of birth and fortune to be our rulers, to whose quality we would willingly submit; I beseech you, Sir, for our credits and safeties, let us seek men, at least, of parts and education, to whose abilities we may have some reason to give way. If, Sir, a patient dies under a physician's hand, the law esteems that not a felony, but a misfortune in the physician; but, if one that is no physician, undertakes the management of a cure, and the party miscarries, the law makes the empirick a felon, and sure, in all men's opinion, the patient a fool. To conclude, Sir, for great men to govern, it is ordinary; for able men, it is natural: knaves many times come to it by force and necessity, and fools sometimes by chance. But universal choice, in any election of fools and knaves for government, was never yet made by any who were not themselves like those they chose.

But methinks, Mr. Speaker, I see, ready to rise after me, some gentlemen, that shall tell you the great services that their new Lordships have done the commonwealth; that shall extol their valour, their godliness, their fidelity to the cause; the scripture too, no doubt, as it is to all purposes, shall be brought in to argue for them; and we shall hear of the 'wisdom of the poor man that saved the city, of the not many wise, not many mighty'; attributes I can no way deny to be due to their Lordships. Mr. Speaker, I shall be as forward as any man to declare their services, and acknowledge them; though I might tell you, that the same honour is not purchased by the blood of an enemy, and of a citizen; that, for victories in civil wars, till our army's march through the city, I have not read that the conquerors have been so void of shame as to triumph. Cæsar, not much more indulgent to his country, than our late protector, did not so much as write publick letters of his victory at Pharsalia, much less had days of thanksgiving to his Gods, and anniversary feasts, for having been a prosperous rebel, and given justice and his country the worst.

But, Sir, I leave this argument, and, to be as good as my word, come to put you in mind of some of their services, and the obligation you owe them for the same. To speak nothing, Sir, of one of my Lords commissioner's valour at Bristol, nor of another noble Lord's brave adventure at the Bear-garden*; I must tell you, that most of them have had the courage to do things, which, I may boldly say, few other Christians durst have so adventured their souls to have attempted. They have not only subdued their enemies, but their masters, that raised and maintained them. They have not only conquered Scotland and Ireland, but rebellious England too; and there suppressed a malignant party of magistrates and laws. And, that nothing should be wanting to make them indeed compleat conquerors (without the help of philosophy) they have even conquered themselves. All shame they have subdued, as perfectly as all justice; the oaths they have taken, they have as easily digested, as their old general could himself; publick covenants and engagements they have trampled under foot. In conclusion, so intire a victory they have over themselves, that their consciences are as much their servants as (Mr. Speaker) we are. But,

Sir, give me leave to conclude with that which is more admirable than all this, and shews the confidence they have of themselves and us. After having many times trampled on the authority of the House of Commons, and no less than five times dissolved them, they hope, for those good services to the House of Commons, by the House of Commons to be made a House of Lords.

I have been over long, Sir, for which I crave your pardon; therefore in a word I conclude. I beseech you let us think it our duty to have a care of two things. First, That villainies be not encouraged with the rewards of virtue. Secondly, That the authority and majesty of the government of this nation be not defiled, by committing so considerable a part of it to persons of as mean quality as parts.

Thebans did not admit merchants into government, till they had left their traffick ten years. Sure it would have been long before coblers and dray-men would have been allowed. If, Sir, the wisdom of this house shall find it necessary to begin where we left, and shall think we have been hitherto like the prodigal, and, that now, when our necessities persuade us, *i. e.* that we are almost brought to herd it with swine, now it is high time to think of a return. Let us, without more ado, without this motly mixture, even take our rulers as at the first, so that we can be but reasonably secured, to avoid our counsellors as at the beginning.

Give me leave, Sir, to release your patience with a short story. Livy tells us, there was a state in Italy, an aristocracy, where the nobility stretched their prerogative too high, and presumed a little too much upon the people's liberty and patience; whereupon the discontents were so general and so great, that they apparently tended to a dissolution of government, and the turning of all things into anarchy and confusion. At the same time, besides these distempers at home, there was a potent enemy ready to fall upon them from abroad, that had been an over-match for them, at their best union; but now, in these disorders, was like to find them a very ready and very easy prey. A wise man, Sir, in the city, that did not all approve of the insolency of the nobility, and as little liked popular tumults, bethought himself of this stratagem, to cozen his country into safety. Upon a pretence of counsel, he procured the nobility to meet all together; which when they had done, he found a way to lock all the doors upon them; goes away himself, and takes the keys with him. Then immediately he summons the people; tells them, that, by a contrivance of his he had taken all the nobility in a trap; that now was the time for them to be revenged upon them for all their insolencies; that therefore they should immediately go along with him, and dispatch them. Sir, the officers of our army, after a fast, could not be more ready for the villainy, than this people: and, accordingly, they made as much haste to the slaughter, as their Lord Protector could desire them. But, Sir, this wise man I told you of, was their Lord Protector indeed. As soon as he had brought the people where the parliament was sitting, and, when they but expected the word, to fall to the butchery, and take their heads: 'Gentlemen,' says he, 'though I would not care how soon this work of reformation were over; yet, in this ship of the commonwealth, we must not throw the steersmen over

board, till we have provided others for the helm; let us consider, before we take these men away, in what other hands we may more securely trust our liberty, and the management of the commonwealth.' And so he advised them, before the putting down of the former, to bethink themselves of constituting another house. He begins and nominates one, a man highly cried up in the popular faction, a confiding man, one of much zeal, little sense, and no quality; you may suppose him, Sir, a zealous cobbler. The people, in conclusion, murmured at this, and were loth their fellow mutineer, for no other virtue but mutinying, should come to be advanced to be their master, and, by their looks and murmur, sufficiently expressed the distaste they took at such a motion. Then he nominates another, as mean a mechanick as the former; you may imagine him, Sir, a bustling drayman, or the like. He was no sooner named, but some burst out a laughing, others grew angry, and railed at him, and all detested and scorned him. Upon this a third was named for a Lordship, one of the same batch, and every way fit to sit with the other two. The people then fell into a confused laugh and noise, and enquired if such were Lords, who, by all the Gods, would be content to be the Commons?

Sir, let me behold, by the good leave of the other house and yours, to ask the same question. But, Sir, to conclude this story, and, with it, I hope, the other house: When this wise man, I told you of, perceived they were now sensible of the inconvenience and mischief they were running into, and saw that the pulling down their rulers would prove, in the end, but the setting up of their servants; he thought them then prepared to hear reason, and told them, 'You see,' said he, 'that, as bad as this government is, we cannot, for any thing I see, agree upon a better; what then, if, after this fright we have put our nobility in, and the demonstration we have given them of our powers, we try them once more, whether they will mend, and, for the future, behave themselves with more moderation?' That people, Mr. Speaker, were so wise as to comply with that wise proposition, and to think it easier to mend their old rulers, than to make new. And, I wish, Mr. Speaker, we may be so wise as to think so too.

CORNU COPIA:

A *Miscellaneum* of lucriferos and most fructiferous Experiments, Observations, and Discoveries, immethodically distributed; to be really demonstrated and communicated in all sincerity.

Quarto, containing sixteen pages.

To the Generous Reader.

SIR,

If any thing in my discoveries, &c. happen to be destructive to your credency, I crave the candour of your mild and gentle censure, and so much favour, that I may by your fair leave illustrate all dubiums; the clouds of which obstruction I shall, by your admission, most apparently dispel, both by rational confirmations, and experimental attestations. *Et quod tibi non vis fieri, alteri ne facias.*

Imprimis.

TO discover a certainty to raise two thousand pounds *per annum de claro*, with less than two-hundred pounds stock, unhazarded, and beyond contradiction, without the least aspersion of usury, extortion, oppression, engrossing, or any monopolising, unconscionable, or dishonourable way whatsoever. This design may be advanced to a far greater proportion, add exceedingly to the good of the publick, and may be fortified with firm and convincing reasons, to any that shall waver in their belief.

Item, A certainty another way, with five-hundred pounds stock unhazarded, to raise, *de claro*, two-thousand pounds *per annum* and upwards, without aspersion, as above, and without the least imaginary inconvenience or prejudice whatsoever, but to the general good, especially to the poor, with the free allowance of all the country; which hath been found true by the unquestionable testimony of experience, and will sound consonant to reason, and be undeniably satisfactory as the other.

Item, A certainty, with less than five-hundred pounds stock, unhazarded, to raise, *de claro*, one-thousand pounds *per annum*, and upwards, and so with less or greater sums proportionably, by even, honest, and generous courses as above. Which may be made conspicuous, valid, and most compleat.

Item, To discover a credible way without charge, more than ordinary expences, whereby an industrious man, but of a reasonable capacity and fortune, may contrive to himself five-hundred pounds *per annum*,

and upwards, without prejudice to any, or dishonour in the least kind unto himself. Which may be made easy and familiar to our reason, by evidence strong enough to silence doubt, and procure credency.

The like, but with small charge more than conveniency of livelihood, whereby a man, of an ingenuous and generous condition, may, by compendious, facile, and conscionable ways, gain a thousand pounds *per annum* and upwards, with as much freedom, sincerity, and regularity, as with the particulars above-written, being a meridian truth, too clear to be eclipsed by contradiction.

Item, With less than fifty-pounds stock constantly visible, and no way endangered, to advance *de claro* one-thousand pounds *per annum*, with all claritude and uprightness. This may be confirmed to the observation of any, whose curiosity shall incline him to the easy trouble of experience.

Item, To make in all probability with two-hundred pounds stock in three years, four-hundred pounds, and in three years more to make the four-hundred pounds eight-hundred pounds, and in three years more to make the eight-hundred pounds sixteen-hundred pounds, without adventure by sea; and so with less or greater sums proportionably, by even, honest, and charitable ways. This will result a serene and an unrefutable truth to the nicest observation, and may be made indubitable by arguments of reason and experience.

Item, Divers other feasible and confirmable transparencies and expedients, of very great consequence and transcendency, to be performed by active and publick spirits, without any stock adventured, but secured as before, and to be enjoyed by those that will use the means.

The following relate to the exceeding great advantage of husbandry.

Imprimis, A seed to be sown without manuring, in the coarsest, barren, sandy, and heathy grounds, which will be very much improved thereby, that will afford three crops a year, and will cause kine to give milk three times a day constantly, with full vessels, and to become fat withal, and to feed all other cattle fat suddenly, together with calves, lambs, and swine, without either hay, grass, or corn, or any thing in relation to corn; and likewise to preserve and feed all sorts of poultry and fowl fat in a very short time, as geese, turkies, pheasants, &c. and to make them lay and breed extraordinarily, and to continue all sorts of cattle and fowl exceedingly healthful, and all without any considerable charge, one acre of wheat being most commonly worth but five or six pounds with the charge, and an acre of this but one crop in three worth twelve pounds and upwards, and in a manner without any charge. This (besides what is specified before) may be so disposed of, that it might advantage every housekeeper throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland, eight-pence per week constantly; and the better sort, a double; treble, and a quadruple proportion, and upwards.

Item, Another kind of seed to be had, which will likewise afford three crops a year, and two loads and a half in one acre (one load thereof being worth two loads of ordinary hay) besides an excellent winter-pasture till March; it will cause kine to give milk as before, and

will feed and preserve all sorts of four-footed beasts, and cause them to become fat in a very short time, without any other grass or pasture; and the seeds thereof will feed all sorts of poultry fat, and make them lay as before; and this may be performed in barren, sandy, and heathy grounds, and must be sown but once, and will continue so four or five years; and then this grass will so improve the ground for four or five years more, without manuring, that it will afford excellent crops of wheat and barley: and afterwards you may sow the ground with the same seed again, which will hold on that course both for grass and corn constantly; and an acre of this grass will keep three cows winter and summer in the highest condition; and the seed of one acre may be justifiably worth about seventy pounds, besides the winter-pasture, and about seven loads and a half of hay, which no man will part with under five pounds the load, that rightly understands the benefit thereof. You may keep your swine constantly in a yard, or in an orchard, which will mightily advantage the fruit-trees; and, by giving them only a liquor to drink, made of what is before specified, with a little of this hay, they will become fat in a very short time, and with this liquor only you may keep as many swine as you please. And, as for your kine, you need not turn them into any grass at all, but keep them in a yard, or some little parcel of ground. So you may save all your muck, and they will thrive the better, being kept from the flies, which cause them to waste themselves and their milk, and, in some grounds, to spoil as much grass as they eat, by running about. I know a gentleman, that keeps them tied up all the summer, as they do in winter, and finds greater benefit thereby; and in that manner likewise he keeps his feeding cattle all the summer, and feeds them off presently, without any considerable trouble, and with very little charge.

Item, A most excellent discovery, with one slight plowing and harrowing, or but raising the ground in the least kind, to enjoy six crops in one year, proportionable to the fruitfulness of grass, and so constantly every year, without any further trouble or charge at all; which is so wonderfully fruitful for milch-kine, that, besides the double increase of milk, and better by far than any other milk, it will afford two skimmings of excellent cream, such and so good, that the like was never heard of; this exceeds all other food for cheese; and, when all the cream is taken off, the milk will be as good again as any other in that kind. This seed will cost nothing, and will sow itself after the first year, and will afford, in seed, above a thousand for one.

Item, Another seed, that, when grounds are laid down, and quite out of heart, the grass thereon will maintain the greatest sheep very lusty and fit for slaughter, and yet there hardly appears any thing they can eat. This seed, being provided and sown upon meadows and pasture, would mightily advantage the grass to very great perfection, with the application of the way for growthsomeness but newly devised.

Item, Another seed to be had, the grass whereof causeth cattle to give milk in abundance; you may sow your dry, heathy, and barren grounds therewith; and such land as you intend to let lie, being out of heart, and not in a place convenient for muck, and, sowing but once with this seed, it will last good seven years, without any further trou-

ble. The ordinary burden is a load and a half per acre; and after seven years you may break it up, and sow it with corn, without manuring, till it be out of heart, and then sow it with the same seed as formerly; for it doth very much fatten the ground, and enrich it, and will thrive extraordinary well upon dry land, where nothing else will grow; and, when the grass and plants are destroyed with the parching heat of the sun, this flourisheth very much; and after seven years, if not with corn, you may sow the land again with the same seed, and all with little charge. The truth is, it will last ten or fifteen years. Sir Richard Weston saith, it will be cut seven or eight times in a summer; but then the rich and fat grounds are best, and those that are high and dry.

Another seed to be sown, without manuring, upon good land, but somewhat loose and light, not very dry, nor over moist, one bushel to six corn will serve; it is to be cut twice a year, and affords excellent winter-pasture till March; and it is exceeding good for all kinds of cattle, as well young as old, and exceedingly fatteneth all sorts of cattle, and lean beasts especially; and horses will grow fat therewith in eight or ten days, and to milch kine it procureth exceeding great store of milk; after once sowing it will last near fifteen years, and the hay will continue good three years.

To discover a grass growing here in England in its natural soil, that, being orderly husbanded, will transcend clover-grass, St. Foyné, Lucerne, or any other outlandish grasses whatsoever.

Item, A root ordinarily to be had, which will increase wonderfully with little charge or trouble; it will feed all kinds of cattle, horses and swine especially, very fat, as those formerly, without either grass or corn; and will feed poultry likewise, as before; it will make very good bread, cakes, paste, pyes, and both crust without, and food within; and will hardly be destroyed, once planted, but will constantly increase of themselves; they will likewise grow, being cut in slices and so put into the earth.

Item, A seed, which may likewise be disposed of, without plowing, upon very poor ground, deemed incapable of any fertility at all; which will advantage the ground very much, and afford at least thirty pounds an acre *per annum*, or perform what was professed before for all sorts of cattle, poultry, &c.

Item, Another seed, the fruit whereof, upon the same sort of ground, though very mean, will feed all kinds of cattle, especially milch-kine, increasing their milk exceedingly, as before, and will afford two crops a year.

Item, Another seed, that, being tilled but once, will last, without any further labour, trouble, or charge, four years; and will mightily enrich, improve, and fatten the ground for goodly corn four years after, without manuring; and is excellent for horses, hunting-dogs, poultry, and swine: and may be very well rated at an hundred pounds *per annum*, and upwards, the benefit and great increase thereof truly considered.

Item, Another great experiment in ordinary grounds without muck; which by a new invention, five acres thereof have this last year afforded

above two-hundred pounds benefit in one acre, rent and all charges defrayed; and, being still ordered according to directions, will continue no less advantageous, and enrich the ground very much.

Item, Trees to be had here in England but in one place, which being rightly planted, though in ordinary grounds, one tree will in a short time afford out of the root thirty plants, and every one of those thirty will in a short time afford thirty more; and these trees are at their full growth in twenty years; and after seven years every tree improveth yearly worth one shilling a tree, until its time be up. For pleasantness and use, this tree hardly hath its parallel; they need be planted but ten feet distant, and they much advantage the grass. Besides, there is another seed to be sown amongst them, that will, in some places, far exceed the benefit of the grass, the trees being very tall and strait, useful for timber, carts, trays, bowls, &c. being very white and tough. By thirty pounds, deposited in a way concerning these trees, may be returned, at twenty years end, ten-thousand pounds benefit.

Item, To raise wood more in twenty years, by new ways lately discovered, than in forty years naturally.

Item, Experienced ways lately in practice by divers gentlemen, and a long time continued by some of them, to preserve and feed horses, for labour and travel, in the best condition, without hay or corn, several ways, and neither of them instanced before.

There is a knight in the country that hath advanced his estate above a thousand pounds *per annum*, by planting of one ordinary commodity in the country, on the coarsest sort of ground, which may be performed in some places by others.

A gentleman, by planting an acre and half of ground, received lately near two-hundred pounds profit in one year, without tillage. These two not hinted before, and to be practised by others, and the last with an additional benefit.

Item, By two sorts of creatures ordinarily to be had, may be gained, *de ciuro*, above five-hundred pounds *per annum*; and by another there hath been, and may be got, above five-hundred pounds *per annum*; and either of them with very little trouble, and the charges of all three not considerable, and all to be acted within doors.

A gentleman in Norfolk made lately ten-thousand pounds of a piece of ground, not forty yards square, and yet neither mineral nor metal; and as beneficial places may be discovered elsewhere in England.

To advance ground from five shillings an acre to fifty pounds an acre *per annum*, by ways apparently maintainable, and not by tillage.

Item, After seven years to make twenty pounds an acre *per annum* constantly, without tillage, as the other, with very little charge, and with the ordinary sort of ground not limited before.

Item, A ground in Kent, of thirty acres, did lately produce, in one year, a thousand pounds benefit, without tillage.

To make grapes grow upon oaks, more plentifully, as pleasantly, and as full of juice as any other grapes whatsoever.

Item, To make grapes ripe as soon as cherries.

Item, Perfect directions for a vineyard, there having been many

planted here in England, till most abusively put down, for the benefit of custom; the increase of a vineyard being by computation four tons per acre, an old vine lately in Kent producing near a hogshead of pure wine.

Item, There is a root ordinarily to be had, that will grow as plentifully as carrots, that hath been formerly sold for one shilling the pound, and will now sell for at least seven-pence the pound, not instanced before, being a staple commodity.

Item, Seven several sorts of seeds, that will yield either of them constantly above twenty pounds an acre, *per annum*, not hinted before.

Item, Another seed that will afford twenty pounds, and upwards, an acre, *per annum*, nothing thereunto belonging being edible, or applicable for health.

Item, Fifty pounds an acre offered this year, in Gloucestershire, and so for many acres, these nine being neither of the five sorts following, viz. oade, osiers, rape seed, fennel seed, or saffron.

Divers excellent and new discovered experiments, to avoid the smut-tiness of corn, and mildews.

Out of land worn out of heart, and naturally poor, to have a crop of oats, and a full crop of excellent fruitful hay after it, the same year, and to advantage the ground for crops of grass afterwards exceedingly.

Item, To enrich meadows in a very high nature without muck, or any course of watering, and to make them yield five times more grass than formerly.

Item, To make rushy ground to bear very good grass, and to destroy rushes, fearn, &c.

Item, Another way to make an acre of meadow, every year, as good as two acres, only by casting a seed amongst it, which may be ordinarily provided for other meadows.

Item, A seed that affordeth, being sown in Yorkshire, out of two pecks and a half, as much as was sold for near forty pounds, which may be performed elsewhere.

Item, By laying out five shillings per acre, to reap it in the pounds.

Item, When lands are tilled till they will bear no corn, and mowed till they yield no grass, to restore them both to good heart and strength, and to far greater fruitfulness than ever they yielded before, without laying so much as a load of muck thereon, or without any considerable charge or trouble. And, by a way likewise newly experimented, to make a barren field quite out of heart, or, being the last year of a lease, to yield an extraordinary good crop of corn, without muck, and with no charge, and but little trouble.

Item, A late experiment, no way repugnant to the dictates of common reason, to cause lands, by God's permission, they being capable of improvement, to return twenty, haply one-hundred for one, either in wheat or barley; and to make it most apparent by luculent demonstrations, that there hath, and may be made a greater return by far of either.

Item, After a man hath tilled and sowed a parcel of ground, at the full height and charge, according to his uttermost skill and experience

in husbandry, to undertake to dispose of the one half part of the same parcel, so that, with the blessing of God, it may happily quadruple the benefit of the other part; and to make the same advantage of any other field of corn, and much more, if I may have the total disposal thereof.

Item, Directions concerning the great variety of compost for the several conditions and capacities of grounds, with divers new discoveries relating thereunto. The true understanding and practice thereof will, under God, enrich any industrious man whatsoever.

Item, A clear demonstration (by ways consonant to reason, and not formerly known or thought on, to make exceeding rich muck in abundance, a thousand loads and upwards, if you please, for all sorts of grounds, according to the capacities they lie under, several ways, with little charge; wherewith any man may be sufficiently furnished, and so good, that the world cannot afford better, without the use of sheep.

Item, A very late, but a most certain and infallible experiment, to be confirmed by principles of sound reason, visible to any dubious and unbelieving mind whatsoever, to draw forth the earth to her uttermost fruitfulness, and to moisten, fatten, and fertilise sandy, dry, and hilly grounds, and to water them sufficiently in times of drought, and to make them capable of vast advantages both for grass and corn, and to continue them in the highest condition, without carrying a load of muck therunto; which way may be enjoyed in a plentiful manner, the charge not considerable. This will likewise produce much fertility to all manner of quicksets, all sorts of plants, all kinds of trees, and to gardens likewise, being seasonably applied; which may be made out clear, easy, and no ways obstructive to ordinary apprehensions. And these two last may be performed accordingly throughout England.

Item, To make the tenth part of seed-corn to serve with far greater advantage than with the usual proportion.

Item, A late rare invention, to make five loads of dung more effectual than twenty loads of the usual compost, and one acre of ground generally to extend as far, and to be as beneficial for corn as three acres, and to last so constantly.

Item, Whereas there hath been a very great destruction of beans and pease these late years, by worms and other creeping things, men being ignorant of any remedy therefor, to discover a rational and an experimented easy way, generally to destroy them, both in corn-fields, gardens, and at the roots of trees, and very much to advantage and fertilise the grounds and trees thereby.

To make grounds free from rotting of cattle, and to prescribe remedies to cure the rot, if not too far gone, and to prevent the same.

Item, An excellent experiment to make trees bear much and exceeding good fruit.

That I know where there is now to be had five-hundred acres of ground intire, at eight shillings the acre, within fifteen miles of London, whereby there may be justifiably raised eight-thousand pounds *per annum*, and so proportionably with less parcels, which may be performed in other places accordingly.

Item, To make cattle, swine, and poultry fat with water only, mingled with earth.

Item, Several excellent experiments to help maturation.

Item, A sort of ducks now to be had, that will lay two eggs a day constantly.

Item, A sort of rabbits to be now had (not mingled, which have been in request formerly) but such as their skins are, now are worth two shillings and three shillings the skin, which begin nearly to come in estimation equal to beaver. And another breed thereof, that are as big again as the ordinary rabbits.

Item, Directions how a cart may be made to draw with one horse as much as five horses. This King James beheld with his full approbation, and for the putting the same in practice throughout England, I had a patent from him in my disposal.

To make clay burn like other fire, and to be equally useful upon all occasions.

Item, A way to convey water under the ground up a steep hill to the uppermost part of a very high house, and to be useful at all times, in all offices about the house, and near the house, &c.

Item, To empty and cleanse rivers and moats of all mud, without going into the water, use of boats, diverting the stream, or letting out the water by ditches, sluices, &c. and with great facility and little charge.

Item, To make perfect iron with sea-coal, or pit-coal, and to charcoal pit-coal to dry malt, and for divers other necessary conveniencies, to make charcoal last long.

Item, To keep cabbage, artichokes, and all sorts of roots in the house all the winter.

Item, Most certain directions to discover salt springs, with the degrees of the brine, and how to order the liquor, and to divide it from the fresh springs according to experience.

An approved way to make old cattle fat in a very short time, and to make their flesh eat as tender as the youngest.

Item, To make heifers larger, fairer, and more proportionable than their ordinary breed.

Item, To make starch without the use and abuse of corn.

Item, To make a composition without charge, which will perform all things equal to soap.

To make flax like silk.

To bring all the fishes in a pond together, &c. and to increase store, and preserve fish-ponds several excellent ways.

To store a pigeon-house, and to cause them to stay, and not to stray to other houses, and to make them breed most part, if not all the year; the charge of food not considerable.

To take red or fallow deer, especially the best and fattest in a forest, park, or straggling abroad, as easily as you may take fish with a bait; or, to make them fall down as if they were dead, and yet no harm, so that you may approach and dispose of them at pleasure.

Several excellent new inventions to take both foxes, pole-cats, and other vermin.

Item, To avoid crows, rooks, and daws from corn in the sowing, or in the ear.

Item, To cause all the moles in a field to resort to one place, and to take them very easily.

To preserve timber from rotting.

To make glew for the joining of boards, whether green or dry, that shall hold faster than the boards themselves.

That by travelling several years for the discovery of many rare experiments, &c. amongst many admirable collections for several infirmities happening upon four easy ways for the perfect curing of the King's evil, and neither of them with the seventh child, which are so excellent and (by the blessing of God) so exceedingly successful, that I desire to impart them to such as shall have occasion thereof.

Item, An infallible experiment for the gout and scurvy, which hath perfectly cured above a hundred.

Item, For the stone and strangury, which hath saved many men's lives.

Cum multis aliis, &c.

Having many other rarities of most admirable consequence, which would grow so voluminous, that I am resolved to reserve them for an additional impression: In the mean time, I shall willingly demonstrate and impart of them, by way of exchange, or otherwise, to any that shall be desirous thereof.

General accommodations.

WHOSOEVER shall have monies to let forth upon interest, may have sufficient security to his desire, and such present and positive directions for the more secure disposing of his monies, so far transcending all manner of adventure, that the result thereof may, by many degrees, be more satisfactory, and may more advantageously extend and conduce to his content.

Whosoever shall be provided for a purchase, of what proportion soever, either of lands in the country, or houses here in the city, may have several particulars presented to his consideration, and full satisfaction to his desire.

Whosoever hath occasion to sell lands, houses upon lease, &c. or to borrow monies upon lands, houses, leases, rents, &c. may be timously supplied to his desire, from fifty pounds, to five-thousand pounds.

Whosoever shall desire to increase the talent, divine justice hath put into his hands, and will deposit monies upon present annuities, or for estates in reversion, that shall appear, to the eye of judgment, excercing advantageous, may have satisfactory compliancy to the full accomplishment of his expectation; or whosoever will give reasonable satisfaction, for monies during life, may have considerable sums seasonably parted with, upon honest and conscionable terms.

Whosoever hath occasion for a necessary house, or shall desire to be provided with convenient lodgings, furnished, or otherwise; or shall be minded to be dieted, either wholly, or at meals, as an ordinary, of what condition or degree soever; they may have full information and satisfaction, with as much content as may be expected or desired; or whosoever shall desire to take a convenient mansion near London; or within twenty miles thereof, or part of an house, or lodgings, with their diet or otherwise; they may have such information and intelligence, as cannot but abundantly correspond with their expectations. Or whosoever shall have an inclination to take a convenient house or farm in the country, by lease for years or lives, whereby they might continue to themselves a convenient competency for their support and livelihood; they may, in pursuance of their desires, have plenary intelligence from most parts of England or Ireland; and may further, according to their capacities, be directed and furthered to more fructiferous employments under some eminent neighbouring gentleman, that may, by vertue of their relation and recourse, happily become their landlord, &c. or whosoever shall be willing to part with such habitation or place of residence, of what proportion soever, or in what part of England or Ireland soever; by hinting their pleasures, all industry will not be wanting, at least, so much as may occasion them to be inheritors of their desires.

Whosoever shall be minded to buy any goods, that London doth afford, either for apparel or otherwise, may be furnished at the first and best hand, at equitable rates, with all clarity and serenity, and with forbearance of their monies for the present or otherwise; or shall desire to have their wants supplied with any kind of household-stuff, at the first or second-hand, as linnen, pewter, brass, all sorts of hangings, or other requisites appertaining to household affairs; they may have their choice either by parcels, as they have need; or the full furniture of an house from executors, or from such as have occasion to give up house-keeping, &c. and constant information, where, with whom, and upon what conditions they may be had. Or whosoever, shall have commodities to sell, or what vendible commodities soever, shall come from beyond the seas, or out of the country, either in great parcels, or otherwise, upon information thereof, at my lodgings; they may have divers make address unto them, and may instantly vend whatsoever they shall have remaining by them.

Whosoever shall lose any papers, books of accompt, or any other considerable thing; whereas the finder may desire restitution to the owner, by leaving notice thereof, at my lodgings, there may happen a reciprocal accommodation between them. Or, whosoever shall have goods stolen, as horses, or any other cattle, may, by describing the marks, &c. with other necessary explanatory observations, have such an expeditious course taken, by posting of bills throughout the city, the market-towns and fairs, within a considerable distance, and by other scrutines for suspicious persons about the city, together with such other probable and imaginable expedients, effectually prosecuted and pursued, as may consequently render responsible inferences of discovery, how to recover their goods again.

Whosoever shall desire to be entertained as a gentleman's chaplain, tutor, secretary, steward, &c. or shall be capable of preferment, especially youth, of what degree soever, may have such directions and furtherance as may very much tend to their advancement; or whosoever shall need any such servant, of what quality or condition soever, or any that would be set a work in their faculties, &c. they may be sufficiently accommodated to their desires. Or if they need any that are expert and excellent in teaching musick, short-writing, &c. or any artist whatsoever, or masters of bodily exercise, as dancing, fencing, &c. they may have such that will, according to the dispensations God hath conferred upon them, endeavour to ingratiate themselves to their esteems, and some of the same qualifications, that will occasionally evidence their willingness by their industrious observancy to conform themselves as domestick, that are men of known trust, government, and integrity.

Whosoever shall have suits in law to commence, or shall happen into any kind of litigious controversies, discordances, and competitions, of what nature soever, or shall be prisoners, &c. they may have their doubts explained, matter of fact stated, substantially proposed, and methodically digested with seasonable directions upon easy terms, without retarding or remora's, and with the contribution of the concurrent opinions and free advice of the most candid and ingenuous judgments, that will stand by them in their just rights, and may happily address them unto some that shall, without partiality, resume the pursuit of the business for them by right, or else as referendaries, &c. make an amiable and an amicable composition and transaction of the matter for their best advantage with their adversary in their behalf.

Whosoever shall have debtors, that skulk and are latent in any part of England, Ireland, &c. they may have such real and pertinent courses observed and pursued for their discovery, and for recovery of their debts, whereby they may be made willing, if able, for all conscionable performances.

Whosoever shall need an agent or solicitor, and shall desire the common intelligence of publick state-affairs, and other communicable occurrences, may have all honest and faithful services performed, with what respective credentials and considerable obligements, shall be necessarily required, in reference and order to such employments.

Whosoever shall be minded to undertake an office, or place of present benefit, and shall desire to be negotiated in any such condition, may be severally advertised very much tending to their future content and satisfaction. And such that will part with an office or place of benefit for present profit, they may find, by address, how to compass their desires; and those that shall be able to give intelligence of any such office, &c. which may happen by the sickness or death of any officer, or by misdeemeanors, being themselves not capable to execute the same, upon their discovery, they may be sufficiently considered and rewarded therefore. Or if any man, living remote, shall be able to discover any material thing obvious to his observation, which may be advantageous to the publick, or to himself, not being able to repair to London, to advance his design; upon intimation thereof, by letters or otherwise, he may have all

prevalent advantages, effectually pursued, to promote the execution thereof, without putting himself to the charge of a great journey at adventure; and a condign recompence procured out of the benefit, which thence may accrue to the publick, or otherwise, with as much reality, and sincerity, as if he himself were present, and able to prosecute the same.

Whosoever shall be so instrumental to their own happiness, and future content, to avoid the pernicious effects of ignorance in their children, and season their tender years, by endeavouring the right framing of their studies to the ready attainment of virtue and knowledge, during their flexibility (according to the order of duty, and the talent committed to them, whereof they must be accountable) may, in cases of such importance and concernment, have such excellent designs illustrated unto them, and such observable inferences for their educations, that those parents, that are truly generous and careful of their children's good, cannot but exceedingly approve thereof, and very much incline thereunto. See,

Whosoever shall be inclinable to travel into any part beyond the seas, may happily, by address, enjoy the blessings of such unanimous consociation, as may most nearly be consistent with his disposition, so that by a candid and sympathetic participation and complacency in all occurrences, and by the intercourse of mutual friendship and correspondency, their affections may be so firmly tied together in bonds of unity, and so intirely woven within one another, that they may ratiocinate, consult, and co-operate jointly in their travels, and the one may, by their amicable coherency and combination, meliorate, improve, and be helpful unto the other in their abilities; and may further, by men of worth, knowledge, and experience, be respectively intelligenced, instructed, and advertised of the manner and condition of travelling into what part soever, how to steer his course with cautiousness and circumspection, and to order and deport himself in his peregrinations for matter of expences, and to discover and decline all false representations, and how likewise to regulate and associate himself with such sort of people as he shall obviate and be conversant with, and may be furnished with gold for silver upon all occasions, and be recruited and supplied with all conveniences, wheresoever he shall come.

Whosoever shall be desirous to travel into Ireland, Scotland, or any place of England, may, by entering their names, and the time they intend to take their journey, consort themselves with company suitable to their minds, and so pass in a coach together part of the way at an easy charge; or may be directed how to convenience themselves with horses to their desire, either by such as are to be returned by the carriers, or otherwise; or may know where to have horses at reasonable rates; or, if they will buy horses for their present occasion, they may have notice where to fit themselves, either from gentlemen or merchants here in the city, with such warranty and content, as may be fully satisfactory to their expectation.

Whosoever shall have relation to Virginia, the Barbadoes, New England, or any other country inhabited with English, or shall have cause to send into any of those places, or would inhabit, or transplant himself into those parts, he may have all intelligence and expedients, with as

much conveniency as may be. And such here in England, that shall have means fall unto them in any of these countries, or any there that shall have the like in any part of England, and would have commodities transported from the one unto the other, or any other reciprocal negotiation, or intercourse of friendship, of what importance soever. And so likewise into any other country, as France, Spain, the Low Countries, &c. by their address and application, according to their particular ends and concerns completely expedited; and what equitable offices christianity and humanity may afford, they may assuredly enjoy with all faithfulness and serenity. *Cum multis aliis.*

END OF VOL. SIX.

ALPHABETICAL INDEX,

TO THE SIXTH VOLUME.

A.		Page		Page
ACCOMMODATIONS, on an Office for	158	Barnstable submits to Parliament	51	
Addresses to Parliament of Paris	265	Barratry, what it is	118	
Admiralty officers in Parliament	467	Basil, a favourer of Socinus	362	
Aldersgate, meeting of quakers there	457	Bayly and others expelled at Oxford	134	
Ale and strong Beer, Vindication of	73	Beaurock, Mr., a proctor of the University	53	
Alehouse-keepers, duty of	126	Bedford county, on petitions from	305	
Alexander VI. pope, dispute with	500	Bedminster, near Bristol, Naylor's procession at	465	
Ambassadors, English, answer to	256	Beer and Ale, Vindication of	73	
Ambassies, on their utility	239	Beefore, Sir William, his valour	17	
Amsterdam, few advocates there, and why 72		— breaks through the King's army 33		
Anarchy, a character in the Drama	82	Bellman, the British one	181	
Andrews, lord mayor, letter to	275	Berry, colonel, an account of	499	
Anti-normanism, the author of	175	Bess's prayer for the Jews	449	
Artovistus assists the Sequanish Gauls	98	Bishops, their ambition and excess	13	
Arithmetick, the utility of	144	Blake's defeat of the Dutch	669	
Army, a word for it	65	Bodley, Sir Thomas, born at Exeter	51	
—, the elect in it	149	— family of, fled to Germany	52	
—, proposals to general council of	180	— Sir Thomas, a proctor of University 46		
—, English in the West Indies	379	Bohemia, King and Queen of, receive the English	10	
Artificers, the duty of	194	Bonus, his gluttony	392	
Arts, a plan for improving	143	Boreman's Triumph of Learning	395	
—, on teaching them to all	145	— Prayer to suppress Heresy	321	
Ascham Anthony, on his death	236	Boscobel House and Oak, made an Asylum 248		
Ashton, colonel, parley at Reading	21	Botanicum Theatrum, Project of	146	
Askenaz, father of the German nation	93	Bouchiers, progenitors of Essex family	7	
Assembly-man, a portrait of	57	Boudreaux, quaker's conduct at	454	
— compared with Hugh Peters 64		Brasiers, the duty of	123	
Atheling, Edgar, England's darling	99	Brennus's army, Gauls the relics of	105	
Aubigny, lord, slain at Edgehill	17	Brent, Sir Nathaniel, Judge of Prerogative Court	135	
Auburn hill, in Wilts, skirmishes there	23	Breutford, account of attack there	18	
Authority, the original of	112	Brereton, Sir William, his conduct	189	
		Brett's Narrative of Jews Council	325	
		Brewer's Plea, or Vindication of strong Beer 73		
		Bristol, Naylor's Procession near it	425	
		British words, ancient, many Greek ones	217	
		Britons, the Saxons assistance to	97	

INDEX.

	Page
Britons, laws of, subverted and restored, &c.	216
Brough, lord, account of	496
Brown's Old Pharisee	344
Bruce, King Robert, his chequered life	261
Bullen, Anne of, severe remark on	514
Burleigh, lord treasurer, favours Bodley	54
Butchers, account of their duty, &c.	123, 124, 126

C

CADIZ, expedition to	10
Calvin, a Letter of his to Socinus	359
Cardiff, the ship, sails from Jamaica	388
Castle-Bay, in Barbadoes, English army at	377
Catharine, queen, retires to Kymbolton	514
Causbam hill, near Reading	20
—bridge fight	21
Cecil, Sir Edward, created Viscount Wimbleton	10
Champerly, what it is	118
Chard, forces joining Essex there	30
Charles the Great erected schools with churches	305
—I. his ghost at Windsor	509
Cheshire cavaliers blamed	193
Cheynell, head of St. John's, Oxford	135
Chidley, Samuel, on punishing theft	272
Children punished for their fathers	521
Chmelmica, Synod of, opposer of Socinus in Church, what done by rebels for	38
—, no protection against murder	240
Cirencester, standards taken there	23
Civil officers of Scotland in Parliament	408
Clanrickard, Earl of, Essex' father in law	6
Claypole, lord, account of	495
Clemell, on taking it	236
Cloth-makers, the duty of	124
Codrington, Robert, life of Essex	5
Committee for regulating Law, Proposals to	289
Commons, House of, curious address to	45
—Speech in	512
Commonwealth, what makes a happy one	160
Conqueror, Name of, detested	101, 103
Conquest of England, not defensible	177
—, laws altered after it	216
Conscience, cases of, resolved	190, 438
Consistory, of Presbyters, in the Drama	85
Constable, on his duty	120
Conventicles, law to frequent them	311
Cooper colonel, an account of	500
Coopers, the duty of	125
Corbett's Speech in the House of Commons	36
—, appointed University Orator at Oxford	135
Cordwainers, the duty of	123
Cornish, an advancement at Oxford	135
Corau Copia, M scellaneum	540
Coroner, the duty	120
Corruption of English Laws	212
Covenant, Articles of solemn League and	131
Covenanters, Vow of, a discussion on	208
Council of Jews, Narrative of	225
—State, Chidley's petition to	280
—Cromwell, Salaries of, &c.	460
Crab, Roger, the English hermit	390
Cracovia, treatment of Socinus at	566
Cromwell Lady, an Queen Fairfax	136, 139
—, Lord General, Speech in 1653	531
—, Salaries, &c. of his council	460
—, Oliver, dissolves late parliament	485
—his complaint of injustice, 55	
—, Richard, account of	418
Crying Sin, a cry against	272
Cuckows, cannibals, described	137

Carriers, the duty of	123, 124
---------------------------------	----------

D

DANIEL, the English historian	99
Danish Intruders, of Teutonic race	98
Davenant, Bishop, defender of Protestants	305, 308
Davidis, Franciscus, dies in prison	303
Deacon, John, Account of Naylor, &c.	444
Declaration against Stuarts, the Protector's	420
Desborough, Colonel, an account of	490
Designing recommended	144
Devereux, Sir Walter, created Earl of Essex	7
Dieppe, Charles II. lands at	254
Directory, a character in drama,	81, 88
Disborough, a Quaker, some account of	437
Discovery, ship, burnt at Jamaica	387
Dissenting Ministers, Vindication of	119
Domingo, St. Sudden proceedings there	519
Domitius, his sudden death	302
Drawing recommended	144
Provers, the duty of	125
Drunkennes condemned	78
Dury's Case of Conscience resolved	438
Dutch defeated near Calais	269
Dutton and Wilks, how treated by Presbyterians	120

E

EDGAR Atheling, England's darling	99
Edge-hill, King's forces, and battle there	16
Education of poor, thoughts on	144
Edward, St. his Ghost	90
—last rightful English King	100, 103
—, the Confessor, laws of	218
Elwayes, executed on Tower-hill	9
England's establishment in honour	175
—, New, treatment of Quakers there	435
English subjects, rebels services for	41
—, a Member of Teutonic nation	92
—, Plain, the author of	175
—, Laws, corruption of	212
—, Rule of faulty ones	210
Erbury, Dorcas, examination of	423
Ergastulum literarium, project of	152
Essex, Robert, Earl of, his life and death	5
—, Countess of, seeks a divorce	9
—, Colonel Charles, mortally wounded	17
—, Earl of, officiously injures Sir T. Bodley	55
Eustathius, name of, its abuse	60
Eyre, Lord, an account of	504
Exchange, an accident there	325
Exeter, King halts at, for provisions	32
—, Sir T. Bodley born at	52
Extortion, what it is	118

F

FAIRFAX, Sir Thomas, commander in chief	34
—, and his army, an account of	180
—, Queen, and Lady Cromwell	136, 139
Falshood, conquered by truth	325
Faulconbridge, Lord, an account of	495
Felonies, publick or private, nature of	114, 116
Felony, misprision of	117
Fiennes, commissioner, an account of	489
—, Mr. John, ditto	503
Fish, on regulations about	146
Fleetwood, lieut. gen. account of	490
Florence, court of, Socinus 12 years there	361

INDEX.

	Page
la, gulf of, its limits	389
ry, what it is	118
scue, on conquest of England	176, 180
— on laws continuing it	216
George, his exclamation	438
e, News from, on Mazarine's library	265
ling hanged for aiding felony	9
n, bridge of boats there	18

G.

S, the Sequanish, are assisted	98
aphy, utility of knowing	144
etry, &c. the knowledge of enforced	146
nicus, opposed by the Britons	99
ny, family of Bodley retire to	52
St. Edward's	90
ster, summoned by King Charles	22
— relieved by Earl of Essex	23
Chief Justice, account of	494
ld, Crab's dedication to	393
Colonel, an account of	499
ament, original rules of	214
ors, &c. in parliament	469
, religion of, described	227
lle, Sir Richard's, house stormed	31
all, on plate brought to	13
ism mechanicum, project of	146

H.

E, Sir T. Bodley's embassy to]	53
readful storm of in Norfolk	422
oud, godson to, Pembroke and Mont-	
ry	134
en, Mr. an account of	504
fo. author of England's establish-	
.	175
slain, consequences of	101
not England, conquered	179
appointed head of Trinity college	135
, Mr. Samuel, W. P.'s advice to	141
—, Address to the Jews	438
ge, Sir Arthur, account of	505
recedency in, dispute about	529
us, prince, repressed the Scots	98
/III. his ghost at Windsor	509
and Heretick, what	307
Crab, the English one	390
i, Colonel, or Lord, account of	497
od, Sir Thomas, ditto	503
s and Sternhold favoured by Assem-	
.	61
i, Colonel, an account of	496
i, Sir John, ditto	503

I, J.

CA, English proceedings there	385
King, speech in Star-Chamber	224
Bishop, triumph over Harding	303
uncil, narrative of one	225
hether to be received by Christians	438
rrative of proceedings about	445
raa's prayer for	449
ce vanquished by learning	295
ry, what it is	118
r, grand one, examined	424
dents supersede Presbyterians	80
, for Vellus Aureum	154
conversion of	453
y, Colonel, account of	498
, Cromwell's complaint of	529

Institution, general, for education	141, 146
Instrument for copying, account of	141
Inventions, a century of	406
Joab, his sanctuary no protection	244
Jones, Colonel Philip, an account of	493
— John, ditto	501
Ireland, how neglected	192
Jubilee, at Rome, account of	228
Judges, at Old Bailey, Chidley's letter to	572
Jury, trial by, a Danish custom	518

K.

KILVERT, Mr. witness for Sir Edward	
Mosely	49
King, Rebel services for	38
Kingdom, ditto	40
—, two words for it	65
Kinglings, voters for Cromwell's being King	473
Kings, origin of their power	115
— their persons sacred	229
Kymbolton, Queen Catharine retires to	514

L.

LACY, Captain, slain at Brentford	18
Lancetou, yields to parliament forces	32
Lane, Mrs. accompanies Charles II.	258
Langley, head of Pembroke college	135
Language, Teutonic, copious and diffusive	98
Law regulators, Chidley's letter to	286
Lawrence, Henry, account of	469
—, rebel services for	39
—, on written and corrupt ones	214, 215
—, Discovery, errors and abuses in	322
Lawyers, little use for in Holland	72
—, on their corrupt interest	222
—, assembled about the Jews	451
—, in Cromwell's garbled parliament	461
Laymen, if lawful to preach	318
League and Covenant, the solemn one	131
Learning, Triumph of over Ignorance	295
—, Schools of, Vindicated	298
Leather, searchers of, their duty	122
Leghorn, letter from, about Jews	451
Leicester, Earl of, an enemy to Essex	7
Lenthall, William, an account of	495
Lightning, dreadful, in Norfolk	422
Lilburn, Captain, taken prisoner	18
Lindsey, Earl of ditto	17
Lisle, Lord Viscount, an account of	490
—, Commissioner, ditto	494
Liturgy, a character in the Drama	81
—, his bold spirit	85
London, city of, subscribes for war	19
Lords, address to house of	42
—, their negative discussed	112
—, Regicides, account of	138
—, House of, in late parliament	483
Lorimers, their use to an Assembly-Man	62
Lublin, disputes in the Synod there	365
Lyme, siege of, raised by Earl of Essex	30
Lyons, Socinus retires to	361

M.

MAGDALEN College, Essex a member of	5
Maidenhead, approach of Rupert's force to	19
Malt-makers, their duty	127
Manasses Ben Israel, Proposal of Jews	454
Manufactures, on teaching generally	145
Mar-pralats, Martias, a prohibited pamphlet	8
Market, clerk of, his duty	121

INDEX.

	Page
Marriott, of Gray's Inn, the great eater	392
Mars, or Tuisco	93
Marshall, favour to Sedgwick	64
—, his confessions	178
Massey, Colonel, defence of Gloucester	22
Maximian, his gluttony	392
Melancholicus Mercurius, on Cuckow's nest	136
Members excluded from Cromwell's parliament	457
Memorials of Parliament, monstrous	263
Ménander's Thais, St. Paul's quotations from	63
Merchants assembled about the Jews	451
Middleton, Colonel, attacks King at Dorchester	21
Millers, on their duty	127
Ministers, Dissenting, excuse from Regicide	129, 132
Misprisions of felony and treason	116, 117
Monasteries, on plunder of	517
Moneyless, a character in the drama	83
Montross, Marquis of, his execution	234
Moon, voyage to it	53
Muore, Thomas, remarks	512
Morton, a nursing father to the church	304
Mosely, Sir Edward, trial for a rape	46, 50
—, Charles II. removes to	253
Mountague, Colonel, account of	493
Munroe, Colonel, slain	17

N

NAMES of Marquis of Worcester's Inventions	405
—, Persons for House of Lords	488
Naples, number of plagues there	228
Narrative, Second, of Cromwell's Parliament	482
Naudæus, Gabriel, on Cardinal Mazarine's library	265
Navy officers in Cromwell's Parliament	407
Naylor, James, born at Wakefield	425
—, account of his life	435
Negative voice, the King's, in Parliament	112
Neustrians, the dress of Gallick nations	100
Newbury, battle of, and persons slain	24, 26
—, the Jews killed there	198
Newcastle, seized by the Scots	12
Nicholas, Edward, letter to intercepted	19
Nicholls, Anthony, account of the army	67
Nienojevius, mostly assents to Socius	366
Nile, observations on its flowing	227
Norfolk, dreadful storm in	422
Norman yoke un-aced	175
Normanism, an impure mixture of language	99
Normans subverted the Saxon laws	216
Northumberland, Earl of, treaty for peace proposed	16
Norwegians, the dress of Teutonic nations	100
Norwich, vast damage there by a storm	4, 2
Nosocomium Academicum, project of	140
Nutus a mortuis, news from the dead	508
Nusances, on enquiry about	127

O

OATH of dissenting ministers	131
—, of members of late Parliament	483
Officers, enquiry into, at assizes	114
Office of Public Address discussed	158
Officers, public, enquiry about	119
—, military in Cromwell's early Parliament	465, 466, 468

Oldsworth, Michael, on chancellor of Oxford	1
Oliver's Parliament, excluded members	4
Onsloe, Sir Richard, account of	4
Ordinary, clerk of his duty	1
Overbury, Sir Thomas, poem of the Wife	24
Overseers of poor, their duty	4
—, highways, ditto	4
Ouseley, Sir Charles, account of	40
Oxford, Earl of, in Holland	40
—, City in danger of a siege	29
—, Sir T. Bodley's partiality for	36
—, Manchestered, an account of	224

P

PACK, alderman, account of	500
Palmologus, Jacobus, assailed by Serinus	363
Palmer, appointed head of All Souls college	15
—, Sheldon'd by the bees	126
Pantaleon's narrative of accident	325
Papists charge puritans with Gunpowder plot	150
Paragon, ship, burnt near Cape Florida	329
Paris, on the English there	226
—, Addresses to Parliament there	265
Parliament, refuse farther treaty	19
—, visitation of a sick one	42
—, as their ordering money & plate	130
—, regicide, members of	138
—, on choosing Cromwell's	454
—, Queries on late one	471
—, Lords House of, described	463
—, late one, dissolved by Cromwell	485
Paulet, Mrs. Elizabeth, married Earl of Essex	11
Pembroke and Montgomery, Earl of, dis- carded	18
—, Speech at Oxford	134
Pendrell family, their services to Charles II.	248
Perjury, what it is	118
Peters, Hugh, a word for the army	65
Pewterers, their duty	123
Pharisee, the old one	344
Phylacteries of Presbytery, new ones	10
Physicians, qualifications for institution	149
Pickering, Sir Gilbert, account of	491
Picts harass the Britons	98
Pierce, Bishop, on his preaching	12
Plague at Westminster	48
Plymouth garrison relieved	31
Poor, on education of	144
Power, the original of	112
Preachers assembled about the Jews	450
Preaching, Scripture rule of	192
Prelates, on their intermeddlings	119
Premunire, nature of the offence	114, 115
Presbyter, Sir John, arms of	524
Presbyterians subdued by Independents	10
—, Character of	124
Presbyters, consistory of	15
—, Time-serving, stated	158
Pride's Proposals to Council for Army	572
—, Colonel or Lord, account of	4, 6
Protector, his declaration against the Stuarts	57
—, queries on his government	5, 6
—, his false assertions on tythes	5, 7
—, his arguments against single go- vernment	523
Prynne, observations on his speeches	66
—, his confessions	178
Public Address, once for, farther dis- cussed	158
Puritans, charged with gunpowder treason	129
Putney, bridge of boats there	28